

Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen



ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF MAURICE KEEN EDITED
BY PETER COSS AND CHRISTOPHER TYERMAN

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SOLDIERS, NOBLES AND GENTLEMEN

Chivalric culture, soldiers and soldiering, and treason, politics and the court form the main themes of this volume – as is appropriate in a book which honours the distinguished medievalist Maurice Keen. The essays, all by eminent scholars in the field, cover such topics as nobility and mobility in Anglo-Saxon society; chivalry and courtliness; the crusade and chivalric ideas; chivalry and art; devotional literature; piety and chivalry; military strategy; the victualling of castles; Bertrand du Guesclin; soldiers' wives; military communities in fourteenth-century England; military and administrative service among the fifteenth-century gentry; treason, disinvestiture and the disgracing of arms; and treason in Lancastrian Normandy. Overall, they reflect the range of the honoree's interests, the depth of his scholarship, the international flavour of his work, and his unique contribution to historical scholarship.



SOLDIERS, NOBLES AND GENTLEMEN

Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen

Edited by
Peter Coss
and
Christopher Tyerman

THE BOYDELL PRESS

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List of Contributors

Adrian Ailes is Principal Record Specialist, Early Modern Records, at The National Archives.

Christopher Allmand is Emeritus Professor of Medieval History at the University of Liverpool.

Rowena E. Archer is Lecturer in Medieval History at Christ Church, Oxford and Supernumary Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford.

Andrew Ayton is Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Hull.

Juliet Barker is a professional author, broadcaster and historian.

James Campbell is Emeritus Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford.

Jeremy Catto is Emeritus Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.

Martin Conway is Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford.

Peter Coss is Professor of Medieval History and Head of the School of History and Archaeology at Cardiff University.

David Crouch is Professor of Medieval History at the University of Hull.

Anne Curry is Professor of Medieval History at the University of Southampton.

Gerald Harriss is Emeritus Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Michael Jones is Emeritus Professor of Medieval French History at the University of Nottingham.

Simon Payling works for the History of Parliament Trust.

Michael Prestwich is Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Durham.

Linnie Rawlinson is a journalist with CNN.

Nigel Saul is Professor of Medieval History at Royal Holloway, University of London.

Simon Skinner is Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford.

Matthew Strickland is Professor of Medieval History at the University of Glasgow.

Craig Taylor is Senior Lecturer in Medieval History at the University of York.

Christopher Tyerman is Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford.

Malcolm Vale is Fellow of St John's College, Oxford.

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Preface

Christopher Tyerman

This volume reflects in ways far beyond the formally academic Maurice Keen's capacity to inspire. Compiling and editing a *festschrift* offers many pitfalls: identifying contributors, matching articles to a theme appropriate to the honoree, making sure that essays arrive on time and to length, let alone finding a publisher and coordinating the mechanics of publication. The very idea of such celebratory volumes provokes scorn in some quarters as being unnecessary, self-indulgent and academically incoherent. In these and all other respects, editing this volume for Maurice has confounded scepticism. Not only was there no difficulty in drawing up a list of friends, colleagues and pupils who should be approached, the list had to exclude some who would have been happy to have been asked and excellent if included. Then, to the surprise, and at times anxiety of the editors, almost everyone approached not only agreed to write but then actually did so, leading to delicate negotiations with our ever-sympathetic publisher about the eventual size of the book. Even the index attracted a volunteer, Shashi Jayakumar, Maurice's former student. To all the contributors, the editors offer their gratitude, admiration and appreciation. Special thanks must be afforded to Angela Coss, whose generous, indefatigable industry and lynx-eyed copy-editing has forged idiosyncrasy and contradiction into coherence. It is a pleasure to record the financial assistance and hospitality of the Master and Fellows of Balliol College, Oxford, and especially Martin Conway and Simon Skinner. Caroline Palmer and her staff at Boydell and Brewer have displayed characteristic efficiency and understanding in bringing the idea for this volume to print. Indispensable to planning and preparation was the part played by Mary Keen. The subterfuge of smuggling information and requests to and from the editors under the guise of swapping recipes with Angela Coss, so as not to alert Maurice to what was afoot, could almost have stepped out of a late medieval romance. The harmony that has prevailed throughout the project is due in no small measure to the good humour and clear thinking of my fellow editor Peter Coss whose enthusiasm first ignited the idea. Typical of dealings with Maurice, this enterprise has proved a delight.

C. J. T.
Oxford
February 2009

Mémoire

Linnie Rawlinson

When one comes to university, especially Oxford, one doesn't know quite what to expect. You hope to make friends, have adventures and learn about interesting things. If you are lucky – really lucky – you will meet someone who captures your attention, nurtures your mind and makes you a finer person. I was lucky. I was taught by Maurice Keen.

When I arrived at Balliol in 1993, Maurice was a man surrounded by his own mythology. Tales of his exploits were passed down in hallowed tones from finalists to wide-eyed freshers. From the pot-shots at Trinity to duels at dawn, these outlandish stories cloaked him in mystery as he strode purposefully across the quad. We all believed them, at least at the time; I hope they are true.

His status as a College legend meant that other students, non-historians (poor Muggles!), harboured a secret jealousy towards us, particularly those of us who were lucky enough (or picked our papers on purpose) to study at his feet. We were happy to share him: we know full well that he is ours, one of us, and that gives us immense pride.

A generous and sociable tutor, Maurice's end-of-term parties were a rite of passage. Invitations to the drinks – one of the highlights of the Balliol social calendar – were prized, and an invitation to a non-historian was a status symbol indeed. The best were always at Michaelmas, when the older students would not warn newcomers of the potency of the innocuous-tasting punch, but just stand back with a wry smile and wait for the mayhem that always followed.

Underneath these legends and stories, though, was a slight, modest man with an encyclopaedic knowledge of medieval history, an ability to infuse the past with life and a gift for inspiring his students. He is, without doubt, the finest teacher I have ever had.

Each week, as I tripped up the library stairs to his medieval eyrie and pushed open the creaking wooden door, I stepped into another world. Sitting in a battered armchair which had long ago lost its stuffing was a small figure, surrounded by a halo of blue pipe smoke. On the floor, stacks of paper formed an idiosyncratic filing system that made perfect sense to Maurice but which no one else could have decoded. The sense that this great man was going to spend the next hour with me, discussing my paltry work, never failed to fill me with a sense of awe.

There's a widespread sense amongst those of us who have studied with Maurice that sometimes he is unnecessarily modest about his ability and

achievements as a historian. Everyone I know who was taught by him holds him in immense respect: for his knowledge, his discipline, and his ability to make the past come alive. He loves history, and he wants his students to love it too.

From first years to graduates, we were all made to feel that our opinions matter, that each of us, however hopeless or distracted, had the ability to shine. He was not one to focus on favourites. He spoke to us all as equals. I treasured my tutorials in his study: those precious hours when he treated you as if you were a real historian. As he coaxed his students towards enlightenment, you felt that he was always in your corner: he wanted you to succeed. He never patronised half-baked work with praise, but he would focus on the two-line glimmer of hope contained within it. And on the rare occasions when you aced it, you knew it was for real: never had I felt so proud.

Maurice is a true historian. His breadth and depth of knowledge astounded us all. In response to one's daring (or green) propositions, he would close his eyes, tip his head back, flip through his mental Rolodex, and a few seconds later, say, 'But what about ...', gently lancing one's naïve suggestion with a sharp historical fact.

What Maurice taught me most, though, aside from a wary respect for the contents of punch bowls, is that history is, above all else, a humanity – and he had a wonderful talent for bringing that humanity alive. He wanted his students to connect with the distant figures they studied. With a puff of pipe smoke, he would conjure up images of Magyar riders swooping across the plains of Europe; armies of knights and peasants trudging to battle; kings watching as the fragile strands of power slipped from their fingers. He pushed me to see the worlds we studied through medieval eyes, to disconnect from my twentieth-century comforts and viewpoints and escape to a place of blood and honour, knights and kings, where superstitious beliefs reigned and every man lived under fear of God and his inescapable fate. I recall reading him a particularly dull essay on the intricacies of Henry II's administrative efforts. He sighed with relief as I drew to a close, and then, with some exasperation, leaned over and uttered the all-important question: 'But Linnie, did you *like* him?'

As a teacher, Maurice was also incredibly generous. Some tutors need to prove their intelligence by beating their unfortunate students in battles of wit. Maurice was a true pedagogue, guiding his charges on their intellectual journey. He didn't fix the course that a student took – there was always the sense that it was your ship. If he felt you were heading in a silly direction, he would show you a more sensible way, but he would always acknowledge that it was your voyage of discovery. There was a wise optimism that he transmitted that made you feel that it would all turn out perfectly well, whichever route you took.

That sense of optimism carried outside tutorials, too. All students wrestle demons of some form while at university, and I always felt that Maurice understood that. On the pastoral side of things, he was an expert at defusing teenage crises without melodrama, helping one pick up the pieces and move on without fuss. Even on the darkest days, when essays failed to materialise, there was no chastisement, just a mild disappointment and a nudge to get back on track. I

don't know if he knew how I dreaded that disappointment far more than the harsh rebukes doled out elsewhere. I expect Maurice hates words like 'empowerment' and 'enabling', because he's been encouraging and helping his students to grow for years without such newspeak nonsense. To him, it just comes naturally.

The natural passage of time, alas, means our time at Balliol is far too brief. When I left Balliol's protected walls to head out into the wider world, I bade Maurice a fond farewell. Along with my memories and a surprisingly decent degree, I took with me the lessons I'd learned from him and the history we studied together: to be generous with one's time and knowledge; to guard against foolishness; to have faith that everything – and everyone – will be fine; and never to stop learning. Above all else, I left college with a small part of his rich humanity. For that precious gift, he will always have my most heartfelt thanks.

The Multiple Maurices

Martin Conway and Simon Skinner

One of the obvious difficulties for the authors of any tribute to Maurice Keen is that of properly integrating the various facets of his professional life. For temperamental reasons – his absurd, proverbial modesty, and an innate sense of discretion – Maurice always felt it appropriate to keep fairly distinct his lives as historian, as tutor, and as colleague. Woe betide therefore the neophyte Fellow (often American, and a scientist) who at lunch in Balliol might innocently enquire of Maurice how his work was going. The answer was invariably polite, brief, and entirely discouraging of further enquiry. Colleagues, in Maurice's view, could and should discuss many issues; but academic writing and research were not among them. As his subject colleagues in Balliol for a little more than the last decade of Maurice's professional life, we shared often intimately with 'MHK' – as Balliol's antique administrative habit of initialised identification dictates that he was known – in the ups and downs of the collective life of History in an Oxford college. That meant that in some respects we knew Maurice very well, and in others hardly at all. Generations of students, too, often only slowly apprehended that their kindly and self-effacing tutor, a perhaps parochial-seeming figure, omnipresent in College and in some of his mannerisms the very caricature of an Oxford don, was a medieval historian of international distinction. This was not least because of his notorious reluctance to advise that the obvious scholarly texts to which they might turn for illumination – 'the big books', as he is apt to put it – were often his own.

Conversely, many of his professional colleagues, who (as this volume amply attests) know him through those manifold and enormously distinguished contributions to Medieval History, are probably only vaguely aware of the simply colossal role that he played in the life of the College, and indeed of Oxford History in general. This was no accident. Those of his many professional colleagues who were invited to lunch or dine in Balliol were treated with punctilious hospitality to a certain public Maurice: bonhomie and gossip over a drink in the Buttery and then a good meal in the Senior Common Room (though in that regard Maurice's austerity-reared distaste for *haute cuisine* led him to dissent from prevailing definitions of 'good': 'whatever happened to the humble potato?', he was once heard to mutter over one of the chef's more elaborate menus). Guests would have departed with a sense of warm comradeship, but perhaps also the fuzzy impression that Maurice's Balliol was essentially one of tankards and high table, only occasionally punctuated by a callow chap turning up to read an essay on the Peasants' Revolt.

Nothing, really, could have been further from the truth. Maurice did of course participate with genuine and obvious pleasure throughout thirty-nine years as a tutorial Fellow – and before that as an undergraduate – in the social life of the College. It was indeed, to invoke what is surely the key concept of the Maurician moral universe, his *duty* to do so, and an agreeable one. But all that was entirely peripheral to the Maurice whom one encountered as a colleague. The MHK who worked with and befriended us was a figure who succeeded in combining to a truly exceptional degree the three often contradictory expectations of the modern academic: as scholar, tutor, and administrator. This threefold burden is one which few modern academics can fully discharge. We are all familiar with bibliometric scholars whose time at the coalface is at the expense of time with undergraduates; with Mr – or at least, Dr – Chips tutors and lecturers, whose pedagogic influence outweighs their scholarly legacy; and with colleagues who come to seek sanctuary from these other pressures in the quiet rhythms of academic administration. In truth, most of us, while regarding competence in only one of those fields hard to endure in a colleague, might think competence in any two of them a realistic aspiration. It was Maurice's great and lasting professional achievement to be a globally eminent scholar, a legendary college tutor, and an academic administrator of, to indulge Asquith's famous claim of Balliol men, effortless superiority. Moreover, this is to confine itself to reflection only on the professional Maurice, who was always a devoted husband and father: Maurice preferred to go home for lunch with Mary than to eat in College.

The beating heart of all this, of course, was Maurice's relationship with generations of students. His tutorial style – by turns encouraging, sympathetic, and committed – is fondly remembered by Linnie Rawlinson in her contribution to this volume. Quite how many times MHK discussed with undergraduates Alfred's impact on Wessex, the Norman Conquest, Magna Carta, the Black Death, or the Wars of the Fifteenth Century – tutorially, he effortlessly bestrode more than half a millennium of British and European medieval history – is impossible to calculate; but it was conspicuous how absolutely he retained his enthusiasm and commitment to the task across four decades. Right up until his retirement in 2000, shortly before the Oxford History Faculty's reduction of undergraduate teaching burdens, Maurice carried a tutorial load at least half again as heavy as is expected of his successors. Not, of course, that it would ever have occurred to him to count it up: if someone wanted tutorials in medieval history, and there were hours in the day, Maurice would teach them.

Maurice's great achievement as a tutor was so consistently to generate a sense of common intellectual purpose with very different sorts of students. Whatever their background and antecedent interests, and however lamentable their failure to empathise with the medieval world, MHK saw History as a subject to be discussed and explored, and not merely taught. There was no stock MHK position; and students were often disorientated to apprehend that when he suggested finding out what 'the great man' had had to say on a given subject, he was referring not to God, or K. B. McFarlane or Dick Southern – but to Marx.

The rich fruit of all this is of course Maurice's close relations, many of them decades-long, with a wide range of former students, both from within Balliol and among the many he taught from other colleges. That demographic is a more eclectic one than some might assume on the basis of a caricature either of an older Oxford college, or of Maurice. One feature of this was the decision of Balliol in the 1970s to admit women as undergraduates. Before long, half of the History students in Balliol were women. Maurice took evident pride in the immediate success of Balliol women in Finals, and it was widely noticed – with some disorientation in an older generation – that his retirement dinner was a thoroughly mixed occasion. To this day, long after his retirement, to impart to Maurice the success of present cohorts of undergraduates in university examinations is to see a septuagenarian literally skip for joy. He is not animated (as his colleagues might be) by any crude one-upmanship in terms of competition with other subjects or colleges; he is gratified to think that the students admitted to read History at Balliol appear to be happy and successful, and that in consequence the stock of the subject in College remains high – the striking opposite, therefore, of the long-serving valedictorian who foresees only decline and fall after his departure.

His engagement with students was, however, only one facet of his commitment to the life of an institution which over the course of his time as a Fellow changed profoundly in composition, structure, and character. Not all of these changes chimed with MHK's personal values, and the occasional intervention in College councils – touched with his characteristic form of audible italics – that 'we should perhaps not leap into this reform with *undue* haste', was often sufficient to prompt apostles of change to moderate their proposals. MHK was never, however, an instinctive opponent of change; and his response to policy was – as the former Master Anthony Kenny recalled in his memoirs – determined at least as much by personal loyalty as by any simple ideological position. If someone whom Maurice knew and respected was in favour of something, then it *prima facie* had something to be said for it. Either way, once a change had been agreed upon, Maurice was unfailingly supportive and active in its implementation. Far therefore from being the custodian of some imaginary, sepia-tinted Balliol, MHK as Tutor for Admissions, Vice-Master, Tutor for Graduates and any number of other college offices, was central to all of the changes that have taken place in Balliol since the 1960s. Loyalty to the institution, but more especially to the people who composed it, was always more important than personal preference. This did not, of course, exclude moments of exasperation. Maurice's self-control amidst the egos and infantilism of a notably self-regarding Oxford college was the stuff of Common Room legend. But, as a (different) former Master discovered when once suggesting to Maurice that it might be inappropriate for him to smoke in the quad, it was not unlimited. As colleagues we too learned, as ill-prepared undergraduates sometimes did not, that an accelerated inhalation of pipe smoke, especially if accompanied by a reddening of the face, was a vital warning sign of exasperation.

This loyalty to people formed the key element of MHK's commitment to

Balliol. His close friendships over a number of decades with some of his History colleagues, most notably Richard Cobb and Colin Lucas, was a central feature of his life in College. And, as a colleague, Maurice was the antithesis of the intellectually preoccupied scholar, jealous of guarding his personal time for research and writing. He was always available, in good times but above all in bad, to express sympathy or to repair the apparently irreparable, all dispensed in what we always suspected to be an intentionally complex code of Maurician metaphors. To be told of some matter of business that 'the chutney has thickened rather', or that an admissions candidate was 'in and out of the dusty blue-bells', required some mental adaptation but somehow served to underline the authenticity of what was being said. Generations of students were the principal beneficiaries of this unfailing support, but so too were a much wider range of members of the College. Speaking (approvingly) of a former colleague, MHK once remarked that one should judge a Fellow by his relationship with the College's domestic staff. This was a test which Maurice himself passed effortlessly. His benignly paternalistic instincts manifested themselves in his close and long-lasting friendships with a wide range of College staff, including porters, administrators, and cleaners. All were emphatically in MHK's mind equal members of the Balliol community, and the recipients of numerous expressions of his quiet kindness (as well as quiet generosity, often in bottled form). For all Maurice's manifest institutional loyalty – cut him in half and you will find the College crest running through him, as in a stick of Brighton rock – his Balliol was therefore always a human organism, and his combined loyalty to students, colleagues, and staff made him uniquely popular and esteemed. This was wonderfully demonstrated by the highly unusual arrangement of a dinner held to mark his retirement in 2000, at which the Hall was over-subscribed with past and present students and staff. Not many of those present that evening could have properly grasped quite how extensive his service for college and faculty had been, quite how distinguished a medieval historian he is, and quite how devoted a family man he had always remained; but that of course is entirely what he intended.

Abbreviations

BIHR	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>
BL	British Library, London
BnF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
<i>Book of Fees</i>	<i>Liber Feodorum: The Book of Fees Commonly Called Testa de Nevill, 1198–1293</i> (London, 1920–31)
CAD	<i>A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office</i> (London, 1890–1915)
CChR	<i>Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office</i>
CCR	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office</i>
CFR	<i>Calendar of the Fine Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office</i>
CIMisc.	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous Preserved in the Public Record Office</i>
CIPM	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem in the Public Record Office</i>
<i>Complete Peerage</i>	<i>Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom</i> , ed. G. E. Cockayne, new edn by V. Gibbs et al., 13 vols in 14 (London, 1910–59)
CPR	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office</i>
CR	<i>Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1227–1272</i>
CRR	<i>Curia Regis Rolls of the Reigns of Richard, John and Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office</i>
EETS	Early English Text Society
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>Exc. e Rot. Fin.</i>	<i>Excerpta e Rotulis Finium in Turri Londinensi asservatis, 1216–72</i> , ed. C. Roberts (London, 1835–36)
<i>Foedera</i>	<i>Foedera, conventiones, litterae et cuiuscunque generis acta publica inter regis Angliae et alios imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes vel communitates, 1101–1654</i> , ed. T. Rymer; new edn, ed. A. Clarke et al. (London, 1816–69)
Madrid, BN	Biblioteca Nacional
<i>Oxford DNB</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , 60 vols (Oxford, 2004)

<i>Papal Letters</i>	<i>Calendars of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters 1198–1492</i> , ed. W. H. Bliss, C. Johnson, J. A. Twemlow and M. J. Haren, 15 vols in 16 (London, 1893–1960)
<i>Pat. R.</i>	<i>Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1216–1232</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols in 222 (Paris, 1844–64)
<i>PPC</i>	<i>Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England</i> , ed. Sir Harris Nicolas (London, 1834–37)
<i>PROME</i>	<i>The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England</i> , ed. C. Given-Wilson, P. Brand, J. R. S. Phillips, W. M. Ormrod, G. H. Martin, A. Curry and R. Horrox (CD-Rom: Scholarly Digital Editions, Leicester, 2005. Also printed in 16 vols by the Boydell Press and The National Archives, London, 2005)
<i>Receuil</i>	<i>Receuil des historiens de Gaul et de France</i> , ed. M. Bouquet et al. (Paris, 1738–1865), new edn, ed. L. Delisle, 24 vols (Paris, 1869–1904)
<i>Rot. Chart.</i>	<i>Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati</i> , ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1837)
<i>Rot. Litt. Claus.</i>	<i>Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati</i> , 1204–27, ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1833–44)
<i>Rot. Litt. Pat.</i>	<i>Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati</i> , 1204–27, ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1835)
<i>Rot. Parl.</i>	<i>Rotuli Parliamentorum</i> (London, 1783–1832)
TNA: PRO	The National Archives: Public Record Office, Kew
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
VCH	<i>Victoria County History</i>

Introduction

Peter Coss

In 1996 Maurice Keen published a collection of his essays that stretched back over thirty years, the first appearing in 1962. In his foreword he wrote the following:

At the time when I started out as a researcher I was more than once given the impression that chivalry was not, among my elders and betters, regarded as a very serious topic for historical study, and I supposed that I might find myself ploughing a lonely furrow.

With characteristic humility he neatly sidestepped his own role in making 'the subject of chivalry what I had not expected it to prove, a lively and vigorous branch of late medieval studies', by highlighting the major work undertaken by some of his contemporaries. It is universally acknowledged, however, that Maurice's work, pre-eminently his *Chivalry*, first published in 1984, for which he won the Wolfson Literary Prize for History, was seminal in bringing about this shift in interest. *Chivalry* was swiftly acknowledged as a masterpiece of historical writing, one of the great books of medieval history produced in the Anglophone world during the last quarter of the twentieth century. It was, and remains, a trailblazer and pathfinder for further research. There are perhaps four interconnected reasons why this should be so.

The first is the approach. Maurice defined chivalry at the outset as 'an ethos in which martial, aristocratic and Christian elements were fused together'. It was, arguably, his exploration of the nature and manner of this fusion that was the prime factor in producing such a deeply satisfying account of this peculiarly western blend of the warrior ethos. Whilst by no means denying the significance of clerical learning nor indeed the role of the crusade in the western warriors' make-up, Maurice nevertheless removed the priestly veil from the eyes of the observer, revealing chivalry to be in essence 'a mode of living' within which secular values supplied the hard core. Knightly piety was certainly more than a veneer and a whole panoply of pre-existing ideas were drawn into the mould, yet chivalry was fundamentally 'the secular code of honour of a martially-orientated society'. The subtlety with which Maurice handled the interpenetration of Christian and secular values earned great admiration from fellow historians. His treatment of his sources, giving precedence to those closest to the lived experience of men and women over those of a didactic or fictive nature, whilst at the same time analysing the serious impact and significance of

the latter, produced a compelling and deeply satisfying sense that the reader was appreciating chivalry from the inside.

The treatment of the sources is the second reason for *Chivalry's* distinctive reputation. The depth and the breadth of knowledge of the source material are equally breathtaking. At the same time Maurice revealed the capacity to stand back from his sources and widen his perspective. This perspective has both geographical and chronological dimensions. Few scholars of medieval England aspire to, let alone achieve, the degree of internationalism displayed in *Chivalry*. Finally, although fully anchored in the past, Maurice's study is present-minded in the best senses of the term. Chivalry has an historical significance beyond the age in which it was formed, for it 'had a key impact on the fashioning of the idea of the gentleman'. On his own admission, Maurice is fascinated by his subject; but he is not beguiled by it. He sees both the idealism and the naked careerism and self-interest of the medieval warrior. He sees both the civilising impact of courage, courtesy and largesse and the awful brutality of the warfare that was the lifeblood of chivalry. He sees the binding power of ceremony and the aesthetic dimensions to pageantry and display, but he recognises, too, that chivalry could be 'exhibitionist and extravagant – often to the point of vulgarity'.

Not least because of the breadth of his treatment and of his sympathies, Maurice Keen's *Chivalry* and the studies that were anterior to it were able to illuminate a whole range of issues. These include: the origins and definition of chivalry; the idea of nobility; the ceremony of dubbing; the tournament; the historical mythology of the courtly world; patronage; heralds and heraldry; the granting of arms; the order of chivalry; and so on. And just as the chivalric world was constantly evolving, because it was a world of real people as well as of values and ideals, so Maurice has continued to this day to wrestle with the great issues that make the subject such a vital one.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that many of the contributors to this volume take up and develop areas where Maurice's work has provided the starting point or signalled the way forward. James Campbell opens with an essay on nobility, reflecting one of Maurice's enduring interests. It was the subject of his Creighton lecture, delivered at the University of London in 1985. The nobility is a phenomenon which no medievalist can avoid encountering, but Maurice's interest was closer to Continental than to British scholarship in its reflections upon the *idea* and the *concept* of nobility. The origins of the nobility, in particular, remain a subject of concern to this day. Campbell, in perhaps characteristic Anglophone fashion, links nobility and mobility. Taking the arguments put forward by W. R. Runciman in 1984, he reviews the evidence for social promotion into the nobility in Anglo-Saxon England. In doing so he demonstrates that some vital features of the period Maurice Keen concentrates on were already alive, often in different guises and often under different names, in Anglo-Saxon England, among them fairly complex patterns of recruitment of followers (*retinue*), rules of conduct in war, compensation in place of vendetta (*ransom*), lordship as an affective bond (*good lordship*); even conventions over the sharing of booty, and the marauding of something like the later medieval

free companies figure. All of this 'indicates that the noble mobility, one might almost say internationality, characteristic of the age of chivalry had a very long past'. At the same time, however, nobles were readily recognisable. The Northumbrian nobleman, Imma, 'was betrayed by his tongue. You could already tell a toff by his speech.'

David Crouch turns to the question of the origins of chivalry itself. In his great work Maurice Keen understood chivalry as an ethos, one which crystallised during the mid- to late twelfth century. This dating accorded well with the work of the French scholars Jean Flori and Georges Duby and with that of Linda Paterson on Occitan sources. Some of the work undertaken since then, however, has implicitly or explicitly challenged this chronology. Two historiographical trends have converged to create what Crouch regards as an anachronistic sense of the emergence of chivalry. One is the tendency to use the term operationally rather than, as he puts it, epistemologically, so that any noble conduct, especially in war, which mirrors or approximates to those later understood as chivalric becomes evidence of the earlier existence of chivalry. The second is the tendency, stemming from the influential work of Stephen Jaeger, to conflate chivalry and courtliness. The fusion of these two trends – the one emphasising conduct in war, the other the paradigm of the 'affable, liberal and courtly man' – has induced some scholars to envision a chivalric world already in existence in the eleventh century, if not before. One can see the force of this argument. At the same time there is no doubt that there was something distinctive about noble conduct as presented by Chrétien de Troyes and other writers from the 1170s on. How do we reconcile these differing perceptions? Crouch's answer is to reaffirm the distinction between the historian's construct on the one hand and the medieval writer's self-conscious codification of values on the other. At this point he turns to Pierre Bourdieu and the notion of the social habitus. The habitus comprises all those norms of behaviour to which people are conditioned by their social environment. These norms are reinforced by avatars, those individuals who are seen to embody social expectations. So it was with aristocratic behaviour, the avatar here being essentially the *preudomme*. The habitus in this instance is the aristocratic way of life in which the deep roots of chivalry are embodied. Crouch moves on to provide us with some insight into how this particular habitus gave rise to chivalry. He contrasts the work of Arnaut-Guihelm de Marson, an *ensenhamen* of secular, aristocratic values written around 1170 for his fellows, with that of Raiman Vidal de Besalú, a work of moral instruction written in the first decade of the thirteenth century and resembling the *Ordene de Chevalerie*, whose significance was stressed by Maurice Keen. In the meantime chivalry as 'a self-conscious code of noble conduct' had been born.

Christopher Tyerman follows Maurice Keen in another direction, in examining crusading within the social, cultural and political contexts of noble life. In doing so he takes us deep into the mores of elevated society in early fourteenth-century France. His subject is Louis I, duke of Bourbon (c. 1280–1342). Louis was intimately involved in crusade planning although, in the end, he never actually saw the Holy Land. In 1316 he was declared leader of

the French scheme for a new crusade and in 1317, with fellow *crucesignati*, he founded the confraternity of the Holy Sepulchre. Louis understood that commitment to the crusade was not something to be treated lightly or cynically. He knew the opprobrium that might attach itself to those who failed to go, as his chivalric gesture of exiling himself from Paris until he had fulfilled his vow makes clear. He was the genuine patron of crusaders, including many from the rich Parisian bourgeoisie who were so keen to participate in tournaments and other expressions of chivalric life. As Tyerman puts it, in the 'texture of prosaic experience the crusade was normative, not eccentric, sustained by and reflecting many other aspects of noble life'. Louis was a thoroughly active man in most spheres of contemporary life: battlefield, tournament, government, diplomacy, ceremony, political manoeuvring, patronage in both lay and religious contexts, management of household and estates, and so on. He was also a man of wide cultural interests. Nonetheless, his values remained rooted in the chivalric code. From Watrquet of Couvin he commissioned an elegy for his companion-in-arms, Gaucher of Châtillon. This stressed prowess, courtesy, honour, largesse and loyalty. Tyerman envisages Louis as a practitioner or exponent of that other great chivalric quality, conviviality; enveloped in display, this was 'a part and consequence of practical *courtoisie*'. If not exactly one of Crouch's 'avatars', Louis lived his full life steeped in chivalric ideas.

Craig Taylor returns us to England with an analysis of English writing on chivalry and warfare during the Hundred Years War. He points to the striking fact that most of what was available in England was rooted in the distant past. Despite the work of Froissart, this was true even in terms of chivalric history. It was also true of didactic writing on these themes, until the very end of the Hundred Years War. A writer like Hoccleve could recommend only the Roman writer Vegetius when it came to the practical 'art of chivalry'. Taylor asks why such works were rare. The contrast with France is striking, where the content of didactic works was not only broad, extending to practical advice on such matters as strategy, discipline and leadership, but was also part of an even wider literature on government and society. The status of the French language meant, of course, that such works did not need to have been written in English to have an impact here. However, French treatises on chivalry and warfare do not appear to have circulated extensively in England. Taylor finds the explanation largely in the differing experience of the war in the two countries. The French were writing in the context of crushing defeat and appalling violence against civilians. This gave rise to wide-ranging public debate which comprised calls for discipline and unity under a strong monarchy, discussions of military conduct, and the justification for war. It is true, he acknowledges, that in England vernacular writers did 'reveal the fundamental tensions inherent within the culture of chivalry', but they fell far short of the level of exploration, and indeed practical advice, that was prevalent among French and Italian writers. Only at the very end of the war were translations and new works commissioned as the English began to stare at defeat.

Adrian Ailes introduces heraldry, a subject in which Maurice has been deeply

interested since the beginning of his career and where he has made another major contribution in *Origins of the English Gentleman: Heraldry, Chivalry and Gentility in Medieval England, c. 1300–c. 1500* (Stroud, 2002). Ailes focuses on royal grants of arms in England, the earliest known example being in 1335. The bestowal of arms, as he points out, was ‘a clear and formal act of patronage expressed heraldically’. Thus its incidence tends to reflect the atmosphere of the various reigns. Given that it was ‘a very public way’ of rewarding friends and allies and of expressing a close relationship between the king and particular subjects, it is hardly surprising to find it first recorded in the reign of Edward III. Nor is it surprising that heraldry figured prominently in the regal display which was so much a feature of Richard II’s court. One of his most spectacular marks of favour was to allow several of his favourites to quarter the arms of Edward the Confessor, as he himself had done. Few grants are evidenced from the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V, although in the latter case more must actually have been made given the king’s part in developing the role of heralds and his attempt to control the unwarranted assumption of arms. Grants of arms seem to have lapsed during the minority of Henry VI to be followed by a flurry between 1439 and 1449, including those to his colleges and his clerks. The decline in grants after 1450 was due in part to political circumstances but also to the increasing role of the kings of arms (the senior royal heralds) acting under royal authority. In Edward IV’s day the king’s direct participation seems to have been required only where distinguished foreigners were concerned. The granting of arms has to be seen, of course, from the point of view of the recipient as well as from that of the crown. There is no doubt that from the fourteenth century onwards (if not before) there was particular prestige in receiving one’s arms from a monarch. Moreover, as Ailes makes clear, royal grant of arms involved real benefits in status terms. It was Henry VI, however, who took the ultimate step in including the grant of new arms in letters of ennoblement, bringing England into line with Continental practice.

Vivid and intense display was not a matter only for princes. Indeed, it permeated all levels of gentle life. It is another phenomenon that has interested Maurice throughout his career; see, for example, his deeply thoughtful and thought-provoking introduction to *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2002). In his contribution to the present volume Nigel Saul contributes an examination of the language of chivalry displayed in the parish church of Trotton in Sussex. Although Trotton is famous for its brasses of the Camoys family, its scheme of wall paintings and the combined effect of its chivalric art have not, until now, received the attention they deserve. Saul describes what must have been a truly startling display of chivalric imagery. As he shows, however, context is as important as content in appreciating the full historical significance of such schemes. Trotton, of which the Camoys family held the advowson, had been their mausoleum for several generations when Thomas, Lord Camoys (d. 1421) commissioned his wall paintings. Thomas showed himself to be acutely aware of his family history, especially its military history and its powerful associations. Service was

the key to the family's sense of itself, and it reached its apogee in Thomas, a court-based magnate who commanded the rearguard at Agincourt. As was quite often the case with the gentry's church-based commemorations, this scheme of art reflects a break in continuity. Thomas's place in the genealogy is uncertain, and he may have been illegitimate. His need to celebrate the family's past was clearly acute. In Saul's words, a 'knowledge of family ancestry, transmitted in the collective memory, was a significant influence on his actions in the present'. Thomas's brass, moreover, like that of Sir Hugh de Hastings at Elsing, highlights the same issue of service in arms and service to the crown. In words that echo recent studies of Sir Geoffrey Luttrell and the Luttrell psalter, Saul suggests that the brass provides 'a perfect mirror of self image'. Although, as Maurice insisted, the origins of chivalry were essentially secular, in churches 'the outward manifestations of piety are fused with a pride in family and a delight in the trappings of chivalry'.

Jeremy Catto approaches this subject from a different direction in his study of the devotional and literary books of the Bohuns during the fourteenth century. Drawing on the recent work by Lynda Dennison on the style and dating of the manuscripts, he is able to use them to enter into the interior world of piety of the high nobility. The starting point is the three great psalters commissioned by the invalid, Humphrey, the sixth Bohun earl. Heraldry is evident from the outset in the initials and marginal decorations, revealing his kinship in traditional fashion. In the two later campaigns of decoration in the Egerton psalter further shields appear. Some of these are reminders of the Bohun past. Others act as an update in terms of friendship and kinship. These, Catto points out, constitute reminders of the obligation to remember these people in prayer. More striking are the figures which appear in the later decorations, including three kings, a Bohun lady and a richly attired kneeling man. These are undoubtedly the heiress Eleanor and her husband, Thomas duke of Gloucester: 'Either or both of them, if they followed the liturgical offices in their chapel in the pages of the Egerton psalter, must have been confirmed by these images in a deeply hereditary and familial sense of public duty and destiny.' Another set of images, in the chief initials of the Office of the Dead, has been shown by Dennison to refer to the death of Richard FitzAlan earl of Arundel (d. 1376), a notorious usurer. Two further scenes show his soul being saved by the Miracles of the Virgin. The readers were being reminded, no doubt, to pray for the soul of a sinner within their kin. The Bohun evidence allows Catto to penetrate more particularly into the religious stance of the two heiresses, Eleanor and Mary. The former seems, from her will, to be a person much aware of her social standing. Mary, on the other hand, is clearly evidenced as a believer of some intensity. Eleanor, Mary and their mother Joan, who may have owned a copy of the Simeon manuscript, constitute a 'trinity of ladies' who together with the two earls have bequeathed to us 'a notable record of their personal devotions'.

A book owner of a different hue is discussed by Rowena Archer. This is Sir Edmund Rede of Boarstall in Buckinghamshire (d. 1489). His will contains twenty-four named books, whose contents stretch across a broad spectrum

from the Bible and devotional works, through books of a practical nature, to chronicles and romances, in addition to ‘all my books of English law’ and others unnamed. There were cartularies, terriers, books of forests and others, including a register containing all his indentures, ‘kept in my closet above le Tresaunce next to the hall’. His surviving cartulary contains the deeds relating to his landholdings in the Thames Valley. There was nothing at all unusual about copying one’s muniments into a cartulary. The Boarstall Cartulary, however, ‘remains in a class by itself, unsurpassed in elegance, decoration and refinement’. At the end of the first folio relating to each manor there is a coloured shield showing the means by which the lands were acquired and, through impalings and quarterings, the marriages which brought the particular complexion of properties together. The most lavishly decorated is the section relating to Boarstall itself. The cartulary also contains an extraordinary map of Boarstall with all the ingredients – including the gatehouse and main residence – that one might expect, together with a kneeling man handing a boar’s head on a sword to a king. This refers to the legend that the progenitor of the FitzNigels was presented with the land called Deerhide for his bravery in slaying a huge boar. Archer speculates that the legend was nurtured or even invented by Sir Edmund himself. His few other surviving books reinforce the image of Sir Edmund as a man much concerned with status and lineage. One of them includes the record of his knighting by Edward IV in the Tower of London on Ascension Day 1465. Edmund, however, appears, as far as military service is concerned, to have been ‘a knight only in name’. His will shows that he certainly possessed armour but this was ‘probably in pristine condition never having been worn or wielded in anger’. Edmund comes across as a civilian in his interests and lifestyle, and perhaps a rather bookish sort of man. He certainly had his connections, for he was a member of the royal household and held many offices and commissions in the counties of the Thames Valley. What Archer shows here, above all, is the deep permeation of chivalric values even among the least warlike of medieval landowners.

Just as chivalry, however, is broader than warfare, so warfare – paradoxically perhaps – is broader than chivalry. In 1965 Maurice published his earlier book, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages*. This, too, was a tour de force. Based on his doctoral thesis, it is a book in four parts. The first deals in masterly fashion with the legal basis of the law of arms and its administration, that is to say with military courts. The second deals with the legal theory of the just war and its practical ramifications. The third dealt with what he called the ‘incidents’ of just war, that is to say the rules and customs governing the division of booty and the law of ransom. The fourth, called ‘Interludes in War and Peace’, deals with immunity from war, letters of *remarque* (authorising reprisals) and defiance. Maurice signalled at the outset of his career that his interests encompassed all aspects of warfare and soldiering. In this book he revealed those qualities which have served him so well: a deep knowledge and appreciation of his sources, the capacity to be undaunted by difficult questions, the ability to deal at one and the same time with both the theory (*recte* justification) and the reality of war, and

his sympathy for the individuals who were participants and/or the victims of war. Our contributors in the second part of this tribute highlight these concerns.

We begin with military strategy. Christopher Allmand contributes a study of the *Strategemata* of Sextus Julius Frontinus, a late first-century writer whose work is often found in medieval manuscripts alongside the better-known *De Re Militari* of the late Roman Vegetius. Whereas the latter work is a treatise, the *Strategemata* is essentially a set of *exempla*, produced to complement the principles of warfare to be found in a previous work. Medieval writers and readers knew nothing of the contents of this earlier work, except what was transmitted through Vegetius. Copies of Frontinus, however, proliferated in the fourteenth century, and even more in the fifteenth, and it was translated into five vernacular languages. What its medieval recipients valued in the *Strategemata* were strategies and tactics on the one hand, and the need for military discipline on the other. They appreciated the ambush, the surprise attack, the ruse and the deception. A captain should know his enemy's intentions, by espionage for example, and he should choose the time and place of battle. He should conceal his own plans and avoid traps. Foresight was much valued. There is a great deal here of what we would perhaps call psychological warfare: not only the playing on fear and anxiety, but also on the over-confidence of an enemy, and the curbing of over-enthusiasm amongst one's own troops. The concentration on these qualities by medieval owners can sometimes be seen in marginalia, in excerpts found in collections, and in illustrations to some of the texts. Art historians have shown us in recent years how to read illustrations whose purpose was to enhance the written word and to create emphasis. They may highlight the setting up of an ambush for example, or the creation of panic among the enemy. For medieval readers as a whole, Frontinus and Vegetius had relevance well beyond their own day. This was, above all, because they were held to be authorities on the science of war.

Michael Prestwich turns to the provisioning of castles, a surprisingly neglected subject given that it was a vital matter in the ability to wage war. Much depended on the site and local resources on the one hand and the specific use to which a castle was being put on the other. Provisioning could create problems even in peacetime, or in times of truce. There is evidence to suggest the existence of standard expectations of need based on anticipated levels of consumption by men and horses. Prestwich examines the presence in castles of 'dead stores', maintained to support the garrisons in time of need, and shows that the system could work extremely well. Nonetheless blockades could also work very well, forcing drastic action such as the eating of horses. Inexplicably this appears to have been a taboo in England that was not found elsewhere. Castle kitchens tended to serve up a rather monotonous diet with relatively little of the variety of meat, birds and fish which often characterised upper-class diet. What was lacking in quality was made up in quantity. In normal conditions there was plenty to eat, and certainly enough to drink. Prestwich concludes that the 'tedium of long days spent in a castle was surely made more tolerable for members of the garrison by their being drunk for most of the time'.

Michael Jones turns to soldiering itself, examining what has hitherto been regarded as a dark period in the career of Bertrand du Guesclin, Constable of France, a darkness due largely to a long omission in the *chanson* on his life by the Picard trouvère, Cuvelier. He assesses the Constable's role in the campaign in Périgord which took place in the early part of 1376, that is to say during the period of general truce agreed at Bruges in 1375. We learn much about the widespread skirmishes and minor operations and of local attitudes and behaviour during this period of 'lull' in the fighting. Neither the general truce itself nor the local agreements (*patis*) with individual captains seem to have been much respected and considerable suffering endured in this area. Receiving details of this from the town of Périgueux, Charles V sent the Constable with a considerable force. A major insight into attitudes of commanders to contemporary legalities is the undertaking by Du Guesclin to personally inform John of Gaunt that his arrival in Périgord with a large force was prompted by the breaking of the truce and was not therefore its cause; his motive seems to have been to cover himself against later reproach. The Constable's tactics in the campaign were those for which he is famous, notably his sheer speed as a commander which discomfited his enemies, his small-scale sorties and sieges, and his 'morale boosting and iconic presence'. The evidence assembled by Michael Jones 'illuminates, precisely and with vivid detail' how this formidable soldier operated in the field.

A pioneering study by Anne Curry draws our attention to soldiers' wives during the Hundred Years War. We are witness to women's actions and on occasion even their voices, raised either on their own behalf or sometimes in complaint about male indifference. We hear also of characters like the Hainaulter, Margot, who was 'the best tennis player anyone had ever seen'; few men could beat her. Over and above such observations, Curry asks some particularly pertinent questions about these wives in general. Although soldiers engaged in the 'chevauchée-style campaigns' of the fourteenth century or Henry V's initial conquests are unlikely to have been accompanied by their wives, once the English were established in France many brought them over. The same was true of the lieutenant-generals in Normandy after the conquest whose banquets captains' wives also attended. For many the occupation ended in temporary hardship. In an example reminiscent of a type of modern news-reel with which we are all familiar, a chronicler describes the pitiful scenes of the women expelled from Bayeux retreating with children on their backs and in their arms as they made their way to Cherbourg. War widows could experience hardship, too, as they became involved in disputes or found themselves having to discharge obligations. Of especial significance were mixed marriages, which Curry analyses principally through the registers of the Tabellionage of Rouen. In the wake of defeat, marriages that had run their course could create all the problems that people experience in our own society: litigation, aggravation and sheer bloody-mindedness. In the case of Alice Trubert of Rouen and Giles Starkey, herald of the earl of Norfolk, 'their marriage had proved no more a recipe for peace than that between the nations of England and France which Henry V and Charles VI had concluded at Troyes'.

Maurice Keen has recently emphasised the role of military service in the evolution of the gentry, especially in the fourteenth century. Andrew Ayton takes up this theme in his study of armies and military communities in fourteenth-century England. Military service, he argues, 'stood out by comparison with other forms of public duty the gentry might be called on to perform'. For him the late medieval English army had two defining characteristics. The first is that it was rooted in the 'military community', or rather in multiple and overlapping 'military communities'. The military and political elites in society were essentially composed of the same men. Hence existing social relationships were carried over into the army. These features created the dynamics of both recruitment and military service. The combined effect of the underlying social relationships affecting recruitment and of serving together on particular campaigns forged a collective martial identity which had both 'local and supra-local dimensions'. Ayton argues, however, that the patterns of recruitment, through retinues in particular, produced a complex organism that was 'not yet an army'. For this to happen an operational structure had to be superimposed. We see this operational structure clearly for the first time with Richard II's ordinances for the host he led to Scotland in 1385, although there are echoes in the sources of such a scheme in 1346. It is this operational structure which constitutes the second characteristic of the later medieval army. The fact that the 'army network' was based on social connections helped to compensate for the lack of the stable structures of a standing army. While a great deal depended on the captains, the extent to which there was an underlying stability of structure below them has probably been underestimated by historians looking largely from the top down. Ayton therefore seeks to redress this by identifying 'comradeship groups that acted as a cohesive agency within retinues and often between them'. At the same time, however, the military captains, linked by shared status values and personal connections, provided the 'hubs' around which the army functioned. Their relationship was reinforced by the ordinances. If the bonds between the captains were strong, the army would hold together; if they were weak or non-existent the chances of an effective military outcome would be greatly reduced.

Simon Payling takes us forward in time, examining military and administrative service amongst the gentry during the reign of Henry VI by looking at the careers of twenty-six men who fought extensively in France and were elected at least once to parliament. They differed in this service pattern from most MPs and from most of the gentry who either did not serve in France or participated in a single campaign. What motivated this minority of gentry to fight, apart from personal inclination, was sometimes family tradition, sometimes disadvantaged circumstances, and sometimes the need for, and consequences of, lordship as they followed the martially orientated higher lords. Although in material terms some did startlingly well out of war, the losers seem to have outweighed the gainers, either through arrears of wages, ransoms and other costs directly incurred, or through the effects of their absence from their estates and from local networks of support. Payling shows clearly how the combination of these factors gradually produced a disincentive from service in France. He also

throws considerable light on the relationship between military service abroad and local administration in this period. Most of his sample who survived beyond 1450 were active in the era of troubled politics that followed, either as members of lords' affinities or as members of the royal household. His findings give no support to the view that the failure to wage a successful war in France alienated the militarily inclined gentry from the house of Lancaster. As far as administrative tasks are concerned few seem to have thought them incompatible with military service, ten of the twenty-six serving as sheriffs and nineteen as JPs. Although they sat from time to time in parliament, however, there was never a significant presence of militarily active gentry there. Payling concludes, therefore, by reaffirming Keen's conclusion that the bifurcation between the soldier gentry and the stay-at-home gentry in this period 'was a powerful reason for the loss of Lancastrian France'.

Another of Maurice's concerns has been medieval treason. In 1962 the Royal Historical Society published Maurice Keen's essay 'Treason Trials under the Law of Arms' for which he had been awarded the Society's prestigious Alexander Prize. This famous essay stimulated further work not only on the Court of Chivalry, most notably by Maurice himself, but also on medieval treason in general. Maurice had shown that two series of treason trials whose legality had been doubted by historians, namely those of the reign of Edward II and those held before Edward IV's constables, as well as that of William Wallace in 1305 and several trials during the reign of Henry IV, were in fact held under the law of arms. Matters of arms, including accusations of treason committed during periods of war, were not triable by common law. The law of arms was international law, based on the concept of honour, and founded in the canon and civil laws. In England, at least from the time of Edward III, it came within the jurisdiction of the Court of Chivalry over which the Constable presided; this was recognised by the state in 13 Richard II. However, courts assembled in armies on campaign had the power to try the same range of cases as the Court of Chivalry. Moreover, such courts and such cases seem to have preceded the formation of the Court of Chivalry. Maurice highlighted the fact that degradation or dishonour was a regular component of the military penalty for treason. The traitor would be stripped of his knighthood before execution. In some cases it was not only the man who was dishonoured but also his coat of arms by having it displayed in reverse.

In the present volume Matthew Strickland takes up the issue of degradation directly from Maurice's essay and concentrates on the reign of Edward II when, he shows, new rituals of shame, including the disgracing of the arms themselves, were devised. Two executions were particularly significant: those of Andrew Harclay in 1323 and Hugh Despenser the Elder in 1326. In the former case Harclay was stripped of his knighthood and of his comital rank. The cutting off of the spurs of a disgraced knight is evidenced in the 1170s and is doubtless older still. Disinvestiture of office has an even longer history. The removal of the knightly belt, that is the loss of arms-bearing status, goes back as far as the ninth century. Harclay's trial, however, appears to have been the first in which

the degradation from rank, in this case that of earl, was pronounced judicially prior to execution. The public unkinging of Edward I's client, John Balliol of Scotland, was in some respects a precedent and a step on the way. The fusion of degradation from office and execution for treason stems, however, from the case of Harclay and, presumably, from the king's anger at the nature of his treason in coming to terms with the Scots. The judgment of the court in the Despenser case was that Hugh be hanged in a coat quartered with his arms and that these be condemned forever. Soon after, his son was to suffer the same penalty and of course the same fate. He was preceded to the gallows by one of his knights carrying a spear on which the arms of the Despensers were borne reversed. The explanation for this development lies in the actions of the elder Despenser in 1322 when he had the followers of Earl Thomas of Lancaster tried and executed in the special livery which they had worn in rebellion. In doing this he had dishonoured the order of chivalry and was dealt with by this very specific punishment of degradation of arms; in this way it was introduced into the law of arms and into history.

Two further studies take us before and after this time. My own contribution deals with a trial of three knights for treason in 1225 which has not been taken sufficiently seriously by historians. In the event the three were acquitted but the accuser, also a knight, was executed. An accusation of treason was a matter of the utmost gravity, and the trial was a full and momentous one. The case reveals in some detail how treason trials were conducted at this date. Much of what happened in court was already a matter of legal procedure, giving the litigants and their counsel relatively little room for manoeuvre. However, in the specifics of the allegation and in the precise means by which these were countered, we find ourselves being taken directly into the realms of contemporary political culture, its values and expectations. Both sides appealed to the court as an audience, the one seeking a sympathetic response, the other trying to inculcate a sense of revulsion. Much revolved around chivalric knighthood and its associations, upon honour and status, upon reputation versus notoriety, and upon respect and expected conduct. The trial itself and the seriousness with which it was undertaken are symptomatic of the continuing volatility of English politics and society through the minority of King Henry III.

Juliet Barker takes us forward again to the fifteenth century. In an evocative essay she shows how and why fear of treason haunted the Lancastrian administration in Normandy. The plain fact was that no one could be trusted, not even those holding important offices or churchmen, who played a significant part in many plots. In large measure this reflected the nature of the Lancastrian occupation, with its veneer of Englishness. There were many 'non-English personnel' among officials and soldiers. Many factors in addition to sheer inclination could give rise to treachery. Norman families were often divided; despite their differing allegiances family members often remained in contact, creating security risks. Soldiers came under various pressures to change sides: inability to pay ransom and the prospect of imprisonment for example. There were so many opportunities for treachery that every town and every castle

needed to be constantly on the alert. The basic system of security was 'guet et garde' which depended on citizens doing their shift in securing gates and walls. As Barker says, 'no matter how strong the walls, even how well supplied the garrison, security ultimately depended upon the disposition of those within'. In 1449–50 three times as many towns and castles were taken by treason as by assault. Punishment for failure to reveal plots could be severe and captains who surrendered when they had the capacity to resist put themselves in danger of accusations of treason, especially if money had changed hands. By the end of the occupation, when towns and castles were falling on a regular basis, surrenders were ceasing to be investigated: 'It was symptomatic of all that had gone wrong in Lancastrian Normandy that, at the end, no one knew or cared.'

Gerald Harriss returns us to Lancastrian England, to Richard duke of York and the royal household. He subjects to a detailed analysis the campaign for the resumption of crown lands and the revised allocations made for the running of the royal household in and around the protectorates of the duke of York. As he points out at the outset, the household was not only 'the operational centre of royal patronage and power' but also the expression of 'the honour and estate of the king'. Criticism of its functioning therefore risked 'affronting the king's dignity' and could itself be considered as treason. Equally, courtiers who reduced the wealth of the crown for their own profit could be considered as traitors. When a reduced allocation was made in 1454 it was inevitable that proposals would be made for curtailing the household's size. Given that York's role was to maintain the dignity of the crown and that he required a consensus among the nobility, he could hardly use the occasion to purge the household of his enemies. Seniority and experience were the most important principles used and the reform proceeded along traditional lines, producing a smaller and more elderly household. The most significant change envisaged, however, was the reduction in the numbers of 'esquires of the hall and chambers', the royal affinity in the shires, which had grown exponentially during the 1440s. What York was aiming at was 'the reduction of the royal household to the status of a domestic establishment for the enfeebled king'. In the end his attempt to reform the household was less enduring than he intended, as his power base – his alliance with parliamentary lords and his support from the Commons – was insufficient in the face of the determined opposition of the queen.

The royal household, or court, is the setting for the final essay in the volume. Malcolm Vale takes us to West Africa to the kingdom of the Asante. Here, in the nineteenth century at least, the royal court bore some striking resemblances to those of medieval European kings, based as it was upon the household and a panoply of designated household officers. When Prempeh I succeeded as a minor in 1884 he sought to assert his authority and recreate the hegemony of the Asante. This brought him into conflict with the British. The military campaign of 1896 resulted in the partial destruction of the palaces of Prempeh I in Kumase. Among the war trophies were two large bronze ewers or lavers which, extraordinarily, had belonged to the court of Richard II of England. They were, in origin, quite utilitarian objects, used for storage and for the washing

of hands in the English royal household. Having speculated on their journey from fourteenth-century England to West Africa, through trade or diplomacy, and perhaps through the hands of the Portuguese, Vale turns to the use of and meaning attached to such artefacts in the Asante context. Five such items survive, in fact, in British collections; at least two of these had stood under the fetish tree at the Kumase court. In the nineteenth century it was noted that sacred fire-pots were placed beneath trees such as this and filled with substances that were used for medicinal and prophylactic purposes. Twentieth-century study emphasised more the value placed by the Asante upon metalwork and the importance of ceremony within their culture. The ewers might well have been 'fulfilling the functions of the *kuduo* [ceremonial basin and a sacred vessel] in Asante court life'. Vale's study points to an intriguing cultural transfer and shows how the same objects can be used in different ways and with entirely different symbolic content across time and space. It is also a lesson in the significance of the entirely contingent in human history.

In the presentation of these essays we have tried to reflect the range of Maurice Keen's interests and his unique contribution to historical studies. Naturally, we have failed to cover every dimension to his work. We lack a discussion of Robin Hood and the other outlaws of fact and legend, for example, to whose understanding Maurice devoted one of his famous books. And no *festschrift* can do justice to those masterly surveys which Maurice produced with such consummate skill. Nevertheless, we hope that we have at least captured something of the spirit of this unique gentleman and scholar and highlighted those specific qualities which ensure that his work will long endure.

Peter Coss

PART I
Nobility and Chivalry

Aspects of Nobility and Mobility in Anglo-Saxon Society

James Campbell

Maybe many of the principal changes in English society until the eighteenth century came before the Conquest. This has been most boldly and interestingly argued by W. G. Runciman. For him a key element is rates of 'social mobility' which 'accelerated steadily' between the eighth century and the eleventh. He maintains that

it seems overwhelmingly plausible to suppose that in each generation in the three centuries preceding the Conquest the chance of a male child chosen at random either rising or falling significantly in the course of his adult life in economic and/or social and/or political position was higher than his father's had been, however modest it might still be.¹

The interrelated factors he considers are economic development leading to increasing social differentiation and distancing; a related and notable increase in the power and capacity of government; and Christianisation. Inevitably, there is little difficulty in hinting at possible flaws or gaps in so commandingly arresting an argument. In particular its force may be tempered by consideration of the unavoidable risk in assuming that the increasing abundance of sources as the centuries go by reflects an increasingly complex society with more and more openings for mobility. Some warning against such implied simplification of the barely documented, earlier Anglo-Saxon past is given by the survival of better sources from Ireland. For example, it is tempting to associate late Anglo-Saxon texts relating to the possibility of social promotion with the opportunities offered by developing regimes of government and economic organisation.² But much the same kind of promotion is envisaged in fuller Irish sources several centuries earlier.³ There is a risk of underestimating the complexity and sophistication of the organisation of Germanic or Celtic peoples in the early 'Dark Ages'.

Attention to some of the problems so well indicated by Runciman can

¹ W. G. Runciman, 'Accelerating Social Mobility: the Case of Anglo-Saxon England', *Past and Present* 104 (1984), 3–30, esp. 26 cf. 4.

² *Ibid.*, 16 and n. 52.

³ G. Mac Niocaill, *Ireland before the Vikings* (Dublin, 1972), pp. 66–7.

begin with the early laws. Major apparent indications of social organisation are these. First, closeness between the highest and lowest of the free in wergeld terms, a three to one ratio in Kent; no more than six to one in Wessex. Second, complication: in Wessex a middling class with a wergeld of 600 and a 'half Saxon rate' provision for Britons; in Kent four classes of free widows and three classes of half-free *laets* and three of slaves.⁴ Third, the apparently very high values of wergelds and penalties. Not least is consideration three. Stenton implies that the Kentish freeman was a kind of country gentleman, or squire, 'with his wergeld of 100 golden shillings, his slaves and free loaf-eaters, his large arable tenement'. Stenton maintained that such a man 'stood apart from all other English peasants of whom anything definite is known'.⁵ It is not clear that there was necessarily so marked a gap between society in Kent and in other kingdoms. If, as experts agree, the shilling of the early laws is a gold tremis, or its equivalent in goods, then it is possible to imagine the freemen of the early laws as a powerful minority, a long way from being the rank and file of society whether in Kent or in Wessex.

An immediate difficulty is this. Could much in the laws be archaic, with only a tenuous connection with contemporary reality? Could they largely reflect the past of a society which can be seen as Thompson saw it, one which in Caesar's time was (at a certain level) egalitarian, but which a developing retinue system and the plunder of the empire made much less so?⁶ A further reason for possibly doubting the early laws as good evidence for social organisation is that it has been argued that the laws may be no more than loosely connected with reality and largely there to ensure that 'by making written laws in the image of Moses and the Roman Emperors, barbarian kings gradually consolidated their apparently new status as peacetime rulers of their people'.⁷

There could well be something in this view; but how much is unclear. But even if we allow for the possibility that the laws may sometimes be more indicative of aspiration than reality there are powerful qualities in them which are not easy to disregard. One, particularly in the laws of Wihtried and Ine, is expression of royal authority closely deployed. It would be easy to regard this element as exaggerated, were it not for the great dykes of the early or middle Anglo-Saxon period. It is not easy to conceive how these could have been built except under such strong authority. Any view of nobility and mobility in this period has to allow for such royal authority. And it must be allowed for in considering the nature and strength of Christianisation.

Another dominating feature of the laws is that they display a value-centred

⁴ F. L. Attenborough, ed., *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 15, 7 (clauses 75, 16, 26).

⁵ F. M. Stenton, 'The Thriving of the Anglo-Saxon Ceorl', *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England, being the Collected Papers of Frank Merry Stenton*, ed. D. M. Stenton (Oxford, 1970), p. 384.

⁶ E. A. Thompson, *The Early Germans* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 54–71.

⁷ P. Wormald, *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West. Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London, 1999), pp. 1–43, esp. p. 41.

world, one might almost say a very commercial one, where the trade was one of war and law. Not only did every man have his price, every finger and toe, indeed every toe-nail had its price.⁸ A man could sell his children if they were under the age of eight.⁹ War was not just about vengeance, land and glory, but about acquiring a saleable export commodity: slaves.¹⁰ The profit-consciousness of an abbot could be noteworthy. Observe what Æthelwulf has to say about abbot Eorpwine: 'wealth grew to a marvellous extent, when put out for reliable returns'.¹¹ In considering such a statement one may wonder how far there might have been forms of tenure in early Northumbria resembling those in Ireland which involved relatively short-term contracts such as could have involved considered investment in land and tenant.¹²

The impression of relative equality among the free given by the early laws must be misleading and can justify in this (as, perhaps in other) regard at least some suspicion of archaism. There is no doubt that there were those in seventh- and eighth-century England whose wealth far exceeded six times, let alone three times, that of the lowest level of the free. The plainest evidence for this is the handful of rich burials from about the mid-sixth to the mid-seventh century discovered so far. The burials at Sutton Hoo are the dominant example, the discovery at Prittlewell the most recent. The appearance of such burials can be argued to have association with two related movements, one the creation of kingdoms, the other the creation, or search for recognition by, a rising aristocracy.¹³ These interesting, even plausible, views are nevertheless only theories. It is true that some wide territorial units of authority were constructed in the seventh century, but it is certainly possible that such units, not necessarily with the same boundaries, had existed earlier.¹⁴ The undoubted existence of rich noblemen in areas where the deposition of grave goods was unlikely to have been customary or where there have been no discoveries of seriously rich graves, is a warning that such graves may tell us much more about changes in burial customs than about social or political movements.

That a nobleman could be exceedingly rich in an area which has produced no very grand graves is demonstrated by Bede's account of the part played by Benedict Biscop in the foundation and endorsement of Monkwearmouth-

⁸ Attenborough, *Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, p. 15, clause 72 of Æthelberht's laws.

⁹ J. T. McNeill and H. M. Gamer, trans., *Medieval Handbooks of Penance* (New York, 1938), p. 211.

¹⁰ D. A. E. Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Medieval England from the Reign of Alfred until the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 1995), p. 98.

¹¹ A. Campbell, ed., *Æthelwulf De Abbatibus* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 32–3, 408–9: 'modum mirum dispersae ad premia certa divitae crescunt'.

¹² D. Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400–1200* (London and New York, 1995), p. 142.

¹³ H. Hamerow, 'The Earliest Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms', *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, I, ed. P. Fouracre (Cambridge, 2005), p. 276; M. Carver, *Sutton Hoo, Burial Ground of Kings* (London, 1998), p. 105.

¹⁴ A. Thacker, 'England in the Seventh Century', *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, I, pp. 468–9.

Jarrow, nearly as rich, and as richly aristocratic, an establishment as could be found. Biscop was of high birth, and so too were the first two abbots whom he associated in his regime: Eosterwine, who was his cousin, and Ceolfrith.¹⁵ It is curious that in the genealogical king-list which forms virtually the only evidence for there once having been a kingdom of Lindsey and dates, as we have it, from near the end of the eighth century, the last name but four is Beda, who is indicated as the father of the last apparent king but three, Biscop 'Beding'.¹⁶ It is hardly convincing to guess that it was intended to represent the famous Bede and Biscop as having been kings of Lindsey: rather does it suggest that these were names used in a particularly grand family and that this may tell us of the very high status of the Biscop and Bede so prominent at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow.

There can hardly have been a plain distinction between royalty and aristocracy, above all because royal successions were so open. If a very distant cousin of the previous king could succeed him it must have been that royal blood, and/or the claim thereto, were extensively diffused among the aristocracy. A good example is Cenred's succession to Osred, king of Northumbria, in 716. There must have been a considerable class which was both noble and in some sense royal. When Bede writes of *nobiles ac regii viri* in early seventh-century Northumbria it is probably better to think of the *ac* as conjunctive rather than disjunctive.¹⁷ This noble/royal class was highly competitive in more ways than one. Such competition is particularly well illustrated in Bede's account of events following the battle on the Trent in 679 where the Mercians defeated the Northumbrians.¹⁸ Among the Mercian captives was a Northumbrian nobleman called Imma. He pretended to be a peasant because, it is made clear, as a nobleman he would have been put to death. His captor, although he did not believe him, offered to spare him if he came clean. He did: and so he was sold to a Frisian merchant who took him to London for export as a slave. This account of Bede's is very interesting indeed. First, we find that Imma was betrayed by his speech. You could already tell a toff by his tongue. Second, captured nobles, like captured kings, were put to death. A comparable case to that of Imma is that of the abbot Foillan. When Penda captured him and his monks his intention was to kill the abbot and enslave the monks.¹⁹ A fundamental thing about the nobility in the early Anglo-Saxon period is that theirs was a class engaged in mutual extermination (a counterpart to their inclination to genocide). It seems to have been a principle to seek to extirpate a rival royal line or a defeated dynasty. Witness how far Edwin's family

¹⁵ Bede, *Lives of the Abbots*, in *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford, 1896), i. 364, 371–2; *Anonymous Lives of the Abbots*, in *ibid.*, pp. 388, 392, 401.

¹⁶ D. N. Dumville, 'The Anglian Collection of Royal Genealogies and Regnal Lists', *Anglo-Saxon England* 5 (1976), 23–50, esp. 28–37.

¹⁷ B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, eds, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 188–9.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 400–1.

¹⁹ *Additamentum Niviale de Fuilano*, B. Krusch, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Merovingiarum IV* (Hanover and Leipzig, 1902), p. 449.

had to flee to escape victorious Oswald, or consider Caedwalla's treatment of the relations of the kings of Wight (though Caedwalla, in a Christian spirit, allowed the princes to be baptised before he had them killed).²⁰ Female captives of high status unlike their brothers were allowed to live, but were enslaved. A letter survives from Berhtwald, archbishop of Canterbury 692–731, seeking to redeem a Kentish lady in captivity in Wessex.²¹ The career of Balthildis, an English slave, who became regent of Neustria 657–65, indicates that all hope need not have been lost for such a high status and exported slave.

Bede has a particularly interesting account of the aftermath of the battle of 679. He says that because the king of Northumbria's brother had been killed there was good reason for further war between the kings and peoples concerned. Archbishop Theodore quenched this 'dangerous fire' by arranging an agreement that no further lives should be demanded in compensation for the death of the Northumbrian king's brother but only the accustomed payment of much money to the king demanding vengeance.²² Here it is as if we are seeing a development in the laws of war, a study which Maurice Keen has made so much his own. The payment of a wergeld to heal the impact of a death in battle is not so far from a ransom. We seem to be moving towards a system of ransoming such as may well have become conventional in mid-eleventh-century France, but which did not apply a century later in Wales. Gerald of Wales, comparing Flanders and Normandy with his native land, says that 'there soldiers are taken prisoners, here they are beheaded; there they are ransomed, here they are put to death'.²³ In the world of warlike convention with which Keen is concerned, legal authority by the fourteenth century emphasised that it was no longer acceptable that prisoners should be enslaved.²⁴ They all emphasised a contrast with Roman practice; but, as Imma's case shows, enslavement of captives was normal in Bede's day.

In discussing the relations between a captain and his company Keen points out the likely influence of 'feudal customs far older than the rules we are discussing'. Indeed, a long and hidden history must lie behind the rules and conventions with which he is concerned both in his work on the laws of war and in his equally important contribution to the study of chivalry. A glimpse of long continuity comes in a brief account of the early career of an Anglo-Saxon nobleman, the story in Guthlac's *Vita* of his secular years. Three aspects may be singled out. First, we are told that in his active youth as a predatory nobleman he would return a third of his booty to the owners.²⁵ Second, that he recruited

²⁰ Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 204–5; 282–3.

²¹ M. Tangl, ed., *S. Bonifatii et Lullii Epistolae*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Epistolae Selectae, I (Berlin, 1916), no. 7, pp. 2–3.

²² Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 400–1.

²³ J. F. Dimock, ed., *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 6 (Rolls Series, London, 1868), p. 220; M. Strickland, 'Slaughter, Slavery or Ransom: The Impact of the Conquest on Conduct in Warfare', *England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. C. Hicks (Stamford, 1992), pp. 41–60.

²⁴ M. H. Keen, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages* (London and Toronto, 1965), pp. 137, 156.

²⁵ B. Colgrave, ed., *Felix's Life of St Guthlac* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 80–1.

followers 'from various races and from all directions'.²⁶ Third, that in determining to enter religion he 'contemplated the wretched deaths and the shameful ends of the ancient kings of his race'.²⁷ This was, presumably, connected with his 'having been instructed in the noble learning of the ancients in his father's halls'.²⁸

The reference to a third of the booty recalls the prescription in the penitential attributed to Theodore that a third of stolen or plundered goods should be given to the church or the poor.²⁹ It also reminds us that rules for the disposal of booty have a long, mostly lost, history (cf. the case of Clovis and the Soissons 'vase') and that once details come to light thirds play an important part.³⁰ The account of Guthlac's *comitatus* is a reminder that in early England such a body could be widely recruited from lands other than that of its leader and that young nobles might seek service abroad.³¹ It indicates that the noble mobility, one might almost say internationality, characteristic of the age of chivalry had a very long past.³² The recitation of poetry in royal and noble halls was not simply a matter of entertainment, but of the exemplification of rules of conduct; and this was a long-lived role for narrative verse.³³ The conventions or rules of noble life and war had a very long and continuous life, much of which is lost to us. A curious little example is that of the 'king's shilling', the acceptance of which was regarded in England even in the twentieth century as a pledge to military service. Compare a capitulary of Charlemagne, laying down that no one should leave his *senior* after he had received from him *solidus unus*.³⁴

Raiding and robbing were intrinsic to early Anglo-Saxon culture. Bede's accounts of long-range royal expeditions are not the whole of the story.³⁵ There was private enterprise as well. Guthlac's biographer tells how his hero, on reaching adolescence, gathered followers and devastated the lands of his foes.³⁶ Comparable is Stephanus's story of the destruction of the monastery of Oundle by 'exiles of noble birth ravaging with an army because of some wrong done to them'.³⁷ These were not forces led by rulers, rather one might almost call them 'free companies'. Important in the recruitment of such forces were feud and exile; one generated the other. Thus exile appears again and again in such little

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 80–1.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 80–1.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 78–9.

²⁹ McNeill and Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, pp. 187, 190.

³⁰ Keen, *Laws of War*, p. 147.

³¹ Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 256–9; Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, I, p. 415.

³² M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, CT, and London, 1984), pp. 18–20.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3.

³⁴ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s. v. 'shilling' definition 5 (c), A. Boretius and V. Krause, eds, *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, I (Hanover, 1883), p. 172 (Capitulary of Aachen, 801x813).

³⁵ Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, II, chapters 2, 5, 12, 20; III, chapters 7, 9, 18; IV, chapter 26.

³⁶ Colgrave, *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, pp. 80–81.

³⁷ B. Colgrave, ed., *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 144–5.

as we know of the lives of the great in a violently unstable world where such men took the chances of profit or death.

The importance of noble exile and exiles may have been enhanced by a material factor. So far as archaeology tells, armour was very rare and swords were uncommon, the best, pattern-welded, ones more uncommon still. No wonder weapons were regarded as treasure and swords came to be insignia. The distribution of the best arms was limited in such a way as to give special significance to their owners. To put it crudely, a nobleman in exile could have been the then equivalent of a modern tank. If so, in a later period social organisation could have been changed by wider availability of good arms and, above all, by armour.³⁸ Serving by one's hauberk was a fairly common thing by the eleventh century and one determinant of status. If hauberks were a determinant in the eighth century it would have been in a different way. There were far fewer hauberks. Another and in possibly some ways connected contrast between the earlier and the later Anglo-Saxon periods is that by the tenth century, though noble violence and greed were not extinct, they were concentrated into the service of such conquerors as Edward and Æthelstan. Such cynicism has to be tempered by respect for an emotional world which is not ours. An adage which weighed as much in Anglo-Saxon times as it did in those from which it comes, and for which Maurice Keen has done so much to illuminate the nature of noble feelings in the struggle for power, is 'Get you good lordship'. This is echoed in the Anglo-Saxon poem 'The Wanderer'. The hero's lord is dead, lost. His follower hopes to find another and so wanders abroad, desolate. This poem tells us something almost lost to modern society: the association of lordship with powerful emotion comparable to that of love. One now meets it only, somewhat stranded, in religious imagery, and maybe in religious feeling. But emotion in regard to lordship was a major force in earlier societies, whether of the eighth or of the fourteenth century.

How did conversion and the progress of the church affect nobility and promotion to power? At the beginning, crucial information, that is to say on the nature of the pagan religion, in particular of the priests who ran it and the property which it might have owned, is almost entirely absent. Bede's account of the role of the high priest Coifi in the conversion of Northumbria is most suggestive. Coifi's status was plainly high, maybe second only to that of the king. What happened to this major element in society when Christianity took over? Was there an assimilation between pagan and Christian of the kind of which elements can be apprehended in Ireland? How far did the Christian church and its potentates inherit the property, status and indeed personnel of the pagan church or churches? Was there a Dissolution of the Temples maybe

³⁸ N. Brooks, 'Arms, Status and Warfare in Late-Saxon England', *Communities and Warfare 700-1400* (London, 2000), pp. 138-61.

to the advantage of kings? The extensive unanswerability of such questions does not diminish their weight.³⁹

Certainly high birth related to the new religion in that it could lead to correspondingly high ecclesiastical authority. The earliest plain example of this is that of Egberht, bishop and archbishop of York (?732–66). He was cousin to one Northumbrian king and brother to another. It is a question of how far, by contrast, virtue and learning might have been a key to ecclesiastical authority, counterbalancing relatively low social origin. An indication of how far *sapientia* might lead to promotion is given, in a later century, by the satirist Notker in his work on Charlemagne. He has a gripping account of two Irish scholars who turned up in Gaul.⁴⁰ They proclaimed: ‘If anyone wants wisdom, let him come to us ... for it is wisdom we have for sale.’ Such wisdom was indeed valued in material terms by men in power. See Asser’s account of how well he did in Alfred’s service.⁴¹ Compare what was said of Alcuin. ‘He came across the sea with one servant, and now he is the lord of twenty thousand human beings’⁴² – a somewhat sour observation maybe; it was, of course, made by a fellow clergyman. Another tale by Notker fits with something Asser tells us of Alfred. Notker says that one of these two Irish intellectual entrepreneurs, Clement, was appointed by Charlemagne to teach: and he taught people of high, middling and low rank. Charlemagne, coming back from a long campaign, examined these pupils.⁴³ Those lower in the social order did well, and he gave them praise and promises. Not so with those of high rank. Beside this we may note that Asser, in his account of Alfred’s palace school, says that it included not only nobles but also many *ignobiles*.⁴⁴ Set beside what Notker and Asser tell us about Thegan’s passionately critical account, in his life of Louis the Pious, of the ruler’s patronage of low-born bishops (a continuation of patronage, he says – so taking it back to Charlemagne’s time).⁴⁵ We may be glimpsing attempts in England and in Francia to deploy learning and the church to create new elites. As often, in particular in regard to England, the light by which we glimpse is no more than flickering. But one can imagine a transformation in ninth- and tenth-century England such that the independent power of the church and of ecclesiastics was diminished and the power of kings grew in an increasingly theocratic state such that most important advancement was in the hands of kings.⁴⁶

³⁹ J. Campbell, ‘Some Considerations on Religion in Early England’, *Collectanea Antiqua. Essays in Memory of Sonia Chadwick Hawkes*, ed. M. Henig and T. J. Smith (Oxford, 2007), pp. 67–73.

⁴⁰ G. H. Pertz, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores*, 2 (Berlin, 1829), p. 731.

⁴¹ W. H. Stevenson, ed., *Asser’s Life of King Alfred*, revised edn with an article by D. Whitelock (Oxford, 1959), pp. 67–8.

⁴² H. Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire* (Oxford, 1957), p. 86.

⁴³ Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae*, p. 731.

⁴⁴ Stevenson, *Asser’s Life of Alfred*, p. 58.

⁴⁵ R. Rau, ed., *Quellen zur Karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, I (Berlin, n.d.), pp. 228–30.

⁴⁶ J. Campbell, ‘Placing King Alfred’, *Alfred the Great. Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conferences*, ed. T. Reuter (Aldershot and Burlington, VT, 2003), p. 23; J. Campbell, *The Anglo-Saxon State* (London and New York, 2000), p. 150.

One may approach the nature and prospects of the nobility from another church-related position, that of the law and customs of marriage, or non-marriage. I have in mind in particular a phenomenon, the importance of which in Ireland has been brought out by Kenneth Nicholl: one of 'expansion from the top downwards', one such, as he puts it, that 'as the sons and families of the rulers multiplied, so their subjects and followers were squeezed out and withered away'.⁴⁷ His examples from the history of the Maguire dynasty in Fermanagh are these. The founder of the family came to power in 1282. By 1607 'his descendants ... must have been in possession of at least three-quarters of the total soil of Fermanagh'.⁴⁸ This reflects the rate at which such a powerful family could multiply. For example: 'Philip Maguire, lord of Fermanagh (died 1395) had twenty sons by eight mothers, and we know of at least fifty grandsons'.⁴⁹ Kenneth Nicholl's account is chiefly concerned with late medieval and early modern Ireland and owes much to the remarkable range and depth of Irish genealogical records. There is, however, no reason to doubt that similar circumstances could have prevailed earlier and elsewhere. William of Poitiers signals such similar circumstances in eleventh-century Brittany when he says: 'Indeed in those parts one warrior sired fifty, since each had, according to their barbarous custom ten or more wives'.⁵⁰ In such societies the extending dominance of a ruling family could be assisted by customs of inheritance which took no account of 'legitimacy' or 'illegitimacy' and could allow legal status to sons born of casual relationships and afterwards affiliated by the sworn declaration of their mothers.⁵¹ There was a comparable system in Wales, as represented in the 'Laws of Hywel'.⁵² We have no serious means of telling how far there were similar customs in early England because we have no English legal texts really corresponding in their nature and coverage to those from Ireland and Wales. If, in early England, there were systems of inheritance and affiliation resembling or partly resembling those we see in Ireland, the possible implications are great. For example, it would be possible to explain how an Anglo-Saxon minority might have bred themselves into demographic command, a possibility which carries a warning against any temptation to be too confident as to how far modern DNA analysis can relate to the genetic composition of the population in the distant past. Genetic balances in modern populations, even if assessed in the most careful manner possible, may bear no important relation to those in much earlier centuries – which may have been changed over many generations by the processes just sketched. It certainly has

⁴⁷ K. Nicholl, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1972), p. 10.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁵⁰ R. H. C. Davis and M. Chibnall, eds, *The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 74–5.

⁵¹ Nicholl, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland*, p. 77; cf. F. Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1988), p. 103 for concern to check claims to putative status.

⁵² T. M. Charles-Edwards, *The Welsh Laws* (n. p., 1989), p. 9.

to be admitted that extensive ignorance of inheritance and affiliation customs in early England is a major hindrance to understanding the nature of the nobility and some of the circumstances of power. We simply cannot tell how great a determinant in early England polygyny among the powerful may have been.

A most serious contribution to extending the range of possibilities, not least the possibility of long continuities in the relationships between Anglo-Saxon government and noblemen, has been made recently by Stephen Baxter. He suggests that much of the land held by earls and recorded in Domesday Book was not their outright property, but was held in association with their office.⁵³ Since Maitland's time the possible importance of what he called 'comital manors' has been recognised, but there has been a tendency to regard the significance of any link with office-holding as having faded by 1066. Baxter's emphasis on the possibility that this was not so not only enhances the range of power which may be attributed to Edward the Confessor, not only reminds us that even if the 'office attached' element of land held by earls had diminished by Edward's time, it could well have been very important under earlier kings, but also signals the possibility of there having been a hitherto hardly recognised relationship between earlier and later royal rule in Anglo-Saxon England. Dilemmas associated with early Anglo-Saxon land-tenure are well known and canvassed. Put in too small a nutshell they are these. The terms of Bede's *Letter to Egberht* suggest that nobles' seeking to secure perpetual tenure of a type associated with monastic endowment indicates an extent to which noble tenure of land from kings was precarious. It is commonly agreed that a question of freedom of disposition also arises. It could well be that there was permanent noble land held non-precariously but subject to customary rules for disposition within the family (a category of 'folk-land' maybe) and that tenure by book could have been valued partly because it gave freedom from such rules. Baxter's powerful reminder is that a system, though not necessarily an entirely unchanging one, may have been in effect throughout the Anglo-Saxon period such that there were three main categories of noble land tenure: land held in connection with office from the crown, particularly that of ealdorman/earl; land held according to customary rules of family tenure; and bookland. Although it would seem that bookland was free from the disadvantages of the other two types of holding, the security it afforded may have been reduced by its carrying greater liability to forfeiture than did 'family land'.⁵⁴ There may be an interesting comparison with Salian Germany here. Karl Leyser observed of royal grants of land by charter in Saxony that they established a degree of direct and stringent control related to their being legally distinct from lands held by family or other established custom. In particular they were much more liable to forfeiture. This, he believes, is why Henry IV's charters give considerable detail on how the land concerned

⁵³ S. Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia. Lordship and Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 138–51.

⁵⁴ For the importance of forfeiture see P. Wormald, *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West. Law as Text, Image and Experience* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 62, 306–8, 349–51.

came into royal hands.⁵⁵ Just the same appears in a number of Ethelred II's charters and it could have been for the same reason.⁵⁶

Consideration of the nature of earlish tenure requires consideration of the lands held by the earls' associates or dependents. Domesday records at least £1,500 in value of land held *de* or *sub* Harold or Godwin or by someone described as the man, or as commended to one of them.⁵⁷ (I assume that all or most of Godwin's lands had passed to Harold by 1066.) This figure and those which follow have to be very approximate because of the incompleteness of the Domesday data. The number of people recorded as having some kind of subordinate relationship to Godwin or Harold is of the order of 450. The largest dependent holdings indicated are of at least £30 annual valuation. The number involved valued at over £5 is over seventy. Many of the people concerned lost status with the fall of the house of Godwin. It is not easy, or indeed possible, to work out how many had risen with the house of Godwin. This is a reminder that a major force, sometimes a major dominant, in social mobility may well have been the way in which the successes and the failures of the great could affect the fortunes of their sometimes numerous dependants at various levels. Conquest is the extreme example. It is something of a limitation of his excellent article that Runciman hardly touches on the downward mobility exemplified, for example, by the enslavement of the defeated. The ups and downs of the struggles for power at court such as those which characterised parts of Æthelred II's reign, in particular in 1006, can hardly have lacked consequences lower down in society, maybe much lower down.⁵⁸ The same must have applied in earlier periods, when the possibility that the consequences of success or failure at the centre of authority were great, even traumatic, is matched by the impossibility of measuring them. When adverse tides of fortune drove a Ceolwulf from his throne to retreat at Lindisfarne or an Eanmund into monastic security, what happened to his dependants?⁵⁹ We are told that many chosen men followed Eanmund into retreat⁶⁰ and so their lives were changed by King Osred's tyranny. It is a reasonable supposition that Eanmund and some of his followers were married when they took shelter from their king. What happened to their wives and families? One should imagine a kind of Richter scale of displacement by violent political events, with the consequences of the Norman Conquest at the top of it, and other shocks, making or breaking not only noblemen, but also

⁵⁵ K. [J.] Leyser, *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe. The Gregorian Revolution and Beyond*, ed. T. Reuter (London, 1994), pp. 33–44.

⁵⁶ S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'The Unready' 978–1016. A Study in Their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 95–7.

⁵⁷ P. A. Clarke, *The English Nobility under Edward the Confessor* (Oxford, 1994), esp. pp. 169–91.

⁵⁸ A. Williams, *Æthelred the Unready* (London and New York, 2003), pp. 69–77.

⁵⁹ *New Oxford DNB*, s.v.; Campbell, *Æthelwulf De Abbatibus*, pp. 6–9.

⁶⁰ *Æthelwulf*, lines 72–3. The most likely meaning would seem to be that they followed their lord into his monastery (wherever that was) but Campbell could be right in translating *monasterio* as 'in a monastery' rather than 'in the monastery'.

their followers and their maybe numerous dependents, further down the scale, shocks which had been recurring over many centuries.

By the late Anglo-Saxon period, if not before, we have a considerable gentry/lesser nobility.⁶¹ Questions which immediately arise are how far and in what senses these people represent a nobility of service? How far the keys to social graduation or rise were administrative or military.⁶² A first question must relate to royal service. A king's thegn's position was linked to service and important is the mention of a place in the king's hall in the account of a thegn in a well-known treatise. Not for nothing was a high official called a staller. Certainly some and possibly many of the serjeanties recorded later date from before the Conquest and involved administrative service: one may mention in particular those involved in carrying the king's letters or treasure. The nature of the state and economy depended on the maintenance of a great network of transport service. At a higher level were such jobs as the shrievalties. Some were already, maybe had always been, farmed. The collection of gelds required numerous agents and we have some indication of their remuneration. The organisation of the king's hunting was a lesser thing, but no small one, and required agents established over much of the country. At the highest level the importance of service is indicated by the fact that of the twenty richest people in England in 1066, after the earls, twelve held or had held royal household office.

A wider dimension of possibility is offered by the thirteenth-century Norwegian treatise *The King's Mirror* (probably from the 1240s).⁶³ It is quite a way from Anglo-Saxon England in time and place, and may well be considerably formalised, but it is the only early medieval account we have of major aspects of government and it deserves consideration and inspires thought. The followers in the royal household are graded. Most eminent are the *hirdmen* (a term borrowed from England). They are always with the king, and are paid by him (like Alfred's *bellatores* and *ministri nobilissimi*). Most interestingly, the *Mirror* says that they should be chosen from all ranks, not only from the wealthy and distinguished classes. A lesser class of followers receive half pay, act as spies throughout the kingdom, and are sent to kill the king's enemies. There are other classes of housecarls, including some who are the sons of wealthy peasants but who can work with landed men. What we have here is institutionalised connection between court and country and a possible means, almost a deliberate means, of social mobility. It is reasonable to wonder how far elements of such a system, or such schemes, were to be found in Anglo-Saxon England.

⁶¹ In particular J. Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 163–86.

⁶² For what follows see J. Campbell, 'Some Agents and Agencies of the Late Anglo-Saxon State', *The Anglo-Saxon State* (London and New York, 2000), pp. 201–26.

⁶³ L. M. Larson, ed. and trans., *The King's Mirror* (New York, 1917); L. M. Larson, 'The Household of the Norwegian Kings in the Thirteenth Century', *American Historical Review* 13 (1907), 459–79; J. Campbell, 'Anglo-Saxon Courts', *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages. The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference*, ed. C. Cubitt (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 166–9.

The management of great estates, if principally, then by no means only, those of the earls, involved extensive staff, even if one which was largely part-time. The administration and exploitation of agricultural enterprises which could consist of scores of manors, scattered over hundreds of square miles, each at the end of a long muddy track and run by peasants for whom a principal object could be robbing their lord, can have been no easy task. Very important here must have been the village reeve.⁶⁴ The special status of the village reeve not only in the royal but also in the seigneurial scheme of things is a reminder of how much of a king-centred country England was. The use for royal administrative purposes, particularly for the Domesday survey, of the increasingly dense network of parish priests tells something of the same tale. It is not too difficult to indicate how numerous, how varying but significantly important and prosperous, were administrators and collectors in late Anglo-Saxon England. Some of these men must have climbed social ladders.

It is important that in the early eleventh century there appear a number of texts dealing with status and envisaging promotions in status.⁶⁵ One of these, a well-known tract, probably associated with archbishop Wulfstan, says that if a ceorl has *inter alia* five hides and a seat and special office in the king's hall then he is entitled to the rights of a thegn.⁶⁶ It envisages the possibility of such a thegn becoming an earl. It does not say on what basis and may well not mean an earl in the sense that Godwin was an earl, but rather a nobleman of the highest status. Another passage in one version of the text on status famously says that if a merchant three times crossed the sea he was entitled to the rights of a thegn. A related document says that if a ceorl prospers so that he has five hides of land, he is entitled to a thegn's wergeld, provided he also has a helmet, a coat of mail, and a gold-plated sword. It goes on to say that his son and grandson shall enjoy the same status provided they have enough land, otherwise they are just ceorls. The anticipation of possibly fluctuating family status is interesting. Rather importantly, a related concern with the definition of thegnly status can be glimpsed in Domesday Book where it is stated that in Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire a thegn with over six manors pays a relief of £8 to the king, one with six manors or fewer pays 3 marks to the sheriff.⁶⁷

The reference in one of these texts to the possibility of a merchant's promotion leads to consideration of the relations of towns and trade to social movement, a subject to which Robin Fleming has made an important contribution.⁶⁸ The

⁶⁴ Campbell, 'Some Agents and Agencies', pp. 207–8.

⁶⁵ D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents I, c. 500–1042* (2nd edn, London and New York, 1979), pp. 468–71.

⁶⁶ A. Williams, 'A Bell-House and a Burh-Geat. Lordly Residences in England before the Norman Conquest', *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, IV, ed. R. Harvey and C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 221–40.

⁶⁷ M. L. Faull and M. Stimson, eds, *Domesday Book Yorkshire*, part 1 (Chichester, 1986), fol. 298d; C. Parker and S. Wood, eds, *Domesday Book Nottinghamshire* (Chichester, 1977), fol. 280c.

⁶⁸ R. Fleming, 'Rural Elites and Urban Communities in Late Saxon England', *Past and Present* 14 (1993), 3–37.

post-Conquest role of townsmen indicates something of how far they were capable of social progress. The leading (though not very important) English Domesday tenant-in-chief was Colswine 'of Lincoln' who had made his money after 1066. The runner-up was Thurkill 'of Warwick'. Repeatedly Englishmen with urban sobriquets appear with administrative roles associated with the crown or with great nobles: Edward 'of Salisbury', Ælfwine 'of Thetford', Ælfwig 'of Colchester', Ordwig 'of Bedford'.⁶⁹ The very successful Ælfsige 'of Faringdon' might be included depending on one's estimation of the urban status, if any, of that place.⁷⁰ The most interesting of the urban connections was that of the Harding family with strong links to Bristol, which provided Queen Edith's steward, and at the beginning of Henry II's reign the lord of Berkeley. The most striking instance of a probable member of an urban family joining the favoured few at the top is that of Stigand, if, as is quite likely, though not demonstrable, he came from Norwich.⁷¹ In any case his social origins are unlikely to have been of the highest and his distinguished career as pluralist and land accumulator made him probably the third richest subject in England, and possibly the second richest. Here too we may find a link between urban origin and administrative capacity.

A major means to social progress may have been military service. Consider what the *Chronicle* says about the pay of Harthacnut's and Cnut's standing fleet: 8 marks per rowlock. If we assume that rowlock equals crew member, that the mark approximates to the later 13s 4d and that the pay was for a year, we end up with something of the order of £5 annually, a figure which fits with what the *Chronicle* says about the number of ships and the total cost.⁷² Put these figures beside the contemporary rule of thumb that a hide was worth about £1 a year. This suggests that a *lithsman* in royal service may have received about as much as a landowner might expect to make from what may be termed an 'ordinary village' though one cannot be quite sure that the calculation did not provide for more than one man to the rowlock. In any case the Berkshire Domesday customs envisage high pay for a *miles*: 4 shillings for just two months.⁷³ There were areas in eleventh-century Europe in which the man who knew how to fight and could afford a hauberk was on to a good thing with a possibility of social promotion. England looks like a leader in this respect.

These figures suggest general considerations on the English state and its economy. On the Berkshire Domesday figures, when a five-hide-village provided a *miles* for two months' service this would have been of the order of a fifth of the annual income from it to its owner and twice the likely normal level of geld when geld was annual. Of course there are unknowables. One cannot tell how general the Berkshire system of military service was; but surely it cannot

⁶⁹ Campbell, 'Some Agents and Agencies', pp. 213–14.

⁷⁰ J. Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire* (Stroud, 1994), pp. 175–7.

⁷¹ F. Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066. A Constitutional History* (London, 1963), p. 78 n.

⁷² Campbell, 'Some Agents and Agencies', p. 203.

⁷³ P. Morgan, ed., *Berkshire Domesday* (Chichester, 1979), fol. 56c.

have been altogether exceptional?⁷⁴ One cannot tell how long the suspension of heregeld initiated in 1051 lasted; but it certainly retained enough impetus to keep going well after the Conquest. In short, England was a high-tax state where much of the tax was spent on armed men. It would follow that armed men should have done well there. Some indication of their importance is given by the E-version of the *Chronicle* when it says that the *lithsmen* in London participated in choosing Harold I as regent.⁷⁵ The paid fleet and its *lithsmen* were probably based in London which may well have been a city of some great wealth. (At least one contemporary thought that its tax yield was about an eighth of that of the whole kingdom.) Its wealth was partly based on mercenary service, somewhat as that of contemporary Dublin may have been.⁷⁶

It is appropriate to conclude discussion on so puzzling a subject as that of this paper with a question. Why did medieval and later England have no legally defined *noblesse* such as we find in much of the Continent? Why were the only legally definable social categories known in England at the time of Magna Carta those of free and unfree?

⁷⁴ C. Warren Hollister, *Anglo-Saxon Military Institutions on the Eve of the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 38–42.

⁷⁵ C. Plummer and J. Earle, eds, *Two of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1892), i. 159.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 154–5.

Chivalry and Courtliness: Colliding Constructs

David Crouch

As Mark Girouard very effectively demonstrated in his *Return to Camelot* (1981) the meaning of the concept of chivalry is many-layered, much misunderstood, and liable to change from generation to generation of writers. When Maurice Keen published his magnificently comprehensive *Chivalry* (1984) he was most careful to acknowledge the diverse sources and social aspirations that lay behind the word as scholars use it. However, he was also able to define the concept of chivalry into some sort of working categorisation, which may be encapsulated as 'a way of life in its own right', a code or culture that was attached to a particular class or estate within medieval society.¹ The past quarter century of scholarship has made things more complicated, as we will see. Most seriously, there has been a growing conceptual confusion as to how chivalry relates to another construct, that of 'courtliness'. Courtliness – being a concept principally employed by literary scholars – has not benefited from the centuries of historical scholarship which lies behind Keen's work, and so is difficult to accommodate within the debate. Like chivalry it is perceived to be a self-conscious code, but no study as yet discusses in any convincing way how courtliness relates to chivalry.

It is perhaps time to return to the implication of Keen's categorisation of 'chivalry', for it is otherwise a word employed in an undisciplined and unconsidered way by scholars to cover a range of influences on medieval élite behaviour and apply it equally to the 'courtly' construct too. Once the extent of that confusion is appreciated, there is more of a chance to come to an understanding of what noble behaviour was, and how it came to be formulated. If not, then the historical construct of 'chivalry' will be in danger of going the same way as that of 'feudalism'; which is meaningless simply because of its surplus of meanings.

¹ M. Girouard, *Return to Camelot* (New Haven, CT, 1981). M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, CT, 1984), quotation from p. 6, in the context of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century treatises which seek to define what *chevalerie* was. Note also his further definition of chivalry as 'a word that came to denote the code and culture of a martial estate which regarded war as its hereditary profession' (p. 239). Some of the ideas in this paper were given an airing in a lecture at the University of North Carolina, Greensboro, on 17 May 2008. My thanks to Professor Rick Barton for hosting that occasion.

Chivalry as Code

There are a number of complicating factors in the study of chivalry. The first and most basic is the question of when it is that we can talk about chivalry as a distinct and self-conscious code. Keen's *Chivalry*, since it considered chivalry to be a code, took the logical step of considering it as a phenomenon dependent on the appearance of tracts which treated *chevalerie* as a code of ethical behaviour.² The key work here is the anonymous tract entitled the *Ordene de Chevalerie*, which I would translate as the 'Ordering of Chivalry'. It is the first work which is a truly self-conscious attempt to define the moral content of noble conduct, and to use the name of *chevalerie* for what it was defining. Its author would seem from his dialect to have worked in Picardy in northern France, and from his range of scriptural references and perspective he was probably a cleric, but the case could equally be made that he was an educated layman.³ The earliest manuscripts are late thirteenth-century in date, but copy older sources. Its mention of Albigensians (*Aubigois*) alongside Saracens and 'barbarians' as the enemies of true Christians more than indicates that it was written at a time when the Albigensian crusade was energising northern France and feeding the expansionism of the Capetian monarchy, that is the years on either side of 1220.⁴

The *Ordene* owes something of its structure (though not its moral content) to the earlier *ensenhamen* form of conduct literature (for which, see below) in the sense that it is written in the vernacular and depicts a *preudomme*, as he is called, Hugh de Tabarie, instructing a suppliant in the meaning of noble conduct, just as narrators in *ensenhamens* instruct their pupils. But the suppliant in this case is – like Hugh – a historical figure, no less than Saladin, the Kurdish king of Damascus and Egypt. Saladin persuades Hugh to take him through the ritual of adoubement to knighthood, and as he does, Hugh explains the moral significance of western chivalry. *Chevalerie* is called in this work an order, in this case a 'holy order'.⁵ The *Ordene* is in fact intended to imitate an 'ordinal', alluding in its title to the word applied to the liturgical books which admit deacons, priests and bishops to their orders and their particular duties, and do so by a mixture of symbol and instruction similar to that of the *Ordene*.⁶ The

² Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 6–8.

³ The lack of classical references and inspiration in the *Ordene* might well indicate an author with no background in a major school. The influences on its outlook are however clerical in sentiment, though the structure owes something to the secular *ensenhamen* genre.

⁴ The best edition remains, *The Anonymous Ordene de Chevalerie*, ed. K. Busby (Utrecht Publications in General and Comparative Literature, 17, Amsterdam, 1983), an edition not available to Keen, who believed the work to be some decades later in origin. For the key dating passages, see pp. 86–92, 117 (line 446), 145.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 107, line 83: *sainte ordre de chevalerie*.

⁶ The work is variously entitled in its MSS the *Ordre de chevalerie* or the *Ordene de chevalerie* (*ibid.*, 131). The work itself talks of *chevalerie* as a 'holy order' (see note 5 above). The author's intention to treat chivalry as a secular parallel to holy orders is clear enough in the work, and

significance of each stage of the chivalric rite in the *Ordene* is indeed saturated in Christian symbolism. Some of the qualities asked of the knight are the same as in the *ensenhamen*: hardiness, loyalty, courtesy and affability. But in this case the moral qualities are stressed more openly: knights should not be the lechers of *ensenhamen* tracts, but chaste men and modest. They should protect the poor, not exploit them, and in all ways work for the Church. This is the same spirit in which the great thirteenth- and fourteenth-century lay tracts address chivalry, and indeed two of them, Philip de Novara's *Four Ages* and Ramon Llull's *Book of Chivalry*, actually quote the *Ordene*. So we can say with some certainty that we have reached the age of the chivalric code with the *Ordene*.

I am myself in agreement with Maurice Keen's strategy in dealing with the ontology of chivalry as a code of conduct. By his reasoning, society was conscious of chivalry's existence as a body of ideas and as an ideology by the 1220s. Keen also noted the importance of the word *chevalerie* itself. In 1975 the French historian Jean Flori had drawn attention to the way that the words *chevalier* and *chevalerie* changed in meaning in the romance epics of the twelfth century. The key decade was for him the 1170s and by 1180 he believed that the word *chevalerie* was being used in the sense of a name for a distinct social ideology attached to the knight. He concluded that 'une nouvelle vision de la chevalerie est en train de naître'.⁷ Linda Paterson repeated the exercise with similar results for the Occitan sources, finding that the ideological sense of knighthood also appears around 1180, though here she finds that southern knights were expected to be more cultivated and mannered than their northern compatriots, a point to which we shall be returning.⁸ Following the reasoning and consensus of these three writers of the 1980s, we have to accept that an awareness of 'chivalry' as a distinct mode of noble conduct had dawned on medieval writers in the final quarter of the twelfth century.

The Universalisation of Chivalry and the 'Civilizing Process'

All might therefore seem to be settled in the use of the term 'chivalry', but there are problems. A telling point made by Constance Bouchard in 1998 is that historians define what chivalry was 'operationally'.⁹ What she was alluding to is

if chivalry is an order then the work is clearly offering an 'ordinal' for admission to it. The medieval French word for an 'ordinal' is singularly elusive, and it seems valid to offer one possible translation of the title 'Ordene de chevalerie' as 'the *ordering* (*viz.* ordinal) of chivalry'.

⁷ 'La notion de chevalerie dans les chansons de geste du xii^e siècle: étude historique de vocabulaire', *Le Moyen Age* 81 (1975), 211–44, 407–45, for quotation and dating, p. 437. His views were repeated and elaborated in, 'La notion de la chevalerie dans les romans de Chrétien de Troyes', *Romania* 114 (1996), 289–315.

⁸ L. Paterson, 'Knights and the Concept of Knighthood in the Twelfth-Century Occitan Epic', *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 17 (1981), 115–30.

⁹ C. B. Bouchard, *Strong of Body, Brave and Noble: Chivalry and Society in Medieval France* (Ithaca NY, 1998), p. 104.

that the entire tradition of scholarship on chivalry from the eighteenth century onwards has been based on defining chivalry epistemologically, that is, breaking down the components of noble conduct from the works of later thirteenth-century writers on self-conscious chivalry and tracing them backward in time. These components generally encompass loyalty, forbearance in war, hardihood, liberality, and what I have called elsewhere the 'Davidic' ethics of mercy and justice. Wherever such conduct appears associated with warriors even before the 1180 watershed, writers might well treat it as symptomatic of 'chivalry' in action.¹⁰ This standpoint is particularly the case in the works of the English historian John Gillingham and the American historian Richard Kaeuper.

Gillingham's approach is to define chivalry as a miscellany of secular and military ethics. He focuses particularly on the idea of withholding one's hand from a fellow warrior. Gillingham can therefore take an Anglo-French text written in the late 1130s – Geoffrey Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis* – and talk of the conduct it portrays as 'chivalry'. Indeed, he points out that Gaimar uses the word *chevalerie* (though the context in which he employs it indicates that Gaimar meant it in the sense of 'deeds of arms'). Gillingham's belief is that the ceremony that surrounds Gaimar's depiction of a rite of 'adoubement' in the reign of William Rufus (a 'splendid and fashionable courtly occasion' and 'a ceremonial entry into chivalry, not a mere arming') establishes that the idea of chivalry as a secular order with its own self-conscious ideology or code already existed in the 1130s.¹¹ However, this is going further than the evidence allows. It is only possible for Gillingham to say that the rite of admission to the state of knighthood involved an entry into 'chivalry' by defining chivalry differently from Flori and Keen. The chivalric values that Gillingham finds in the *Estoire des Engleis* are in fact secular and military: 'fighting according to rules and sparing the lives of defeated enemies'.¹² Likewise secular is the other ideal he finds in the work – though this is not by any means exclusively associated

¹⁰ See D. Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France, 900–1300* (Harlow, 2005), pp. 55–80.

¹¹ J. Gillingham, 'Kingship, Chivalry and Love. Political and Cultural Values in the Earliest History Written in French: Geoffrey Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis*', *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the 12th-Century Renaissance*, ed. C. W. Hollister (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 33–58, esp. pp. 38–9. 'Chivalry' is pushed back to at least the eleventh century in other parts of his oeuvre, for which see: *idem*, '1066 and the Introduction of Chivalry into England', *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy: Essays in Honour of James Holt*, ed. G. Garnett and J. G. Hudson (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 31–55; 'Thegns and Knights in Eleventh-Century England: Who Was Then the Gentleman?' *TRHS*, 6th series 5 (1995), 129–53, esp. 144 ff. In earlier work, Gillingham stressed the pragmatic brutality of the eleventh-century knight: *idem*, 'William the Bastard at War', *Studies in Medieval History presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. C. Harper-Bill, C. Holdsworth and J. L. Nelson (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 141–58. The same idea that chivalry existed as an established pattern of conduct before Chrétien de Troyes is evident in literary scholarship, see for instance, N. J. Lacy, 'Gauvain and the Crisis of Chivalry in the *Conte de Graal*', *The Sower and his Seed: Essays on Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. R. T. Pickens (Lexington KY, 1983), pp. 155–64.

¹² Gillingham, 'Kingship, Chivalry and Love', p. 41.

there with knights – that of the affable, liberal and courtly (*curteis*) man. He concludes by identifying Gaimar's 'chivalric' king, William Rufus, with the idealised chivalrous knight of Geoffrey de Charny's *Livre de Chevalerie*, written two centuries later. But this comparison is only partly convincing. The two characters share some common ground, but Rufus in Gaimar's work does not display either the religious devotion or the ethical introspection of Charny's ideal chivalrous knight, not least the theologised personal austerity summed up by the phrase *contemptus mundi*.¹³

An influence on Gillingham's views of chivalry appears in his citation of the work of C. Stephen Jaeger.¹⁴ In citing Jaeger's book, *The Origin of Courtliness* (1985) Gillingham is however quoting at second hand the work of the sociologist Norbert Elias (1897–1990) and his master work, *The Civilizing Process*, which underpins Jaeger's seminal work (of which more later). Elias's *Civilizing Process*, first published in German in 1939, has had an interestingly delayed-action effect on the writing of Anglophone history, despite the fact that he taught in English universities for most of his later career. Elias only begins to be cited by historians of conduct in the early 1980s, but when it happened his work had a powerful effect on medieval historiography. The gist of Elias's theory, itself derived from the earlier theorising of Max Weber and Otto Hintze, is that the charismatic, uncontained and heroic behaviour of early societies was forcibly modified by the concentration of the power to reward and punish in the hands of princes. Medieval princely courts were thus agents in modifying the conduct of medieval aristocrats and therefore all society.¹⁵ Naturally this sort of treatment of noble conduct had an application to the study of chivalry, though it was not till the 1980s that the connection was made in Britain and America. Elias's work has been filtered most effectively into the medieval mainstream in the work of two American medievalists, Stephen Jaeger (already mentioned above as an influence on Gillingham) and Richard Kaeuper.

Richard Kaeuper's take on chivalry is partly framed through the theoretical lens of Elias's work, though he demonstrates a well-merited scepticism about its sources, rationale and implications.¹⁶ There is a distinct ambiguity in his

¹³ *Ibid.*, 44. For Charny's chivalric theology (which he himself calls 'pseudommie') see *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny: Text, Context and Translation*, ed. and trans. R. W. Kaeuper and E. Kennedy (Philadelphia, PA, 1996), pp. 154–66. Gaimar's depiction of Rufus's pious last moments are the only demonstration of religious feeling in the text, and that was probably included only to counter the widely held belief that the unconfessed 'mort subite' Rufus experienced deprived him of salvation. See on this D. Crouch, 'The Troubled Deathbeds of Henry I's Servants: Death, Confession and Secular Conduct in the Twelfth Century', *Albion* 34 (2002), 28–9n.

¹⁴ Gillingham, 'Kingship, Chivalry and Love', p. 43 and n.

¹⁵ See the summary and references in Crouch, *Birth of Nobility*, pp. 21–3. For the 'courtization' (*Verhöflichung*) of the warrior (Elias does not engage with the concept of chivalry) see, N. Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, trans. E. Jephcott (rev'd edn, Oxford, 2000), pp. 387–95.

¹⁶ Kaeuper's engagement with Elias is described in his, 'Chivalry and the "Civilizing Process"', *Violence in Medieval Society*, ed. R. Kaeuper (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 21–35, where he states that Elias roots the 'civilizing process' in the idea of chivalry (p. 33) though my reading of Elias

analysis of chivalry as found in his *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Society* (1999), a remarkable and comprehensive treatment of the subject of violence and aristocratic society. Like Gillingham, he locates the idea of chivalry in mannered and restrained behaviour, and so he divorces it implicitly from the chronological scheme of development proposed by Flori and Keen, which otherwise he seems to approve of. Kaeuper does not in fact set out in this work to analyse chivalry as a phenomenon, so much as to point out its deficiencies as an ideal of behaviour in a violent society. For him, chivalry is a code of noble conduct, however hypocritical. He sees society already aware of those deficiencies as early as 1210, so for Kaeuper chivalry apparently came into being as a body of social norms within the watershed identified by Keen.¹⁷ However that view is clouded by his analyses of sources such as the early Orange epic cycle and the early career of William Marshal as 'chivalric'. In doing this he is, perhaps subconsciously, following Bouchard's 'operational' method of defining chivalry, and so intentionally or not he finds it in being as a code as early as the 1130s.

The Rise of Courtliness

The definition of chivalry as a phenomenon attached to a particular historical period can therefore be seen to be insecure in the treatment of the subject since 1984. In part this is because of the older tradition of labelling conduct 'chivalric' where it matched later components of the ethic of chivalry. In that case, the behaviour of German warriors in Tacitus's day might well be seen as chivalric, and indeed was labelled as such by Léon Gautier (1832–97), in his mammoth work *La Chevalerie* (1884).¹⁸ But in part also this is because some modern writers choose to define chivalry in secular terms as a predominantly military code and pass over the ideological, religious and social dimensions which feature in the *Ordene de Chevalerie*. A further approach that undermines the perception of chivalry as a code of noble conduct with a distinct beginning as well as an end arises out of those very social and ideological dimensions. The key work here is Stephen Jaeger's *The Origins of Courtliness*, a work launched on the world of medieval studies with some éclat in 1985, the year after the publication of Keen's *Chivalry*.¹⁹ The power of this work is not in its depiction

is that he is not quite as explicit as that, whatever the implicit nature of his use of chivalric notions in early modern courtesy books.

¹⁷ See especially, R. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Society* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 271–2, where he appears to subscribe to Keen's developmental model.

¹⁸ See comments in, J. D. Adams, 'Modern Views of Medieval Chivalry', *The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches*, ed. H. Chickering and T. H. Seiler (Kalamazoo, MI, 1988), pp. 46–7.

¹⁹ C. S. Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939–1210* (Philadelphia, PA, 1985). This had been preceded by a couple of preliminary studies, C. S. Jaeger, 'The Courtier Bishop in *Vitae* from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century', *Speculum* 58 (1983), 291–325; 'Beauty of Manners and Discipline: An Imperial Tradition of Courtliness

of chivalry, but in its vivid evocation and historicisation of a quite different social phenomenon, *courtoisie*, *curialitas* or 'courtliness'.

In giving historical colour and reality to what had previously been the predominantly literary concept of 'courtliness', Jaeger introduced a major new factor in historical debate about medieval noble conduct. As with the work of Kaeuper, *The Origins of Courtliness* owes an intellectual debt to the work of Elias, for it is about 'civilizing trends', and indeed Jaeger discourses on Elias's basic theory at length and often. From these comments it seems that, like Kaeuper, he understands Elias to be offering a model of social change into which chivalry can be fitted. He perceives Elias as suggesting the evolution of a '*chivalric* class' (my emphasis) in the Middle Ages from the evidence Elias found in courtly literature. Like Kaeuper he is critical of the faults of Elias's methodology, but aware of the power of the basic theory.²⁰

Although Jaeger's work has been challenged in several of its aspects, it remains the most potent influence in the current debate on the nature of noble conduct.²¹ It suggests that courtier-clerics in the tenth-century Ottonian empire self-consciously devised a set of social skills by which to assist their career; behaviour which maximised their impact on the imperial court (*curia*). The sources of this 'courtly' conduct were frequently classical, notably (though not exclusively) in the cultivation of personal qualities which were favoured in the writings of the Roman careerist and philosopher, Cicero, or the Stoic, Seneca.²² For our purposes, Jaeger's model becomes most interesting when he describes the alleged transfer of the courtly ideal of the prelate into lay life, which he dates in a perilously nominalist way to the same time as the words '*curteis*' (OFr) and '*cortes*' (Occ) appear in the vernacular poetry of France – that is, about 1110. In the vagueness of the application of the words he sees 'a very early transition in the application of the word from men of the court, mainly clerics, to the warrior class'.²³

Though this last observation was a dangerous leap to make – and indeed it is the point on which Jaeger has been most attacked – it is a key point for our purposes here. Jaeger's historical model of the evolution of a self-conscious code of courtliness amongst tenth-century German clerics and its transfer to French aristocrats by the teaching of twelfth-century French clergy, has not met with much approval amongst historians. However, his assumption that there was an accepted code of noble conduct which the eleventh-century aristocracy of the court adopted is another matter. His argument substitutes 'courtliness' for 'chivalry' and in doing so entirely subverts Keen's chronological analysis. This leap accounts for Jaeger's passing but quite stunning comment that the courtly

in the German Romance', *Barocker Lust-Spiegel. Festschrift für Blake Lee Spahr* (Amsterdam, 1984), pp. 27–45.

²⁰ Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness*, pp. 5–8.

²¹ See on this, Crouch, *Birth of Nobility*, pp. 23–4.

²² For a brilliant treatment of the qualities involved, Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness*, ch. 8.

²³ For this key passage, *ibid.*, p. 161.

ideal of an educated, literate knight, was what produced 'a literature idealizing chivalry'.²⁴ The consequence of this argument is that chivalry is simply a later formalisation and intellectualisation of a much older code of mannered and self-conscious behaviour, *curialitas*.

The Problem with Courtliness

This brings us to the crux of the problem with the current study of chivalry: the competing construct of courtliness. 'Courteous conduct' and 'courtly love' were part of the social discourse of French nineteenth-century literary scholars, particularly the great Gaston Paris (1839–1903), though he was responding to earlier generations of scholarship on the subject, notably that of Claude Charles Fauriel (1772–1844).²⁵ When they talked of courteous conduct it was because they saw the court as the arbiter in what C. S. Lewis called 'polite' behaviour, and the court was the source of the romances they analysed. Paris influenced in his turn the seminal works of two Anglophone scholars: the literary critic C. S. Lewis and his famous *The Allegory of Love* (1936) and – through the intermediaries of Léon Gautier and Gustav Cohen – the American medievalist Sidney Painter's *French Chivalry* (1940).²⁶ Both men in their different ways introduced the French courtly construct to Anglophone scholarship. With it they introduced the French ambiguity as to the relationship of courtliness to chivalry. Since the 1830s there has always been a tendency amongst literary scholars to use the words 'courtly' and 'courtesy' in contexts where others might say 'chivalrous' and 'chivalry'.²⁷ For the most part the word has been used exclusively and carefully by such scholars, even if military and moral behaviour is at issue.²⁸ The loaded nature of the term 'chivalry' has probably led to such caution. But conflation happens. It has to be said that Jaeger's was not by any means the first conflation of the two concepts. Indeed, the juxtaposition of courtliness and chivalry is very evident in the work of Painter, who uses the word 'courtesy' to signify what Gillingham defines as the core of chivalry, the respect, deference,

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

²⁵ See the brief but informative historiographical sketch in K. D. Uitti, 'Remarks on Old French Narratives: Courtly Love and Poetic Form', *Romance Philology* 26 (1972–73), 78–9.

²⁶ C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (Oxford, 1936); Sidney Painter, *French Chivalry* (Baltimore, MD, 1940).

²⁷ Fauriel in his posthumously published *Histoire de la poésie provençale* (1846) talks of '*amour chevaleresque*' where Gaston Paris in 1883 talks of '*amour courtois*', for which see Uitti, 'Remarks on Old French Narratives', p. 78.

²⁸ This is diagnosed by G. S. Burgess, 'Étude sur le terme *cortois* dans le français du xii^e siècle', *Travaux de linguistique et de philologie*, 31 (1993), 197–8, 'le terme *cortois* appartient à deux catégories: celle des relations humaines où un geste, une salutation, un acte d'hospitalité ou de politesse prennent de l'importance (c'est-à-dire le monde courtois) et celle du champ de bataille où les qualités militaires, l'efficacité et la capacité à bien juger sont essentielles.' Burgess eschews the word 'chivalry'. See also J. Ferrante, 'The Court in Medieval Literature', *The Medieval Court in Europe*, ed. E. R. Haymes (Houston German Studies, 6, Munich, 1986), pp. 1–25.

forbearance and indulgence owed to fellow members of the nobility.²⁹ But the unfortunate end result of this chivalry–courtliness confusion can be seen in the treatment of both constructs in the work of the Italian-American scholar Aldo Scaglione, notably his *Knights at Court* (1991).³⁰

Scaglione's work was published in part as a reaction to Jaeger's. It is the work of a comparative linguist and literary scholar writing outside the historical tradition which produced Keen's *Chivalry*. But although his *Knights at Court* as a result appears quirky and eccentric to social historians, it gets to grips with the concepts of courtliness and courtesy in useful and revealing ways. The distance between Scaglione and the socio-historical tradition is revealed in his description of how he understands the idea of medieval conduct. He talks of:

the development of three separate and yet coexistent codes: (1) the courtly, (2) the chivalric/heroic, and (3) the chivalric/courtois. The third code combined the other two, adding to them the element of love, represented by a courtly-mannered knight who was motivated by both heroism and love in a state of harmonious symbiosis. The three codes belong to both social and literary spheres, and they often conspired in a tense unstable mixture within various literary genres.³¹

Scaglione's approach and his idiosyncratic epistemology owe more to literary scholarship than sociology, and his understanding of social codes makes his work incompatible with most historical scholarship. His idea of chivalry is that it was an 'ethico-ideological frame of mind' and the source of conduct defined as noble. 'Courtliness' is for him the social and cultural environment of the princely courts, but he distinguishes it from 'courtesy' which he defines as the modified behaviour which was the result of Elias's 'civilizing process'.³²

Do these distinctions help? They don't, even though they do unpack a lot of the mixed meanings summed up by the phrase 'courtly literature'. When applied to a historical source like the *Ordene de Chevalerie*, their artificiality and limitation are immediately apparent. The anonymous author of the *Ordene* was offering more than a tract on the ethics and ideology of noble conduct. The *Ordene* also includes within its *chevalerie* elements of Scaglione's other two supposedly distinct 'codes'.³³ Scaglione does not appreciate this, and he entirely misses the chronological point behind Keen's selection of the *Ordene* as a watershed in the evolution of chivalry as a conscious code. Chivalry for Scaglione is but one manifestation of the courtly ethic as originally developed in Jaeger's Ottonian court. It includes the ideology of courtesy, which is derived, he believes, not from warrior fellow-feeling, as Gillingham would have it, but from the teaching

²⁹ Painter, *French Chivalry*, pp. 32–5.

³⁰ A. Scaglione, *Knights at Court: Courtliness, Chivalry and Courtesy from Ottonian Germany to the Italian Renaissance* (Berkeley, CA, 1991).

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³³ Scaglione's treatment of the *Ordene* (*ibid.*, pp. 81–2) is limited, and dependent on Keen's comments rather than any independent reading of the text.

of clerks. Within 'courtesy' also was to be found the literary concept of 'courtly love', which developed out of romance literature.³⁴ The historian naturally feels confused and disorientated on encountering *Knights at Court*. But if so, it is a confusion which needs to be mastered for, as a result of Jaeger's work, the concepts of chivalry and courtliness are increasingly being conflated.³⁵

In retrospect the ten years between 1984 and 1994 can be seen as a period of remarkable industry and change in the study of chivalry and noble conduct. But it has left as much confusion behind it as it has cleared up. At the beginning of this paper I focused on one element of Keen's analysis, his idea of the appearance of chivalry as a self-conscious code in the last quarter of the twelfth century. I want now to return to this and offer a new way to reconcile the problems and confusions which surround the chivalric construct.

The Problem of Pre-Chivalric Conduct: Some Resolutions

The solution may simply be to focus on the idea of conduct, rather than use labels like knighthood, chivalry or courtliness. To do that it is necessary to introduce a rather more recent sociological insight into conduct than that proposed by Norbert Elias. This is the remarkable idea of the social habitus, as formulated in the work of Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu set out to account for the way that an invisible force like 'society' can act on the individuals who make it up. He found it in suggesting that individuals exist within a social environment where there are *unconscious* norms of behaviour, which are only noticed when they are breached; for trespasses on the habitus can call down both anger and violence on the transgressor. These norms are propagated through education, experience and observation. There is no individual 'conductor' who formulates it, codifies it and teaches it. The habitus is self-generating, flexible and changeable.³⁶

By Bourdieu's definition, chivalry is manifestly *not* part of the habitus of social behaviour. It was – unlike a habitus – fully self-conscious. Chivalry had a name and contemporary medieval people wrote to describe what they understood it to be. It had 'conductors' like the author of the *Ordene de Chevalerie* who intended to teach his version of it. People tried to fix chivalry's rules in stone, and reform it when they perceived it as going wrong, as happened as early

³⁴ See the revealing passages, *ibid.*, pp. 78–9.

³⁵ Note the continual and apparently deliberate conceptual elisions of 'chivalry and courtesy' and 'chivalric and courtly' in a recent study by Jaeger, 'Book-Burning at Don Quixote's: Thoughts on the Educating Force of Courtly Romance', *Courtly Arts and the Art of Courtliness: Selected Papers from the Eleventh Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society*, ed. K. Busby and C. Kleinhenz (Cambridge, 2006), examples at pp. 16, 18. But see the characterisation of a 'collocation' of *cortesie* and *chevalerie* in the 1220s to produce 'the ideology of chivalry' in, L. Ashe, 'William Marshal, Lancelot and Arthur: Chivalry and Kingship', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 30 (2007), ed. C. P. Lewis (Woodbridge, 2008), p. 21.

³⁶ See my summary of this in *Birth of Nobility*, pp. 52–6.

as 1210 with the work called the *Roman des Eles*.³⁷ In short, in sociological terms chivalry was exactly what Keen said it was, a codification of conduct. But as a code it arose out of an existing habitus. It follows that there was noble conduct before chivalry emerged, but it had no conductor, it was imposed by norms and a whole range of sources. This is an alien concept to Jaeger, who sees kings and clerics combining to impose a codified culture of the court on the nobles from as early as the tenth century. A sensibility amongst historians that conduct does not necessarily have to be codified would solve a lot of the current problems in comprehending noble conduct in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It would also cure us of the anachronism of talking of chivalry in, say, the reign of William Rufus of England (1087–1100).

This brings me on to the idea of the noble habitus, its sources and the deep roots of chivalry. The twelfth century produced an abundance of material on conduct, and it is no surprise that this has encouraged authors to see evidence in it of a contemporary ‘code’ of noble conduct even before chivalry emerged in the 1170s. For the likes of Scaglione and Jaeger and other literary scholars, the most significant body of this is the so-called ‘courtly romance’, whose purpose is seen to be in part educational. It teaches the norms of conduct at court, and for Jaeger it is a major avenue for the penetration of ideas of courtliness (or chivalry).³⁸ It is after all in the romances of Chrétien de Troyes that is found some of the first evidence that the word *chevalerie* by the 1170s signifies a behavioural code for society’s élite. However, the focus on vernacular literature has obscured one glaring fact about twelfth-century conduct, that it was not taught through didactic literature, but largely through avatars.

Now avatars are the giants of the habitus. That such and such an admirable man behaved in such and such a way is one of the key ways that the habitus is affirmed. Avatars might be historical, literary or legendary characters, or they might be what Weber calls an ‘ideal type’. The ‘ideal type’ of the noble male in the twelfth century exists in contemporary literature. He was the character called in vernacular sources, the *preudomme*. For all his frequent appearances in literature, the *preudomme* has been more or less ignored in discussions of noble conduct. In a recent study, I sketched out why the *preudomme* is so important in the history of conduct. You meet him in all sorts of contexts: in proverbs, epics, romances and verse. The word is derived from three French terms: ‘preux’ ‘de’ and ‘homme’, and is the devil to translate, but a literal translation might be a ‘broth of a boy’. It means essentially, a tried and mature man you can respect, a *probus homo*. To be considered a *preudomme* was the social ambition of every young squire and knight in the pre-chivalric twelfth century. Working from the sources we find that a *preudomme* was a man who had *mesure*, that is ‘judgement’, and because he had *mesure*, he is listened to in the great assemblies. He was also hardy, brave and affable. He was loyal to his lord, friends and men;

³⁷ Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, pp. 273–5.

³⁸ For education and the romance, see particularly now, Jaeger, ‘Book-Burning at Don Quixote’s’, 11–21.

you could count on him. 'None can be reckoned a *preudomme*,' says the Lady of the Lake to Lancelot, 'who has not these qualities in his heart.'³⁹ The *preudomme* was an ideal to aspire to, an avatar of conduct who encapsulated a whole range of acceptable behaviour, which people may not fully measure up to, but which inspired and dictated their conduct.⁴⁰

Avatars are a constant presence in defining human conduct, and at several levels. We still take fictional and factual figures as our heroes and villains, and strive to imitate their desirable qualities and avoid their negative ones. Stephen Jaeger in fact has registered this, and calls this mechanism 'charisma' or even the 'cult of personality' when living men were taken as the avatars.⁴¹ To take the most frequently cited Arthurian examples: medieval men were urged to imitate the courtliness of Gawain, and to avoid the sarcasm and ill nature of Kay the Seneschal. Roland was brought forward to medieval men as a perfect avatar of courage and hardiness, while Oliver was the soul of prudence and judgement. And if you notice that these avatars often came in contrasting pairs, it is not coincidence. One of the few sensible explanations of the rather violent mid-twelfth-century epic, *Raoul de Cambrai*, is that it intends to contrast a violent, foul-mouthed and overbearing lord, Raoul, with his temperate, balanced and loyal subordinate, Bernier. Apart from the fact that its characters all come to bad or bleak ends, *Raoul de Cambrai* might be said to have had an application to the teaching of acceptable aristocratic conduct. Though the fact that not even the good guys survive might not be much of a lesson.

The habitus has a clear reference to the idea of courtliness. But then the twelfth-century habitus is a wide pool of ideas from which historians can trawl material for a number of constructs, chivalry and courtliness being only two. But that does not make such constructs 'codes' as understood by contemporaries. 'Courtliness' was no more a code in the first half of the twelfth century than chivalry was. It is a historian's construct, defined 'operationally' as Bouchard put it. When Jaeger has to define it he can only do so in ways that reveal he is studying the noble habitus. He looks at the way avatars are used to teach proper conduct, such as the didactic nature of biographies of German bishops. In addition he compiles lists of definitive, utilitarian courtly qualities he finds described in a variety of medieval sources. If courtliness *was* a 'code' in the twelfth century, he would not have had to go to such lengths to reconstruct it.

The *preudomme* was the precursor of the chivalrous man; he was a man whose conduct was assumed to be noble, admirable and courtly. One of the

³⁹ *Lancelot do Lac*, ed. and trans. E. Kennedy, 2 vols (Oxford, 1980), i. 141–2.

⁴⁰ A summary of the material contained in Crouch, *Birth of Nobility*, pp. 30–4.

⁴¹ C. S. Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia, PA, 1994), pp. 76–83; he extends the concept to literary avatars in 'Book-Burning at Don Quixote's', p. 20. The concept of emulation of literary avatars of conduct as a way of instructing nobles is tellingly found outside the Francophone world, see H. Fulton, 'The *Mabinogi* and the Education of Princes in Medieval Wales', *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society*, ed. *eadem* (Dublin, 2005), pp. 230–47.

finest illustrations of this comes from the pen of a canon of Merton Priory who decided around 1130 to immortalise his house's founder, Gilbert of Surrey (died 1125), a royal sheriff and household knight. He sought to project the image of a man who was an ideal soldier, courtier and nobleman. Thus his portrait of Gilbert was of a man who displayed accomplishment at all levels, military, devotional and administrative. He was a man who was an accomplished and active *miles* (indeed 'Gilbert the Knight' was one of his *cognomina*) and an *illustrissimus vir* (a very noble man) ... *generose nobilitatis linea procreatus* (born to a family of great nobility). He displayed *liberalitas* (largesse) and worked to earn the *dilectio* (affection) of everyone he met. He spurned tale-bearers and blasphemers, loved and honoured his mother, supported the clergy and the poor, and invested in intercessory prayer for his dead ancestors. He was listened to respectfully by counts and barons, and was perfectly at ease (*intrepidus et hiliaris*) at court where the servants of the king were happy to serve him. He was a man of honour (*honorabilis*), distinction (*elegancius*) and courtliness (*curialis*).⁴²

It is possible to attempt to depict Gilbert as a forerunner of the chivalrous knight or the courtly man, but he was neither. The point is that he was called in Latin by the Merton source *probissimus virorum*, a *preudomme*.⁴³ He is depicted as possessing and cultivating the qualities the *habitus* told his biographer he needed to possess in order to succeed at court and amongst his fellows. Gilbert's biography tells us a lot about the origins of the code of chivalry even though he was not himself an exemplar of self-conscious chivalry. He may have been a courtly man, but he was not a practitioner of a code of courtliness (which Jaeger did not in any case believe penetrated Francophone lay society till the appearance of the courtly romances two generations after Gilbert's day). The reason why the *preudomme* himself did not generate a code to which his name is attached is clear enough from early twelfth-century literature. Kings, counts, barons, knights, popes, bishops, saints and God himself could all be *preudommes*. When a code of lay conduct emerged it was called *chevalerie*, because all laymen of birth and note were trained as *chevalers*: *chevalerie* was what they had in common. *Preudommie* (a word which appears late) did exist, but it was far too wide a concept on which to found a code of noble conduct. So *chevalerie* and eventually *courtoisie* were both codified out of it.

The Ensenhamen: Generating Chivalry from the Habitus

I want to conclude by looking at what could arguably be said to have been the first surviving attempt in vernacular culture to codify noble conduct self-consciously. This was in the emergence of the influential genre of southern

⁴² M. L. Colker, 'Latin Texts Concerning Gilbert, Founder of Merton Priory', *Studia Monastica* 12 (1970), 248–61 (*passim*). See on this source Crouch, *Birth of Nobility*, pp. 41–3.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

French and Catalan *ensenhamen* (instruction) literature.⁴⁴ One of the earliest examples directed at nobles is the work of the southern aristocrat, Arnaut-Guilhem de Marsan, a baron of the Landais and a subject of Henry II of England, indeed a man who had attended the court of Richard the Lionheart while he was duke of Aquitaine. The significance lies in part in that his *ensenhamen*, a poem of 629 lines, was written around 1170 by a lay aristocrat for his fellows.⁴⁵ It is the perception of the correct conduct of the noble generated within the group itself. Marsan is not talking about 'chivalry'. On the one occasion he uses the word, the context makes it clear that he is talking about horse management and arms, not conduct. However, he is addressing *cavayers* (knights) in his work, so he is clearly providing norms of conduct for that group, and we can thus see why Chrétien de Troyes talks of *chevalerie* as a mode of conduct in the same decade as Marsan was writing.

Marsan's *ensenhamen* is something of a dialogue, where a troubled and handsome knight is encountered in the autumnal woods by Marsan, who generously takes on the role of agony aunt to the young man. It uses the sort of instructional devices one would expect. The knight should bear in mind the conduct of heroes of the past. He should be as courtly in his behaviour as Yvain, and as well-dressed, for Yvain was the first to wear sable fur on his cloak and gloves on his hands. Paris, Tristan, Aeneas, Apollonius of Tyre and Arthur are all cited as avatars of bravery, but Tristan, Yvain and Paris especially for their attractiveness to women. One of his avatars, Ignaura, is obscure as no tales of him seem to have survived, but this man was apparently notorious as a lover. In the mind of Marsan, correct conduct was of use in acquiring honour, but that in turn could be traded in the marketplace of seduction. As well as the use of the teaching avatar, we find vernacular proverbs embedded in the text, to drive home the point of a paragraph. So Marsan tells us that: 'you can tell the lord by his household' and 'the greater the risk the greater the honour' and 'Be first in the pursuit and last in fleeing'.⁴⁶

But the main intent of Marsan is to define the ideal conduct of an aristocratic knight. In some ways this is trivial. His hair should be well-cut and clean; there should be no stubble and the moustache should be kept short; his clothes if not expensive should at least be well-chosen, his cloak should match his tunic. He should not be over the top in his gestures, and should always be bright and alert, with no slack-jawed vacuity about him. But other injunctions are more to do with lordship than appearance. No man should play the game of knighthood if

⁴⁴ See generally, A. Monson, *Les enshamens occitans: essai de définition et délimitation du genre* (Paris, 1981). Monson (pp. 167–8) defines nine such works between the twelfth and early fourteenth century in terms of content and six-syllable verse structure, which distinguishes them from the genre of *novas* (pp. 86–93).

⁴⁵ For an edition and translation (by Gerard Gouiran) into modern French, J. de Cauna, *L'Enshamen ou code du parfait chevalier du troubadour gascon Arnaut Guilhem de Marsan* (Mounenh en Biarn, 2007), pp. 64–95. For a corpus of such texts, G. E. Sansone, *Testi Didattico-Cortesi di Provenza* (Bari, 1977).

⁴⁶ De Cauna, *L'Enshamen*, p. 82 (lines 383–4), p. 86 (lines 459–60), p. 90 (lines 557–8).

he doesn't have the resources for it; otherwise he'll just look pitiful, because it's expensive. Squires should be well-selected; they should be charming, educated and well-dressed, like high-level PAs recruited from a good business school. All the servants should be well-trained especially those who keep the door of his hall, and a lord should make his home hospitable to all his guests. He should never make the mistake of removing himself from his guests into his private chambers. At the same time however, he should be sure never to be too close to his inferiors, but sit apart in the best seat and never himself serve at table.

In the aristocratic sports, our model knight should be in control of himself. In playing dice he should bet handsomely and cheerfully, showing no emotion if he starts losing. He should have the best horses and equipment for war and the tournament. His armour and weapons should be carefully selected and his heraldry depicted on shield, banner, saddle and saddle trapper. Hardiness was the important thing to demonstrate. Cuts must be heavy and strong; when the lance breaks sweep out your sword, ride straight in whether you have one or two opponents. Whatever you do, don't get captured, that can be expensive. And if our knight can be successful in all this, then he will attract and seduce the ladies.

Now the world of Marsan's *ensenhamen* is almost entirely secular. Though an educated man he has little to say about the spiritual or ethical dimension of being a knight. It is a pragmatic exercise in making friends and influencing people in the same way as a successful businessman will write a handbook on how to succeed and make money, or in Marsan's case, women, for sex is the big payoff. To that extent he cannot have been said to have written a chivalric tract, as chivalry is more than just conduct; it has a self-conscious ethical dimension. Marsan is however, registering good conduct as something that can be taught, and should be affirmed. His *ensenhamen* is a step away from leaving it to the habitus, avatars and proverbial tags.

There are several *ensenhamens* deriving from Occitan literature between 1170 and 1213, but the longest and latest of them (known from its opening line, *Abril issi' e Mays intrava*) – written in the first decade of the thirteenth century by Raimon Vidal de Besalú, an Occitan noble subject of King John of England – shows some significant changes from Marsan's and tells us about changes at work in the aristocracies of Francophone Europe.⁴⁷ Vidal de Besalú liberally quotes Marsan and other earlier writers, industriously recalling the good examples of conduct shown by many historical characters. But there are major differences in his approach. His hero is not offering instruction in seduction, but is more interested in teaching certain qualities: nobility of heart, good judgement and intelligence. These are qualities which, with loyalty, make the knight useful and respectable. He is much more concerned with the importance of lineage in determining a man or woman's conduct, and warns against bad qualities: arrogance, greed, poor judgement and even excessive love of violence. These, he

⁴⁷ For an edition and modern French translation, *Nouvelles occitanes du moyen age*, ed. and trans. J.-C. Huchet (Paris, 1992), pp. 38–138.

says, are not pleasing to God. Vidal de Besalú is offering what his predecessors did not: moral instruction. He is perfectly willing to accept that men can be noble without high birth, because for him honour and nobility are attained by moral excellence. Such men (and he cites as examples Mercadier the routier and Magarit, admiral of Sicily) have nobility of heart: as he says 'Honourable deeds and outstanding fame come from the heart and from intelligence, not from family and power.'⁴⁸

By the second decade of the twelfth century, there has been a shift in perception of conduct within the aristocracy itself, for Raimon Vidal de Besalú was a nobleman as much as a poet. He is self-consciously codifying conduct in his tract, which he significantly calls a *guitz* or 'guide',⁴⁹ and though Biblical history and theology play little part in his work, nonetheless God is often cited for the sake of authority. Vidal de Besalú may himself have been influenced here by movements in the north and west of France loosely linked to the Plantagenet court. The vernacular moral preaching of the likes of the Plantagenet courtier Bishop Stephen of Rennes in the 1160s was complemented from the schools by the moral reflections on knighthood of John of Salisbury in his *Policraticus*. Alexander Neckam, and more particularly, Ralph Niger, likewise in the 1180s reflected on knighthood each in their own way. All three scholars were associated in varying degrees with the Plantagenet court.⁵⁰ This may have been one influence at least on the transformation of the southern *ensenhamen*. The same influences moulded our chivalric ur-text, the *Ordene de Chevalerie*. In that regard *Abril issi* is powerful supporting evidence for the way chivalry emerged from the habitus. For in it we see how the existing genre of the *ensenhamen* was transformed and adapted as society realised it had a self-conscious code of noble conduct.

Conclusion

My intention here has been to take an important point established by Maurice Keen in 1984 and see what a quarter of a century of prolific scholarship has done to it. His dating of the emergence of chivalry as a code is vital to scholarship on noble conduct, and it is alarming to see how the incoherence of subsequent scholarship has compromised his insight. But all is by no means loss. Jaeger's reification of courtliness may have complicated debate, but it also assists it. Royal and princely courts did affect the behaviour of their inhabitants, and the more intelligent of courtiers – like William Marshal (an avatar of courtliness missed by Jaeger) – consciously modified their behaviour to further their

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 71 (lines 590–2).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 98 (line 1058).

⁵⁰ Crouch, *Birth of Nobility*, pp. 82–5.

careers.⁵¹ The important point to bear in mind is the significance of the word 'code'. Codes, like courts, influence the behaviour of people, but to do that they must first be recognised as a fact. When the code of chivalry was there to dictate what conduct might be called noble, then the idea of a noble class – defined by behaviour, as much as material aspirations and descent – became more potent. Chivalry and hierarchical social class are inextricably linked concepts, as Maurice Keen understood.⁵² Trends in debate since the 1980s are causing us to lose sight of that.

⁵¹ D. Crouch, 'Loyalty, Career and Self-Justification at the Plantagenet Court: The Thought World of William Marshal and His Colleagues', *Culture Politique des Plantagenêt, 1154–1224*, ed. E. Palazzo and M. Aurell (Centre des études supérieures de civilisation médiévale, Poitiers, 2003), pp. 229–40.

⁵² Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 145–7.

Court, Crusade and City: The Cultural Milieu of Louis I Duke of Bourbon

Christopher Tyerman

The career of Louis I duke of Bourbon (c. 1280–1342), last surviving grandson of Louis IX in the male line, was primarily distinguished by his intimate engagement over a generation with plans for a new French crusade. While in recent years it has become customary to use the commitment of such individuals to illustrate the continued vibrancy of crusading, it is instructive to follow Maurice Keen's lead, when in pursuit of English fourteenth-century crusaders, and turn the lens the other way, back towards the social, cultural and political contexts of crusade policy and noble life in early fourteenth-century France. This culture can be analysed institutionally but also personally. Louis of Bourbon, prominent from the Flemish wars of the 1290s to those of the 1340s, reveals something of how, in this case, a grand prince of the blood operated, from political ambition, dynastic networking or cultural tastes to relationships with non-noble urban elites and wider political society; and how these circumstances framed an attachment to chivalric and pious causes such as the crusade.

Louis was the son of Robert, count of Clermont-en-Beauvaisis (d. 1318), sixth son of Louis IX, an invalid since sustaining severe head injuries at a tournament in 1279. Knighted in 1297 prior to his first major campaign, Louis subsequently fought in Flanders in 1299, 1302 (some accusing him of running away from Courtrai) and 1304. He emerged fully as a political figure with clout in 1310 when he inherited the lordship of Bourbon in central France on the death of his mother (he inherited his father's county of Clermont-en-Beauvaisis in 1318) and was appointed *chambrier* of France.¹ Although making the Bourbonnais the focus for his territorial ambition, Louis remained close to the royal court

¹ Guillaume de Nangis, *Gesta Philippe Tertii, Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. M. B. Bouquet *et al.* (Paris, 1738–1876), 20, pp. 512–14; Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine de 1113 à 1300 avec les continuations de 1300 à 1368*, ed. H. Géraud (Paris, 1843), 1, pp. 299, 319; 2, p. 5; *Comptes royaux 1285–1314*, ed. R. Fawtier *et al.* (Paris 1953–54), no. 27024; *Registres du Trésor des Chartes: Inventaire analytique*, 1, ed. R. Fawtier (Paris 1958), no. 1560; P. Lehugeur, *Histoire de Philippe le Long* (Paris, 1897, 1931) 2, p. 117; *Actes du Parlement de Paris*, ed. E. Boutaric (Paris, 1864–67), no. 7122; in general, J.-M. de la Mure, *Histoire des ducs de Bourbon et comtes de Forez* (Paris, 1860–68), 2, pp. 5–32; A. de Boislisle, 'Projet de croisade

and politics, sustained by a capacity for business and his proximity to the crown in blood.² His repeatedly proclaimed descent from Louis IX assumed increasing significance as the royal saint's reputation grew in seeming direct proportion to the thinning out of his descendents in the male line between 1314 and 1328. Louis, his brother John (d. 1316) and his aged father Robert were paraded at a cross-taking ceremony in July 1316, where Louis was first declared leader of the French crusade schemes.³ In 1327, Charles IV described Louis as the senior male Capetian and one contemporary legal observer of the succession crisis of 1328 even speculated that had Louis's father still been alive, Robert of Clermont not Philip of Valois would have possessed the best claim to the throne.⁴ A central figure in royal politics and a provincial magnate in his own right, Louis provided the sort of personal link between court and country that lent late Capetian France much of its apparent unity.

Louis's speciality rested in diplomacy, political arbitration (e.g. Flanders 1310 and 1320; Artois 1319) and in the perhaps surprisingly frequent enquiries into fiscal, financial or administrative abuses in central government (e.g. Enguerrand of Marigny 1315; Gerard Gayte 1321; Henry of Sully 1321).⁵ His twenty-year engagement (1316–36) in planning a new crusade frequently took him to the Roman Curia at Avignon, which also provided a welcome source of patronage and income for his clerical servants and protégés.⁶ This still left time for domestic affairs: the Saint Sardos war of 1324; the peace negotiations with Queen Isabella of England in 1325 that ended with the espousal of her son, the future Edward III, to Philippa of Hainault, Louis's niece by marriage; the Flanders campaigns

du premier duc de Bourbon', *Annuaire Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de France* 14 (1872), 230–6, 246–55.

- ² For the Bourbonnais, A. Leguai, 'De la seigneurie à l'état: le Bourbonnais pendant le guerre de Cent Ans', *Bulletin de la Société d'Emulation du Bourbonnais* 52–4 (1964–69) and his *Les ducs de Bourbon, le Bourbonnais et le royaume de France à la fin du moyen age* (Moulins, 2005).
- ³ Lehugeur, *Philippe le Long*, 1, pp. 28–45; Nangis, *Chronique*, 1, pp. 427–8; *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, ed. H. Moranvillé (Paris 1891), 1, pp. 230–3; *Chronique parisienne anonyme de 1316 à 1339*, ed. A. Hellot, *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France* 11 (1884), pp. 25–6.
- ⁴ *Titres de la maison ducale de Bourbon*, ed. A. Huillard-Bréholles (Paris, 1867–74), no. 1850; A. R. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France* (Cambridge, MA), pp. 167–70, 183–4, 306 n. 132; Paris BnF, JJ 56 no. 413; *Titres*, no. 1509 for Louis in 1318 citing his grandfather's crusade precedent.
- ⁵ *Foedera*, 3, p. 412; *CPR, 1307–1313*, p. 569; J. Favier, *Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1978), p. 420; Paris BnF, JJ 50, no. 115; JJ 55, nos 110, 128, 134; JJ 60, nos 65–7; *Registres du Trésor des Chartes: Inventaire analytique*, 2:i, ed. J. Guerout (Paris, 1966), nos 16, 1568, 1586, 1592, 3435–7; Lehugeur, *Philippe le Long*, 2, p. 117; Paris BnF, J 563A, no. 39; *Actes de Parlement*, no. 6817.
- ⁶ Boislisle, 'Projet', *passim* and my articles, 'Marino Sanudo Torsello and the Lost Crusade', *TRHS* 32 (1982), 57–73; 'Philip V of France, the Assemblies of 1319–20 and the Crusade', *BIHR* 57 (1984), 15–34; 'Sed Nihil Fecit? the Last Capetians and the Recovery of the Holy Land', *War and Government in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Gillingham and J. Holt (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 170–81; 'Philip VI and the Recovery of the Holy Land', *EHR* 100 (1985), 25–52; for papal provisions showered on one of Louis's officials, John XXII, *Lettres communes*, ed. G. Mollat (Paris, 1904–46), nos 206, 3824, 12623, 15879, 59594, 60800, 61110, 61111.

of 1328; and the early days of the Hundred Years War. Only a few months before his death in January 1342, he was negotiating an extension to the treaty of Esplechin.⁷ His status was reflected in his children's marriages. His eldest son Peter married Isabelle of Valois, daughter of Philip VI; Jeanne married Guy VII, count of Forez, opening a later realised possibility of territorial acquisition; Mary married the heir of the king of Cyprus (in 1330); Beatrice married John of Luxembourg, king of Bohemia (in 1334). After Louis's death, Mary married a second time into the Angevin royal house of Naples.⁸

Louis's family commitment to the crusade anticipated the 1316 ceremony. Count Robert had taken the cross before 1306. Louis had followed suit in 1313 and remembered the Holy Land in his will of 1316. He would take the cross a third time in 1333.⁹ Louis's involvement stretched to Greece, Cyprus, Armenia and the Holy Land, as well as the details of recruitment, finance and organisation, his schemes entrenched in French crusade planning for two decades. High stakes were involved in such open promotion of a crusade. In July 1319, Philip V warned Louis that if he failed to embark on crusade, 'il seroit desplaisir a dieu et acqueroit la honte du monde', dire fates in the canon of contemporary chivalric values.¹⁰ Louis's ambitions in the eastern Mediterranean drew him briefly, if abortively, into the tangled dynastic politics of Frankish Greece. In 1320–21 he unsuccessfully bid against the Angevin rulers of Naples for the auctioned Burgundian rights in the region.¹¹ More promisingly, Mary of Bourbon's marriage to Guy of Lusignan opened the prospect of one of Louis's grandchildren ascending the throne of Cyprus. In the event Guy predeceased his father, Hugh IV, and his and Mary's son Hugh (1343–79) had to be content with lands and the imposing title of prince of Galilee. This Hugh bequeathed his rights to his cousin, Duke Louis II of Bourbon (1337–1410) who, as late as 1408, apparently voiced his intention to assert his claim to Cyprus in person, evanescent testimony to the scope of Louis I's vision.¹² Ironically, the closest Louis himself came to the Holy Land was as the butt of diplomatic sabotage.

⁷ Note 1 above and *The War of Saint Sardos*, ed. P. Chaplais (Camden Society 3rd series 87, London, 1954), pp. 51, 187, 244, 267, 269. Louis had attended Isabella when she went to England to be married in 1308; R. Cazelles, *La société politique et la crise de la royauté sous Philippe de Valois* (Paris, 1958), pp. 110–11, 125, 310 and n. 3, 422; *Les Journaux du Trésor de Philippe VI de Valois*, ed. J. Viard (Paris, 1899), nos 5377, 5937; *Titres*, nos 2229, 2231, 2261–2; H. S. Lucas, *The Low Countries and the Hundred Years War* (Ann Arbor, 1929), p. 466.

⁸ A. Leguai, 'La famille de Bourbon: les mariages des ducs et leurs conséquences politiques', *Les ducs de Bourbon*, chapter VII, esp. pp. 115–16; O. Troubat, 'Beatrix de Bourbon, reine de Bohême', *Annales de l'Est*, 5th series 4 (1988), 259–79.

⁹ *Titres*, nos 1169, 1419, 1471; *Comptes royaux 1285–1314*, no. 27648; *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, i. 211; *Chronique parisienne*, p. 154.

¹⁰ Paris BnF, JJ 59, no. 76; reregistered JJ 60, no. 100.

¹¹ *Titres*, nos 1589–90, 1595, 1604; John XXII, *Lettres secrètes et curiales relatives à la France* (Paris, 1900–), ed. A. Coulon, nos 1005–7, 1046, 1354; P. Topping, 'The Morea 1311–64', *A History of the Crusades*, gen. ed. K. Setton, 3 (Madison, 1975), pp. 108–17.

¹² O. Troubat, 'La France et le royaume de Chypre au xive siècle', *Revue historique* 278 (1987), 3–21; *Chronique du Bon Duc Loys de Bourbon*, ed. A.-M. Chazaud (Paris, 1876), p. 291.

In 1330, Marie of Bourbon's chaperones to Cyprus, Bishop William Durand of Mende and Peter of la Palu, patriarch of Jerusalem, proceeded after the wedding to Egypt, where they held futile negotiations with Sultan al-Nasir. This mission followed two other French embassies to Egypt since 1326, the first of which had collapsed when pacific letters of credential from Charles IV had been branded by an Aragonese *agent provocateur* as having been forged by Louis of Bourbon who was accused of bribing royal officials to attach the king's seal, a very bizarre linkage of Louis's identification with French royal administration and eastern affairs, but backhanded testimony to his position in both.¹³

Louis's leadership of the crusade was not confined to council chambers and court ceremonial. Crusading elicited responses far beyond the ruling elites. Some constituted a form of collective critique of official policy from those often excluded from active participation by more professional fundraising and recruitment. Such popular crusades were political demonstrations not social revolts, even when they dissolved into local mayhem and riot once political demands had been refused or patronage withdrawn. Although often described by contemporaries as the result of spontaneous combustion or direct celestial visions, the link between court and country is inescapable. In 1320, the so-called Pastoureaux, many coming from areas such as Normandy that had supplied representatives to a series of crusade meetings in 1319–20 organised by, among others, Louis of Bourbon, entered Paris. However, some bore Louis's arms, indicating a direct reaction to a precise political moment in crusade organisation, one not necessarily opposed by the authorities. John XXII's dismay at Philip V's initial lack of hostility to the Pastoureaux was echoed in contemporary chronicles.¹⁴ While the extent, if any, of Louis of Bourbon's direct involvement is unclear, it fitted his efforts to persuade nobles and towns to agree to crusade financial levies, suggesting a scrutiny of government actions in regions around the Ile de France witnessed again in the 1350s Jacquerie. Subsequent denigration of the 1320 insurgents as a dangerous rabble ignored any hint of noble association or evidence of internal cohesion in organisation and policy that undoubtedly existed.

By contrast, the social origins of the aborted – and largely ignored – crusade of 1326 appear to have been more elevated. Apparently comprising many who had sold property, bands of 'peregrini' converged from all parts of the kingdom on Paris, probably moved by recurrent rumours of a new Armenian crusade. Once again, the authorities were complicit. Louis of Bourbon addressed an assembly of the *crucesignati* at the royal palace on the Ile de la Cité on Good Friday 1326, in a scene familiar both from the 1313 crusade fete and an earlier gathering held there in January 1323 to discuss help for Armenia. After pleading poverty – justifiably given his own debts and the lack of papal subsidies – Louis

¹³ F. Lot, 'Essai d'intervention en faveur des chrétiens d'Orient', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 36 (1875), p. 595.

¹⁴ Nangis, *Chronique*, 2, pp. 25–8; *Chronique parisienne*, pp. 46–8; John XXII, *Lettres secrètes*, no. 1116; M. Barber, 'The Pastoureaux of 1320', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 32 (1981), 143–66.

promised to muster crusaders the following year at Lyons. Unconvinced, the crowds dispersed to their homes feeling, so observers imagined, defrauded, scandalised and contemptuous.¹⁵ To deflect opprobrium, the following year Louis took an oath in Notre Dame to exile himself from Paris until his crusade vow had been fulfilled. This chivalrous gesture proved vain, attracting little but inconvenience and ridicule, as in subsequent years Louis was to be found skulking at the Temple, with its fine views of Notre Dame, or the Louvre, technically outside the city walls but only a stone's throw away from his own hotel on the right bank of the Seine. Temporarily lifted by the pope in May 1332 to allow Louis to attend the marriage of Philip VI's son John, the vow was only finally absolved in February 1333, Philip V's gibe of 'la honte du monde' possibly echoing in Louis's mind.¹⁶

While much attention has been paid to the place of formal summoning of national, provincial and urban assemblies in the operation of late Capetian government, regular, *ad hoc* meetings of citizens, presumably mainly Parisians, evidently constituted a well-honed method of disseminating publicity and propaganda to gain some sort of popular legitimacy, 'pour yce publier au peuple', as a Parisian chronicler commented on the 1323 meeting at the royal palace.¹⁷ Those putative crusaders who gathered in Paris at Easter 1326 included, a local (Parisian or St Denis) chronicler noted, 'pluseurs gens des bonnes villes'.¹⁸ Just as participation in crusading was as much an urban as a rural phenomenon, so royal and court patronage of bourgeois crusaders was also far from exceptional. In May 1326, a few weeks after the Easter crusade gathering, the foundation stone was laid for a church commissioned by another self-identified group of urban *crucesignati*, those Parisians who had taken the cross in 1313. Here, Louis of Bourbon's patronage was explicit.

In 1317, he and a group of fellow *crucesignati* established 'la confrarie du Saint-Sepulchre Nostre Seigneur'. On Holy Cross Day 1317 (14 September), Louis and his companions, dressed in red robes, held a service at the church of Sainte-Croix in the rue St Merri in Paris – a church founded by St Louis himself – 'pour l'honneur de Dieu et de saint voiage'.¹⁹ The contrast between this gesture, inclusive of noble and bourgeois *crucesignati* of 1313 and 1316 alike, and later local secular orders of chivalry, such as Louis's own grandsons' Order of the Golden Shield (*Escu d'or*), established in the winter of 1363–64, is revealing.

¹⁵ Continuations of the chronicles of Girard de Frachet and John of St Victor, *Recueil des historiens de France*, 21, pp. 66 and 686; Nangis, *Chronique*, 2, 65–6 and n. 1; *Grandes chroniques de France*, ed. J. Viard (Paris, 1924–), 9, pp. 49–50; for 1313 festivities, E. A. R. Brown and N. F. Regalado, 'La grant feste. Philip the Fair's Celebration of the Knighting of His Sons in Paris at Pentecost 1313', *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. B. A. Hanawalt and K. L. Ryerson (Minneapolis, MN, 1994), pp. 56–86.

¹⁶ *Recueil des historiens de France*, 21, pp. 69, 687–8; *Grandes chroniques*, 9, p. 64; Nangis, *Chronique*, 2, 81; John XXII, *Lettres secrètes*, nos 3315, 3342, 3343, 3437, 4872–3, 5064.

¹⁷ *Chronique parisienne*, p. 77.

¹⁸ *Recueil des historiens de France*, 21, p. 686.

¹⁹ *Chronique parisienne*, pp. 29–30; 102–3.

Louis II's order was restricted, quite broadly but specifically, to his knights, squires and nobles. Louis II's early fifteenth-century biographer makes much of the fact that the duke was actually staying with a local Moulins bourgeois at the time, who had acted as his agent during his captivity in England (1356–63). Beside the account of the founding of the Order of the Golden Shield, the biographer describes the bourgeois's failed attempt to foist on the duke a dossier outlining noble depredations during his absence. The duke threw the document in the fire, accusing the bourgeois in turn of malpractice and corruption. This pointed tale of class skirmishing may reflect how across northern France wealthy bourgeois were increasingly becoming fixtures of courtly life, even of courtly festivities and entertainments, prompting a consequent hardening of expressions of social distinction.²⁰

For nobles in Louis I's Paris earlier in the century, with the riots in 1307 of discontented workers against increased rents fresh in the memory, alliance with urban elites made sound political sense.²¹ Equally, for those bourgeois directly involved, royal or princely service offered a slippery ascent up the social ladder, where the distinction insisted upon by Louis II's biographer could not be applied. The Parisian bourgeois family of Braque is a case in point. Arnoul was ennobled at the instigation of the queen in 1339 and insisted on formally renouncing his status as a bourgeois of Paris; his son Nicholas, however, called himself a bourgeois until becoming a knight in 1353. In 1319 John Bilouart, for many years a leading figure in the *chambre des comptes*, had been ennobled but retained his status as a bourgeois.²² The opportunities for Parisian bourgeois self-advancement offered by Louis's *confrarie* cannot have been the least of its attractions. Where Louis II's order of chivalry excluded, Louis I's *confrarie* embraced. Parallels for Louis's *confrarie* lay more in urban religious guilds and confraternities of the thirteenth century, some dedicated to the crusade, or even with the political associations that emerged at the same time in urban Italy ostensibly to combat heretics and enemies of the papacy, rather than in later chivalric orders.²³ Louis's *confrarie* boasted an explicitly urban context, not exclusively based on aristocratic clientage, but additionally on shared religious obligation, the crusade. Despite later shibboleths of birth and education, courtly life in Paris as elsewhere exhibited an intimate and necessary urban and bourgeois dimension, at odds with the elitist imagination of chivalric writers such as the biographer of his grandson.

The 1317 ceremony represented more than a flamboyant ephemeral gesture.

²⁰ *Chronique du Bon Duc Loys*, pp. 8–15; cf. M. Vale, 'The World of the Courts', *Fauvel Studies*, ed. M. Bent and A. Wathey (Oxford, 1998), pp. 591–8 and, generally, M. Vale, *The Princely Court* (Oxford, 2001).

²¹ *Grandes chroniques*, 8, pp. 250–2.

²² Cazelles, *Société politique*, pp. 293–4.

²³ N. Housley, 'Politics and Heretics in Italy: Anti-Heretical Crusades, Orders and Confraternities 1200–1500', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33 (1982), 193–208; C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades 1095–1588* (Chicago, 1988), pp. 261, 285.

As part of the ratcheting up of crusade interest under Charles IV, in 1325 Louis sought to provide the *confrarie* with a church and hospital of its own in the rue St Denis, designed, in common with other, less grandly patronised confraternities elsewhere in Europe, to minister to the needs of pilgrims and crusaders and to help members fulfil their crusade vows, deepen their devotion to the Holy Land and increase their numbers. Louis presided over the laying of the foundation stone on 18 May 1326 by the archbishop of Auch, assisted by Bishop Durand. As with the 1317 inauguration and the fete of 1313, nobles and bourgeois came together, in E. A. R. Brown's phrase, 'in a festive experience of *communitas*'.²⁴ It is possible that rumours of these plans helped convince some outside Paris that the crusade itself was imminent, encouraging their appearance at Easter 1326. The *confrarie* drew in Louis's wider network of political associates. Among the other witnesses to the dedication, were Queen Isabella of England, her son Edward and the dowager Queen Clemence, widow of Louis X. Isabella had taken the cross, conditional on her husband's participation, in 1313, and so qualified as a member of the *confrarie*. She had been in France for a year, negotiating peace after the Saint Sardos War, the homage of young Edward to Charles IV (September 1325) and the marriage alliance to Philippa of Hainault (August 1326). Throughout, she had regular social as well as political contacts with Louis of Bourbon, whose niece by marriage was young Edward's intended bride. She paid regular visits to religious foundations, one of her first acts being to venerate the relics of the Passion in the Sainte Chapelle. The political resonance of the May 1326 ceremony could not have been missed. Having definitively broken with Edward II the previous autumn, Isabella was about to embark on the road that would lead to her invasion of England and *coup d'état*. Public display of her and her son's place at the heart of the French royal family and association with its most cherished moral ambition, the crusade, was hardly neutral or purely sociable.²⁵

The confraternity of the Holy Sepulchre initially flourished. Louis promised 150 *livres tournois* to found five chapels. The first mass was celebrated in the new church in December 1327. In January 1329, Philip VI extended royal patronage to the *confrarie* at the urging of Louis and Bishop Durand. By the mid-1330s, membership had apparently grown to over one thousand, including kings, princes and men of all conditions; sixteen canons were attached to the church. The royal Sainte Chapelle provided the model. In 1336, Louis wrote to all the metropolitans in France asking permission to collect money for the

²⁴ Brown and Regalado, '*La grant feste*', p. 56; X. du Boisrouvray, '*L'église collégiale et la confrérie du St Sépulchre à Paris 1325–1791*', *Positions des thèses de l'école nationale des Chartes* (Paris, 1953), pp. 33–5.

²⁵ *Chronique parisienne*, pp. 102–3; Brown and Regalado, '*La grant feste*', p. 64; A. Wathey, 'The Marriage of Edward III and the Transmission of French Motets to England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45 (1992), 1–29, esp. p. 4; Chaplais, *War of Saint-Sardos*, pp. 267–70 for Isabella's itineraries and dining companions and p. 244 for the archbishop of Auch as the leading clerical witness to Prince Edward's homage in Sept. 1325.

confraternity hospital for Holy Land pilgrims, unavailingly it seems. However, Louis himself promised 60s each to pilgrims bound for the Holy Land and 30–40s for those coming back. Relics given to the church included three pieces of the True Cross, a key to one of the gates of Jerusalem, a piece of stone from the Holy Sepulchre and other items associated with the Holy Land and its saints, such as an arm of St George donated by John III of Brittany.²⁶ Such devotional charity may not, in Louis's case, have been empty convention. His major religious foundation was the Sainte Chapelle at Bourbon l'Archambault, which became his family's mausoleum. Here too were Holy Land relics of the Passion, in imitation of his grandfather Louis IX's foundation, including pieces of the True Cross and Crown of Thorns.²⁷ Louis's crusade commitment was of a piece with his religious as well as political and chivalric ambitions.

The *confrarie* also shared features with other such associations springing up on the prosperous, commercial right bank of the Seine. It attracted as *confrères* men such as Peter Lieuvillier, auditor of the Chatelet, who championed the confraternity in a 1327 dispute with the bishop of Paris and in 1335 received money from Philip VI to fund a chaplaincy in its church.²⁸ Louis of Bourbon held extensive links with prominent Parisian bourgeois as a consequence of his involvement in royal administration, his domestic arrangements in Paris, and his debts. Between 1303 and 1312, Louis had bought property on the right bank of the Seine just upstream from the Louvre where he constructed the first Hôtel de Bourbon.²⁹ Official duties and living in Paris brought Louis in contact with lesser as well as prominent citizens, including the *tombier* John of Huy and the goldsmith Peter of Besancon.³⁰ One of Louis's creditors was Laude Belon, who also lent money to King Charles IV for the Saint Sardos War of 1324.³¹ John Bilouart, from the *chambre des comptes*, royal treasurer and briefly *argentier* to Charles IV, acted as one of Louis's agents in the royal *trésor*.³² In 1314, Gautier Dammartin, an important wax merchant, received an annual rent of 50 *livres*

²⁶ Du Boisrouvray, 'L'église collégiale', pp. 33–5; S. Jaillot, *Recherches sur la ville de Paris*, 1 (Paris, 1772), pp. 22–4; A.-L. Millin, *Antiquités nationales* (Paris, 1791), 3, pp. 4, 6, 7; M. Félibien and G. A. Lobineau, *Histoire de la ville de Paris* (Paris, 1725), 1, pp. 402, 566–8; R. Cazelles, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris 1223–1380* (Paris, 1972), p. 62; E. Molinier, 'Inventaire du Trésor de l'Eglise du St Sépulchre de Paris', *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France* 9 (1882), 258–9, 271; B. A. Pocquet du Haut Jussé, *Les papas et les ducs de Bretagne* (Rennes, 1929), 1, pp. 215–20.

²⁷ John XXII, *Lettres communes*, nos 3888, 3891, 6756, 15941, 16795, 58069, 61035; C. Billot, 'Les Saintes-Chapelles', *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 73 (1987), 243, 245, 246.

²⁸ Félibien and Lobineau, *Histoire de Paris*, 1, p. 566; Paris BnF, JJ 69, no. 148; *Documents parisiens du règne de Philippe VI de Valois* (Paris, 1899–1901), 1, p. 219.

²⁹ A. Berty, *Topographie historique de vieux Paris: Région du Louvre et de Tuileries* (Paris, 1866–68), 1, pp. 33–4, illustration p. 135; 2, p. 168; de la Mure, *Histoire des ducs de Bourbon*, 3– ii, pp. 144–5.

³⁰ *Titres*, no. 1815; *Journaux du Trésor de Philippe VI*, nos 5242, 5538.

³¹ *Les journaux du Trésor de Charles IV le Bel*, ed. J. Viard (Paris, 1917), nos 5833, 7950.

³² *Journaux du Trésor de Charles IV*, nos 1837, 6631 and p. 2 n. 3.

from Louis for his services.³³ Peter d'Essars, another *argentier* of Charles IV and under Philip VI lay *maître* in the *chambre des comptes*, dealt closely with Louis, being described by the duke in 1331 as 'nostre ame vallet'.³⁴ Other contacts with Parisian citizens in royal service included the Coquatrix, *père et fils*, the father, Geoffrey, being involved in commerce as well as military provisioning which may have brought him into association with Louis as *chambrier* or as overseer of the Champagne fairs, a post to which Louis had been appointed in 1317.³⁵

Such links were common and inevitable, witnessed by the role the citizens played in the 1313 festivities celebrating the knighting of Philip IV's sons and their taking the cross. In some respects, the culture of these rich, inter-related urban oligarchs, some ennobled through royal service, differed only in degree from that of the high nobility. In 1320, Louis attended a joust held by the Parisian *bourgeoisie* to celebrate the marriage of Louis of Nevers.³⁶ In 1330, Louis of Bourbon helped obtain royal permission for an elaborate tournament at which Parisians challenged citizens from other French towns. The Parisians presented themselves as King Priam and his twenty-five sons; Louis had direct dealings with at least two who took part, Peter Flamenc and John Bilouart.³⁷ As an active *chambrier*, Louis may have had rather closer ties than others of his status with such urban elites and financiers. As controller of the Champagne fairs, Louis appointed as *magister* in 1317 an intimate from his household, Richard Pilon, a bourgeois from Clermont-en-Beauvaisis, later *prévot* of Compiègne. Pilon became embroiled in a dispute over taxing profits from the Lagny fair with some Italian merchants, including the Piacenzan Ruffin Doussan, later both Louis's creditor and banker.³⁸ This close-knit circle could be extended to include the chancellor of the fairs, William Guenaut, a collaborator of Peter Remy, Charles IV's finance minister who lent Louis 1,300 *livres tournois* early in 1327.³⁹ The wider Italian commercial community featured regularly in Louis's business. Apart for Doussan, Sadoc Doria was in Louis's entourage in 1321. In 1329, he organised Mary of Bourbon's journey to Cyprus, with Paris representatives of the Bardi of Florence as bankers. Doria was allowed to form a company and to trade with Egypt. Another Genoese importer was helped to French nationality

³³ Paris BnF, J 378, no. 6; *Titres*, no. 1364 B; *Actes de Parlement*, no. 4091; he supplied wax for Louis X's funeral, *Comptes royaux 1314–28*, ed. F. Maillard (Paris, 1961), no. 14458.

³⁴ *Documents parisiens de Philippe VI*, no. 74, p. 112; cf. nos 14, 21; *Titres*, no. 1863A; *Comptes royaux 1314–28*, no. 14212; *Journaux du Trésor de Charles IV*, no. 17 n. 2, p. 6; Cazelles, *Société politique*, p. 182.

³⁵ *Documents parisiens de Philippe VI*, no. 106, pp. 169–70; *Journaux du Trésor de Charles IV*, no. 88, n. 2, p. 18. Cazelles, *Société politique*, pp. 59, 390 for an example of the close family ties between Louis's Paris bourgeoisie contacts. *Titres*, nos 1291, 1297 for *chambrier*.

³⁶ *Chronique parisienne*, p. 49.

³⁷ *Chronique parisienne*, pp. 135–40; note 33 above; *Journaux du Trésor de Philippe VI*, nos 5197 and 5775.

³⁸ *Titres*, nos 1419, 1604, 1807, 1823–25; *Actes de Parlement*, nos 6817, 6199; *Journaux du Trésor de Charles IV*, no. 3938; Cazelles, *Société politique*, p. 276 and nn. 5 and 6.

³⁹ *Titres*, nos 1792A, 1824, 1825, 2208.

in 1320 through Louis's good offices.⁴⁰ Louis's *confrarie* underlined that such associations were not simply bureaucratic; the bourgeois crusaders of 1313, 1316 and 1326 and the joustiers of 1330 shared in the chivalric culture that drew much of its force from the patronage of noble courtiers.

Louis's household business extended the social range of his patronage. To deal with his contracts, litigation, debts, property, vassals, even recruits for the crusade, his legal advisers included John of Halles, who also worked extensively for the royal government.⁴¹ His chief lawyer appears to have been Peter Champion from Berry, also employed by Philip IV and Charles IV; Louis secured extensive clerical preferment for Champion's son and nephew.⁴² From his Parisian base, Louis maintained connections with the university of Paris. In a list of university members for the year 1329–30, at least two were clients of the duke of Bourbon, both having already been associated with him for over a decade, one apparently belonging to the Bardi banking family. It is perhaps noteworthy that Louis is the only princely patron mentioned in the list. Guidomarus, probably of Meze, identified as a 'clericus domini Burboni cum socio', lived in the parish of St Germain d'Auxerre, presumably in Duke Louis's hotel.⁴³ Another of Louis's entourage between 1316 and 1334 was John of Henin from Artois, a 'magister de medicina'.⁴⁴ One observer noted that *magistri* took the cross with Louis and others in October 1333.⁴⁵ Given such academic associates, Louis's attendance in December 1333 at the conference to discuss the Beatific Vision, packed with highbrow clerics of Louis's acquaintance, may not have been an entirely formal parade.⁴⁶

Too often, perhaps, the intellectual lives of medieval nobles are reduced to religious devotion or vernacular literature, yet men of business and government, such as Louis, regularly had to cope with wider issues of principle, practice and conscience. As works such as Geoffrey de Charny's *Book of Chivalry* indicate, the business of war could stimulate laymen to conceptual thought. Discussion of pragmatic military details could be couched in academic terms; a collection of crusade materials prepared for the French king in the 1320s included Vegetius.⁴⁷ Good administration required organised information; the earliest inventory

⁴⁰ *Titres*, nos 1604, 1878, 1887, 1888, 1897, 1994; Troubat, 'La France et le royaume de Chypre'.

⁴¹ *Inventaire de Robert Mignon*, ed. C. V. Langlois (Paris, 1899), nos 1633, 1659, 1679, 1680 and p. 362; *Actes de Parlement*, nos 5451, 4482A, 5899A, 6930A; Lehugeur, *Philippe le Long*, 2, pp. 152, 192; *Journaux du Trésor de Charles IV*, nos 3697 (and n. 2), 8471; John XXII, *Lettres communes*, nos 3802, 14897, 54468; John XXII, *Lettres secrètes*, no. 1354; *Titres*, nos 1604, 1727.

⁴² *Registres*, 1, nos 1027, 2266; *Titres*, nos 1419, 1878; *Journaux du Trésor de Charles IV*, nos 439, 443; John XXII, *Lettres communes*, nos 192, 3794, 3822.

⁴³ W. J. Courtenay, *Parisian Scholars in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 105, 150, 151, 207, 245.

⁴⁴ *Titres*, nos 1419, 1604, 1878, 1900, 1914, 2041, 2083; John XXII, *Lettres communes*, nos 207, 3825.

⁴⁵ Nangis, *Chronique*, 2, pp. 134–5.

⁴⁶ *Chartularum universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle and E. Chatelain (Paris, 1889–97), 2, no. 981.

⁴⁷ BnF MS Lat. 7470.

of Bourbon charters dates from Louis's time.⁴⁸ On crusading, Louis sought advice from veterans, experts, professionals and theorists. In the early years of his involvement, he commissioned an unusually precise statement of the costs of shipping from Marseilles that remained sufficiently relevant to be registered years later during Philip VI's preparations for a *passagium*.⁴⁹ At Avignon in 1322, the Venetian businessman, historian and lobbyist Marino Sanudo Torsello presented Louis with his great crusade compendium *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*. In Paris a year later, Sanudo provided Louis with maps (probably by Pietro Vesconte). The pair continued to correspond for another dozen years, in 1334 Sanudo entertaining Louis's agent in the eastern Mediterranean, an Englishman William Badin.⁵⁰ The intellectual frame of his crusading, like his patronage of the *confrarie*, went beyond the conventional. His closest crusade collaborator in the 1320s and fellow patron of the *confrarie*, Bishop William Durand of Mende, was a scholarly controversialist of distinctly independent views, notably on church government, by no means a run-of-the mill royal official, legist or clerical time-server. Durand's crusade *Informacio Brevis* was probably composed in response to the crusade assemblies of 1319–20 in which Louis was equally closely involved.⁵¹ This literary and learned dimension hints at Louis's possession of a wide cultural hinterland that sat well in a court milieu that embraced Arabic translators and, in 1322, purchased a map of Outremer for 30 *sous*.⁵² Louis's Sanudo/Vesconte ones were almost certainly better.

Consideration of Louis's associates and household opens up further circles. By 1321, and possibly since 1315, the administrator, poet, musician and polymath Philip of Vitry was employed by Louis, precisely the time to which some ascribe his revolutionary motets. Although also acting as a royal clerk from the late 1320s, by 1334 Philip was one of Louis's three most senior clerical officials, operating on Louis's behalf both at the royal court and in the Bourbonnais. In January 1342, he was the chief clerical executor of Louis's will. Philip acted as Louis's procurator at Avignon and much of his work in chancery was conducted either as Louis's agent or in association with him.⁵³ This placed Louis at the

⁴⁸ *Titres: Notices sur les archives des anciens ducs de Bourbon, Pie ces justificatives*, no. 1, pp. xxiii–xxiv.

⁴⁹ Boislisle, 'Projet', pp. 248–55.

⁵⁰ J. Bongars, *Gesta Dei Per Francos* (Hanau, 1611), 2, pp. 296, 300; F. Kunstmann, 'Studien uber Marin Sanudo', *Königliche Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Abhandlungen Phil-Historische Classe* 7 (1855), 812, 815–16; for Badin's English career as a sea captain in royal pay, *CPR* 1327–30, p. 9; *CCR* 1327–30, p. 9.

⁵¹ Tyerman, 'Philip V', pp. 27–9; for text, G. Durrholder, *Die Kreuzzugspolitik unter 4 Papst Johann XXII 1316–34* (Strasbourg, 1913), pp. 104–10; cf. C. Fasolt, *Council and Hierarchy: The Political Thought of William Durant the Younger* (Cambridge, 1991).

⁵² *Musée des archives nationales: Documents originaux de l'histoire de France exposée dans l'hôtel Soubise* (Paris, 1872), no. 328; *Comptes royaux 1314–28*, no. 13902.

⁵³ *Titres*, esp. nos 2041, 2303; A. Wathey, 'Gervés du Bus', *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 606–7; A. Wathey, 'European Politics and Musical Culture at the Court of Cyprus', *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino J.11.9*, ed. U. Gunther and L. Finscher, *Musicological Studies and Documents* 45 (Neuhaussen and Stuttgart, 1995), esp. pp. 38–44.

centre of a web of court and princely patrons and officials who acted and interacted in politics, administration and the arts. It is the circle that produced the famous *Fauvel* (1314–17) and, later, *Fauvain* (1326–27), the latter possibly linked to the marriage of Edward III of England to Louis's niece by marriage Philippa of Hainault. It has been argued that these sharp allegorical satires on the contemporary French political scene owed much to increasing bourgeois involvement in courtly entertainment as well as government, precisely the context of Louis of Bourbon's own household and career. While Philip of Vitry's participation in the development of the *Fauvel* texts remains conjectural, they certainly emanated from his and his patron's milieu.⁵⁴ Philip's close ties with Louis may have helped inspire his moralising poetic sermon on Philip VI's crusade, *Le Chapel des fleurs de lis*, composed within months of a visit to Bourbon in February 1334 when he witnessed the ennoblement and crusade service contracts of two of Louis's Bourbonnais vassals.⁵⁵ Philip fitted easily into Louis's entourage. For instance, Louis was also a patron of Watriquet of Couvin, commissioning from him an elegy for his old companion, Gaucher of Châtillon.⁵⁶ He employed a minstrel, Plumion, for whom Charles IV bought an expensive new flute.⁵⁷ The fashionable translator, John of Vignay, dedicated to Louis a translation of Vincent of Beauvais's *Miroir Historial*.⁵⁸ Louis cultivated elevated taste.

Although Louis's spiritual life must remain conjectural, his Sainte Chapelle in Bourbon and his Paris *confrarie* matched his public commitment to the crusade and the Holy Land. While he spread his religious largesse widely, he may have had a special interest in the house of the Blind Poor in Paris if, as is possible, his father's tournament injury had left him blind.⁵⁹ More suggestive, perhaps, is his possession of a manuscript of the *Somme le Roi*, a hugely popular penitential handbook for laymen compiled in 1279 by Philip III's confessor, the Dominican Lawrence du Bois of Orléans. The miniatures of the coats-of-arms of Louis, his wife and the counts of Flanders and Holland that decorate the manuscript have been attributed either to the *Fauvel* master or, more likely, someone heavily influenced by him, known as the 'Sub-*Fauvel* master', again placing Louis in a circle of up-to-date artists, musicians and poets.⁶⁰ The manuscript may cast light on his devotional inclinations. Lawrence du Bois of Orléans, OP, compiler

⁵⁴ A. Bent and A. Wathey, 'Introduction', *Fauvel Studies*, esp. pp. 1–16; E. A. R. Brown, 'Rex ioians, ionnes, iolis', *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 54, 59; Vale, 'World of the Courts', pp. 596–8; Wathey, 'Gerves du Bus'; D. Leech-Williams, 'The Emergence of *ars nova*', *Journal of Musicology* 13 (1995), esp. 315.

⁵⁵ A. Piaget, 'Le Chapel des Fleurs de Lis', *Romania* 27 (1898), 55–92; *Titres*, no. 2041.

⁵⁶ A. Schéler, *Dits de Watriquet de Couvin* (Brussels, 1868), pp. 47–53, 423–4.

⁵⁷ *Comptes royaux 1314–28*, no. 14214.

⁵⁸ Abbé Lebeuf, *Histoire de la ville et tout de diocese de Paris* (Paris, 1883 edn), 1, p. 156.

⁵⁹ John XXII, *Lettres communes*, no. 3905.

⁶⁰ E. V. Kosmer, *A Study of the Style and Iconography of a Thirteenth Century 'Somme le Roi'* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1996), Part I, pp. 8–14, 18–21, 43; Part II, pp. 34–7; A. Stones, 'The Stylistic Context of *Fauvel*', *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 529–67 esp. p. 532.

of the *Somme*, may possibly be identified as the Dominican 'Laurent di Orlans', an executor of a will of Louis's father Robert, probably pre-1280.⁶¹ If so, young Louis may have been brought up on its edifying stories and injunctions. The *Somme* was designed to appeal to the 'well-informed laymen' who wished to be entertained as well as instructed.⁶² The care taken with the armorial illustrations could indicate personal interest. Louis may also have noted the anecdote about St Germain d'Auxerre, Louis's local parish saint in Paris, condemning meanness in charitable giving while reassuring the givers of divine reward. Elsewhere, the *Somme* attacked usurers whose terms of repayment 'destroy the people, and namely the poor knights and squires, and also great lords that been going and gone to jousting and tournaments and over the great sea and into Prus'.⁶³ Louis was an indefatigable and possibly reckless jouster, despite his father's injury. At each of three tournaments in 1297–99, he managed to lose a horse.⁶⁴ Yet, despite his best efforts, he never crossed the Mediterranean, the 'great sea' and, unlike his son-in-law John of Luxembourg, he never campaigned in the Baltic either. For the former failure, in 1326 he had pleaded insufficient funds.⁶⁵

Louis was no saint. He fathered at least one illegitimate child.⁶⁶ However, even if Louis did not take the *Somme le Roi* to heart, his association with the crusade imposed a laborious penitential dimension to his life. Public and private unease at unfulfilled vows and promises balanced the appealing combination of piety and chivalry. Louis's cultural interests, however wide in embracing the poetry and music of Philip of Vitry, the social, moral and political critique of *Fauvel* and the *Somme le Roi*, or the academic concerns of the Paris masters and lawyers, remained rooted in the chivalric code of his ancestors and contemporaries, the qualities Watrquet of Couvin extolled in his elegy on Gaucher of Châtillon: *prouesse, courtoisie, honneur, largesse, loiauté* 'qui de noblesce toutes les autres vertus passe'.⁶⁷ Philip of Vitry's poem on Philip VI's crusade identified the three *fleurs de lis* as faith, wisdom and chivalry 'S'en yront en la sainte terre / Pour essaucier la foy et querre / Nostre general sauvement'.⁶⁸ In February 1332, Louis's colleague Archbishop Peter Roger, the future pope Clement VI, proposed as necessary crusader virtues faith, spiritual confidence, Christian charity, wisdom, justice, determination and sobriety.⁶⁹

Yet pure idealism was just that. Implicit also in the observations of high priests of chivalry such as Geoffrey de Charny lay what could be called conviviality

⁶¹ De la Mure, *Histoire des ducs de Bourbon*, 3, p. 156.

⁶² Kosmer, *Somme le Roi*, p. 14.

⁶³ *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, trans. W. Nelson Francis (EETS, Old Series 217, London, 1942), p. 32; cf. p. 196.

⁶⁴ *Titres*, no. 1043; *Chronique parisienne*, pp. 49, 135–40, 151; cf. for his hunting, no. 1390 and John XXII, *Lettres secrètes*, no. 1898 for a gift of venison to the pope.

⁶⁵ Above, note 15.

⁶⁶ Guy, seigneur of Cluys in Berry, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse* (3rd edn, Paris, 1864), 3, p. 744.

⁶⁷ Schéler, 'Dits', p. 44, ll. 30–3.

⁶⁸ Paiget, 'Le Chapel', ll. 786–94; *Titres*, no. 2041.

⁶⁹ Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, MS 240, fol. 270 verso, col. 1.

underpinning much of chivalric society and courtly life, from the household accounts groaning with details of food and wine to the public displays at feasts, festivals and tournaments. Conviviality was a part and consequence of practical *courtoisie*. Rare sightings of Louis of Bourbon in private, at social events such as dinners both in France and Avignon, suggest he knew and exploited this. During crusade negotiations at Avignon in 1322, he conducted an energetic schedule of dining out with, among others, the king of Naples and a number of cardinals.⁷⁰ In 1326, Louis used his social wiles to gain an estate from the count of Flanders that had belonged to the late Count Robert of Boulogne. Although estimated at 500*l* p.a., Louis claimed it was worth only 60*l*. and had once been part of Bourbon family lands, although privately admitting the discrepancy to the *bailli* of Amiens and one of the count of Flanders's councillors. Consequently, they strongly advised the count not to surrender the lands. However, after a meal attended only by Louis, the count and his councillor 'sine militibus et aliis', Louis worked on the count 'verbis dulcibus et blandatoriis', but adding, with a hint of possibly confected menace ('quasi motus ad iram' – note the 'quasi'): 'detis mihi propria voluntate, si vultis. Ego bene possum tantum prodesse et nocere.' The count took the hint; Louis got the land.⁷¹

Of itself insignificant, this anecdote indicates the intimate complexity of wealth and power; attractive, often pleasurable, but not easy. The work of a great noble could be intellectually as well as physically demanding, testing of wits and personality. The variety of contexts in which Louis acted is eloquent: battle fields and tournament lists; public ceremonies and private dinner parties; work in government departments; administering his estates in northern and central France; managing his Paris hotel; extending his power-base in the Bourbonnais; arranging royal or papal patronage for his protégés; agreeing charitable donations; organising marriages for his children; securing credit; avoiding the political shoals at the head of the royal family; for two decades taking the lead of a major international policy that involved travel, diplomacy, mastering complex briefs and appearing in public as spokesman at assemblies and other conferences at which the audience was not necessarily wholly sympathetic. On top of all that, Louis ran a household for his private tastes as well as public duties; business and entertainment. Occasionally this required tiresome interventions to protect his own, as during a lengthy wrangle in the late 1330s over the role played by one of his *valets de chambre* in the death of a local Parisian publican whose widow at one stage appealed directly to Louis.⁷²

In this texture of prosaic experience the crusade was normative, not eccentric, sustained by and reflecting many other aspects of noble life. Later, as different priorities pressed in, crusading retained its resonance but in very different circumstances. Both Louis's sons were killed in battle, but neither against the

⁷⁰ Chaplais, *War of Saint Sardos*, pp. 267, 269; F. Guéssard, 'Etienne de Mornay', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 5 (1843–44) 593–6; cf. John XXII, *Lettres secrètes*, no. 1419.

⁷¹ *Titres*, no. 1801A.

⁷² Documents parisiens de Philippe VI, 2, no. 263, pp. 108–14.

infidel: Peter of Bourbon at Poitiers against the English (1356), James of La Marche at Brignais against the Free Companies (1362). When his grandson, Louis II, led the Franco-Genoese promenade in Tunisia in 1390, despite attracting indulgences, there was no public funding, by church or state, nor taking the cross. The 1390 campaign combined Genoese commercial sabrerattling with a chivalric package tour identified within a sort of league table of credit. The Soldich de la Trau calculated that the unsuccessful siege of al-Mahdiya was nonetheless equivalent in prestige to 'three great battles'.⁷³ In many ways, such almost parodic precision in chivalric accounting, even the physical presence of Louis II of Bourbon's Christian army on the shores of 'hethenesse', failed to outdo the richness and scope of cultural, social and political vision and engagement witnessed by the abortive schemes of his grandfather.

⁷³ *Chronique de Bon Duc Loys*, p. 248; discussed by M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, CT, 1984), p. 170.

English Writings on Chivalry and Warfare during the Hundred Years War¹

Craig Taylor

In 1415, Thomas Hoccleve called upon the Lollard rebel, Sir John Oldcastle, to abandon heresy and to confine himself to reading suitable for a ‘manly knyght’:

Clymbe no more in holy writ so hie!
Rede the storie of Lancelot de lake,
Or Vegece of the aart of Chiualrie,
The seege of Troie or Thebes²

Alongside the Old Testament stories of famous warriors like Joshua and Judas Maccabeus, these chivalric tales were to provide Oldcastle with the appropriate models for knightly behaviour that would, in turn, restore him to the path of heterodoxy.³ Viewed from an English perspective, this choice of stories is far from surprising, given the popularity in late medieval England of romances and narratives recounting the tales of Greeks, Trojans and the court of King Arthur.⁴ Yet, it is extremely unlikely that in 1415, a French writer would have regarded these books as the quintessential guides to chivalry and warfare. This

¹ I am grateful to Christopher Allmand, Carolyn Collette, Peter Coss, Ralph Hanna, Nick Havely, Mark Ormrod, Catherine Nall, Derek Pearsall and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne for their advice and guidance while writing this chapter.

² Thomas Hoccleve, *Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems*, ed. F. J. Furnival and I. Gollancz (EETS Extra Series 61, London, 1892); rev. J. Mitchell and A. I. Doyle (EETS Extra Series 73, London, 1970), p. 14 lines 194–7.

³ Ruth Nissé, “‘Oure Fadres Olde and Modres’: Gender, Heresy, and Hoccleve’s Literary Politics”, *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 21 (1999), 294–8; John M. Bowers, ‘Thomas Hoccleve and the Politics of Tradition’, *The Chaucer Review* 36 (2002), 354–5; Michelle R. Warren, ‘Translation’, *Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature: Middle English*, ed. Paul Strohm (Oxford, 2007), pp. 61–3.

⁴ W. R. J. Barron, *The Arthur of the English. The Arthurian Legend in Medieval English Life and Literature* (rev. edn, Cardiff, 2001); Richard J. Moll, *Before Malory: Reading Arthur in Later Medieval England* (Toronto, 2003); James Simpson, *Reform and Cultural Revolution. Oxford English Literary History, II: 1350–1547* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 68–120 and Dominique Battles, *The Medieval Tradition of Thebes. History and Narrative in the Roman de Thèbes, Boccaccio, Chaucer and Lydgate* (Abingdon, 2004), pp. 85–179.

must raise important questions about writing and reading on these themes in England during the course of the Hundred Years War (1337–1453).

Hoccleve addressed Oldcastle on the eve of Henry V's great expedition to Harfleur, the revival of a conflict with the Valois monarchy that had dominated the martial and chivalric identity of generations of Englishmen. Such a moment might have inspired thoughts of recent military successes under Edward III and his son Edward of Woodstock, later known as the Black Prince. Writers in other genres, most notably Thomas Walsingham, were driven by the revival of the war to remember the great continental adventures that had foreshadowed Henry V's revival of the claim to the duchy of Normandy.⁵ That Hoccleve ignored the claims of recent English heroes must be explained as much as anything by his anxiety over engaging with recent history in light of the Lancastrian usurpation. But it is also important to note that there were few obvious chivalric narratives of the Anglo-French wars that he could have recommended to Oldcastle. The most famous chivalric chronicle of the first half of the Hundred Years War was that of Jean Froissart, whose work had a modest impact on the English after his death – not least in terms of inspiring subsequent writers.⁶ The only comparable works written in England during the course of the Hundred Years War were the biography of Edward of Woodstock by the anonymous Chandos Herald, like Froissart from Hainault, and the *Scalachronica* of Sir Thomas Gray, a universal history that culminated with a record of deeds of arms on both the Scottish borders and campaigns in France during the reign of King Edward III.⁷ The paucity of English chivalric chronicles of the wars contrasts strongly with France, where a series of important narratives was written not just by Froissart, but also by Jean le Bel, Enguerrand de Monstrelet, Gilles le Bouvier, Guillaume Gruel, Jean Cabaret d'Orville and Perceval de Cagny, not to mention the chivalric biographers of figures like Bertrand du Guesclin, Jean IV duke of

⁵ Thomas Walsingham, *Ypodigma neustrie a Thoma Walsingham, quondam monacho monasterii S. Albani, conscriptum*, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Series 28:7, London, 1876) and Anne Curry, 'Lancastrian Normandy: the Jewel in the Crown?', *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. David Bates and Anne Curry (London, 1994), pp. 235–52.

⁶ Michael C. E. Jones, 'Froissart, Jean (1337?–c. 1404)', *Oxford DNB* and Godfried Croenen, Mary Rouse and Richard Rouse, 'Pierre de Liffol and the Manuscripts of Froissart's *Chronicles*', *Viator* 33 (2002), 261–93.

⁷ The fact that the *Scalachronica* and the biography of the Black Prince survive in just three manuscripts in total suggests that their contemporary impact was extremely limited. Thomas Gray, *Scalacronica* (1272–1363), ed. and trans. Andy King (Woodbridge, 2005) and Chandos Herald, *La vie du Prince Noir, by Chandos Herald. Edited from the Manuscript in the University of London Library*, ed. Diana B. Tyson (Tübingen, 1975). Other English chronicles reported on the war, but rarely in the chivalric style of Froissart. The account of the Agincourt campaign given by the anonymous chaplain in the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, for example, offers no record of the feats of arms of individuals, and afterwards piously laments the very fact that the battle had even taken place. John S. Roskell and Frank Taylor, eds, *Gesta Henrici Quinti: the Deeds of Henry the Fifth* (Oxford, 1975) and Christopher T. Allmand, 'Some Writers and the Theme of War in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', *Krieg im Mittelalter*, ed. Hans-Henning Kortüm (Berlin, 2001), p. 169.

Brittany, Jean le Maingre dit Boucicaut and Jacques de Lalaing. The contrast between the traditions in the two countries led the historian Denys Hay to comment that 'chivalrous history is found flourishing across the Channel; in England it is not found at all'.⁸ In short, tales of the recent wars in France were far less popular in fifteenth-century England than the chivalric narratives of the Greeks, Trojans and knights of the Round Table, as well as other heroes of chivalric romances such as Roland or Guy of Warwick.

Hoccleve's reading list also raises important questions about the popularity of different genres of chivalric writing and their role in the education of the knight. These chivalric romances and narratives offered suitable instruction for Oldcastle because of the guidance that they provided regarding chivalric virtues, conduct and exemplary feats of arms.⁹ In the prologue to the *Troy Book*, completed in 1420, John Lydgate cited Henry V's belief that the story served as a reminder of the ancient worthiness of 'verray knyghthod' and 'the prowess of olde chivalrie'.¹⁰ That is not to say, of course, that such tales provided simple and uniform interpretations of chivalry. Whether their authors intended it or not, these texts could not help but raise fundamental questions about the culture of chivalry, such as the tensions between the ideal of the manly warrior and the potentially weak and even effeminate courtier; between warfare, cultures of violence and the peace that they supposedly aspired to create; and between the legitimacy of the claims of the aristocracy to social dominance based upon superior virtue and behaviour, and the reality of a society in which such power was based upon inheritance and wealth.¹¹ Moreover, while such works provided important advice on chivalric conduct and ethics, they were far from practical guides to the 'science' of warfare or chivalry. Thus, to complement the romances and narratives, Hoccleve recommended just one treatise as a source of concrete advice for the 'manly knyght', that is to say the *Epitoma rei militaris*, written by a Roman official named Flavius Vegetius Renatus.¹²

⁸ Denys Hay, 'History and Historians in France and England During the Fifteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 35 (1962), 116. Also see Richard Firth Green, *Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1980), p. 8: 'Unlike France and Burgundy, England seems to have had no established tradition of historical narrative writing for a court audience by men thoroughly conversant with the conventions of aristocratic society'.

⁹ See note 3 above. It is important to emphasise the value of such models for kingship, too: Maurice H. Keen, 'Chivalry and English Kingship in the Later Middle Ages', *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, c. 1150–1500. Essays in Honour of Michael Prestwich*, ed. Chris Given-Wilson, Ann Kettle and Len Scales (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 250–66.

¹⁰ John Lydgate, *Troy Book: Selections*, ed. Robert R. Edwards (Kalamazoo, MI, 1998), p. 29, lines 75–8.

¹¹ For important discussions of these issues, see for example, Lee Patterson, 'The Knight's Tale and the Crisis of Chivalric Identity', *Chaucer and the Subject of History* (London, 1991), pp. 165–230 and Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1999), as well as my forthcoming monograph, *Chivalry and Martial Culture in France During the Hundred Years War*.

¹² Christopher T. Allmand, 'The *De re militari* of Vegetius in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance',

The choice of Vegetius seems entirely appropriate given that this treatise was the most famous military manual of the Middle Ages, circulating in many languages including the original Latin, French, Anglo-Norman and Middle English, not to mention abridgements in works like Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*.¹³ Yet the success of Vegetius' work in late medieval England masks the fact that there was no native tradition of writing on the science of warfare and chivalry that could have replaced this thousand-year-old treatise which, according to most modern military historians, could offer little practical advice for the commanders of the Hundred Years War.¹⁴ Just as there was no significant tradition of chivalric chronicles of the Hundred Years War in England, there was also almost no native English tradition of practical, didactic writings on the themes of warfare and chivalry. In 1327, shortly before the start of the Hundred Years War, Walter de Milemete had composed a Mirror for Princes entitled *De nobilitatibus, sapientiis et prudentiis regum*, offering brief advice on the raising of armies and the conduct of war, drawn from the *Epitoma rei militaris*.¹⁵ Henry of Grosmont, duke of Lancaster, and Sir John Clanvowe were the authors of the *Livre de seyntz medicines* and *The Two Ways*, two works that were occasionally couched in the language of warfare and chivalry but were ultimately far more concerned with personal piety than the practicalities of the life of the knight.¹⁶ There were certainly very technical and specific manuals on heraldry and tournaments, such as the brief treatise on the office of Constable of England,

Writing War: Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare, ed. Corinne Saunders, Françoise Le Saux and Neil Thomas (Cambridge 2004), pp. 15–28 and Philippe Richardot, *Végèce et la culture militaire au moyen âge (Ve–XVe siècles)* (Paris, 1998).

¹³ Hoccleve's use of the title the 'art of Chivalrie' suggests that he was thinking of one of the recent French translations, perhaps Jean de Meun's *Li abregemenz noble homme Vegesce Flave René, des establissemenz appartenanz a chevalerie*, more commonly known as *L'art de chevalerie*. An Anglo-Norman version was commissioned for the future king Edward I in 1271, and an English translation prepared for Sir Thomas Berkeley in 1408. Allmand, 'The *De re militari* of Vegetius in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance', and also 'The Fifteenth-Century English Versions of Vegetius' *De re militari*, *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France*, ed. Matthew Strickland (Stamford, 1998), pp. 30–45. The *De regimine principum* circulated in England in both the Latin original and the French translation by Henri de Gauchy. Charles F. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's 'De Regimine Principum': Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University*, c. 1275–c. 1525 (Cambridge, 1999).

¹⁴ See pp. 81–3 below.

¹⁵ Montague Rhodes James, ed., *The Treatise of Walter de Milemete. De nobilitatibus, sapientiis et prudentiis regum* (Oxford, 1913) and Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, 2 vols (London, 1986), ii, numbers 84 and 85.

¹⁶ Henry duke of Lancaster, *Le livre de seyntz medicines. The Unpublished Devotional Treatise of Henry of Lancaster*, ed. E. J. Arnold, Anglo-Norman Texts 2 (Oxford, 1940), and John Clanvowe, *The Works of Sir John Clanvowe*, ed. V. J. Scattergood (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 57–89. In the fifteenth-century French chronicle, the *Geste des nobles françois*, there is an eulogy to Henry of Lancaster 'qui tant fut droicturier en armes et autres choses, et qui a l'introduction des nobles establitz et fist le *Livre des droiz de guerre*': Michel Hayez, 'Un exemple de culture historique au XVe siècle: *La geste des nobles françois*', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole Française de Rome* 75 (1963), 162.

The Ordenaunce and Fourme of Fightyng within Listes, written by Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, and the heraldic *Tractatus de armis* supposedly composed by John de Bado Aureo.¹⁷ Traditional moral exhortations to knights were commonplace, particularly in the context of general writings on the abuses of the ages in which all estates were called upon to fulfil their true function within society; the most famous examples include sermons such as those of Bishop Thomas Brinton, and also John Gower's *Vox clamantis*, completed at the time of the Peasants' Revolt in 1381.¹⁸ Moreover poets like Laurence Minot and John Lydgate had occasionally joined in the mud-slinging against the French, particularly over the legal issues surrounding the war, but there was no English tradition of writing treatises on the legal debates of the war, as was to emerge in France in the fifteenth century.¹⁹ So it was only in the middle of the fifteenth century, as the Hundred Years War limped towards a bitter conclusion, that a body of didactic writings on the themes of warfare and chivalry emerged in England. For example, Nicholas Upton completed his *De studio militari*, written for Humphrey duke of Gloucester, in 1447, and shortly afterwards, William Worcester drafted his *Boke of Noblesse*, which was later given to King Edward IV in 1475. Even then, the lion's share of such works were either imported copies or translations of prominent French treatises written by individuals like Christine de Pizan and Alain Chartier before the end of the Hundred Years War.²⁰

¹⁷ Travers Twiss, ed., *Monumenta juridica. The Black Book of the Admiralty*, 4 vols (Rolls Series 55, London, 1871–76), i. 300–29 and Evan John Jones, *Medieval Heraldry: Some Fourteenth Century Heraldic Works* (Cardiff, 1943), pp. 95–212. Also see Cyril Ernest Wright, *English Heraldic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1973).

¹⁸ Thomas Brinton, *Sermons of Thomas Brinton, Bishop of Rochester (1373–1389)*, ed. Sister Mary Aquinas Devlin (Camden Third series 85–86, London, 1954), I, p. 167, along with H. A. Oberman and J. A. Weisheipl, 'The *Sermo epinicius* ascribed to Thomas Bradwardine (1346)', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 25 (1958), 295–329. For Gower's writings on these themes, that continued in works like *De lucis scrutinio*, see John Gower, *The Major Latin Works*, ed. and trans. E. W. Stockton (Seattle, 1962), pp. 47–288, and *The Minor Latin Works, with In Praise of Peace*, ed. and trans. R. F. Yeager and Michael Livingston (Kalamazoo, MI, 2005), pp. 12–16.

¹⁹ Laurence Minot, *The Poems of Laurence Minot, 1333–1352*, ed. Thomas Beaumont James and John Simons (Exeter, 1989) and John Lydgate, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. Henry Noble MacCracken (EETS Original Series 192 and Extra Series 107, London, 1911–34), along with Craig Taylor, 'War, Propaganda and Diplomacy in Fifteenth-Century France and England', *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*, ed. Christopher T. Allmand (Liverpool, 2000), pp. 70–91.

²⁰ Craig G. Walker, 'An Edition, with Introduction and Commentary, of John Blount's English Translation of Nicholas Upton's *De Studio Militari* (Bodleian Library, Eng. Misc. d. 227)' (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1998); William Worcester, *The Boke of Noblesse, Addressed to King Edward the Fourth on his Invasion of France in 1475*, ed. John Gough Nichols (London, 1860); Catherine R. Nall, 'The Production and Reception of Military Texts in the Aftermath of the Hundred Years War' (PhD thesis, University of York, 2004). The absence of English didactic writings on warfare and chivalry during this period has also been noticed by Allmand, 'Some Writers and the Theme of War', p. 177.

Indeed, while there was no native English tradition of manuals and treatises on warfare and chivalry written during the course of the Hundred Years War, the opposite was true for France.²¹ Vegetius' great work certainly remained prominent in the libraries of French princes and noblemen, but it was joined by a vast body of new treatises, mostly written in vernacular prose by both intellectuals and experienced warriors, and all very much rooted in the contemporary wars and culture of chivalry. The first original French chivalric treatise of the Hundred Years War was composed by Geoffroi de Charny in verse and prose around 1350, almost certainly as a manual for the members of the Company of the Star founded by King Jean II in January 1352.²² Charny's chivalric treatise was principally moral and exhortatory rather than practical, and as such belongs to a wider tradition that includes Ramón Llull's *Libre del Orde de Cavalleria*, translated into French in the fourteenth century, as well as other treatises including the anonymous *Ordene de chevalerie*, the *Epistre Othea* by Christine de Pizan, the *Chemin de vaillance* by Jean de Courcy, Alain Chartier's *Breviaire des nobles*,²³ and three works now believed to have been written by Hugues de Lannoy, the *Enseignement de vraie noblesse*, the *Enseignements paternels* and *L'instruction d'un jeune prince*.²⁴ But French writers during the course of the war also produced much more practical works. In 1335, Jean de Vignay translated into French a brief treatise on the art of war written by Theodore Palaeologus, marquis of Montferrat and second son of the emperor of Constantinople; this work, the *Enseignements*, was dedicated to King Philip VI as a guide for his planned crusade.²⁵ The reign of King Charles V saw the composition of translations and original works exploring practical aspects

²¹ Philippe Contamine, 'Les traités de guerre, de chasse, de blason et de chevalerie', *La littérature française aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles. Tome I (Partie historique)*, ed. Daniel Poirion (Heidelberg, 1988), pp. 346–67, and Joël Blanchard and Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, *Écriture et pouvoir à l'aube des temps modernes* (Paris, 2002), pp. 85–127. Also see my forthcoming monograph, *Chivalry and Martial Culture in France During the Hundred Years War*.

²² Geoffroi de Charny, *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny: Text, Context and Translation*, ed. and trans. Richard W. Kaeuper and Elspeth Kennedy (Philadelphia, PA, 1996) and Michael Taylor, 'A Critical Edition of Geoffroi de Charny's *Livre Charny* and the *Demandes pour la joute, les tournois et la guerre*' (PhD thesis, University of North Carolina, 1977). During the crisis occasioned by the defeat at Crécy, the anonymous author of *L'estat et le gouvernement comme les princes et seigneurs se doivent gouverner* advised that readers who wanted to know more about the art of war should read Vegetius and Giles of Rome: Jean-Philippe Genet, ed., *Four English Political Tracts of the Later Middle Ages* (Camden Society 4th series 18, London, 1977), p. 209.

²³ Ramón Llull, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie*, ed. Vincenzo Minervini (Bari, 1972); Raoul de Hodenc, *Le roman des eles. The anonymous Ordene de chevalerie*, ed. Keith Busby (Amsterdam, 1983); Christine de Pizan, *Epistre Othea*, ed. Gabriella Parussa (Geneva, 1999); Saverio Panunzio, *Le chemin de vaillance di Jean de Courcy e l'allegoria* (Bari, 1979); Alain Chartier, *The Poetical Works of Alain Chartier*, ed. James C. Laidlaw (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 393–409.

²⁴ Bernhard Sterchi, 'Hugues de Lannoy, auteur de l'*Enseignement de vraie noblesse*, de l'*Instruction d'un jeune prince* et des *Enseignements paternels*', *Le Moyen Âge* 110 (2004), 79–117.

²⁵ Jean de Vignay, *Les enseignements de Théodore Paléologue*, ed. Christine Knowles (London, 1983).

of chivalry and warfare, including John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, translated into French in 1372 by Denis Foulechat, and the *Somnium viridarii*, written by Evrart de Trémaugon in 1376 and translated into French two years later as *Le songe du vergier* by Jean Le Fèvre, abbot of Saint-Vaast and chancellor of Anjou.²⁶ Thereafter, French writers offered increasingly practical advice on military strategy, leadership, discipline and conduct. In *Le songe du vieil pèlerin*, completed in 1389, Philippe de Mézières counselled the young Charles VI and his brother Louis d'Orléans to read Vegetius, but also provided the 'xv reigles de la discipline de chevalerie', as well as a further five key pieces of advice for the war with the English, and thirty more points regarding crusading.²⁷ This practical approach was also echoed in Mézières' pamphlets for the order of the Chevalerie de la Passion de Jhesu Christ, that offered spiritual meditations on the necessity of crusade alongside detailed advice on the organisation, logistics and rules of the order.²⁸ The culmination of Philippe's advice was the *Epistre lamentable*, addressed to Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, in 1397, in response to disastrous failures of the Nicopolis Crusade the previous year.²⁹ The Provençal Prior, Honorat Bovet, wrote the *Arbre de batailles* between 1386 and 1389 for Charles VI, a wide-ranging discussion of the laws of warfare based upon the *Tractatus de bello, de represaliis et de duello*, written by Giovanni da Legnano in 1360.³⁰ Bovet also wrote another important treatise, *L'apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun*, completed in 1398, which included a lengthy discussion of the failures of contemporary French knighthood, copies of which were given to Duke Louis d'Orléans, his wife Valentine, Jean de Montaigu and Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy.³¹ At around the same time, Christine de Pizan began to explore the

²⁶ Denis Foulechat, *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury* (1372), ed. Charles Brucker, 2 vols (Geneva, 1994–2006) and *Tyrans, princes et prêtres: Jean de Salisbury, Policratique IV et VII*, ed. Charles Brucker, *Le Moyen Français* 21 (Montreal, 1987); Marion Schnerb-Lièvre, ed., *Le songe du vergier: édité d'après le manuscrit Royal 19 C IV de la British Library*, 2 vols (Paris, 1982) and *idem*, ed., *Somnium viridarii*, 2 vols (Paris, 1993–95). Also see Pierre Chaplais, 'Jean Le Fèvre, Abbot of Saint-Vaast, and the *Songe du vergier*', *Recognitions: Essays Presented to Edmund Fryde*, ed. Colin Richmond and Isobel Harvey (Aberystwyth, 1996), pp. 203–28.

²⁷ Philippe de Mézières, *Le songe du vieil pelerin*, ed. George W. Coopland, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1969), i. 508–20 and ii. 379–81 and 431–40.

²⁸ Abdel Hamid, Hamdy, 'Philippe de Mézières and the New Order of the Passion', *Bulletin of the Faculty of the Arts of Alexandria University* 18 (1964), 1–105 and Muriel Joyce Anderson Brown, 'Philippe de Mézières' Order of the Passion: an Annotated Edition' (PhD thesis, University of Nebraska 1971), pp. 93–213.

²⁹ Philippe de Mézières, *Une épître lamentable et consolatoire adressée en 1397 à Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne, sur la défaite de Nicopolis* (1396), ed. Philippe Contamine and Jacques Paviot (Paris, 2008).

³⁰ Hélène Bui, 'L'Arbre des batailles d'Honorat Bovet: étude de l'oeuvre et édition critique des textes français et occitan', 3 vols (PhD thesis, University of Paris IV Sorbonne, 2004), along with Honoré Bonet [sic], *The Tree of Battles*, trans. George W. Coopland (Cambridge, MA, 1949); Giovanni da Legnano, *Tractatus de bello, de represaliis et de duello*, ed. Thomas Erskine Holland and trans. James Leslie Brierly (Oxford, 1917).

³¹ Honorat Bovet, *Medieval Muslims, Christians and Jews in Dialogue. The Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun of Honorat Bovet*, ed. Michael Hanly (Tempe, AZ, 2005).

nature of chivalry and warfare in a series of treatises addressed principally to the Dauphin. She moved on from the moral and allegorical discussions of virtues in her earlier *Epistre Othea*, in the subsequent *Le livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, *Le livre du corps de policie*, *Le livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie* and *Le livre de la paix*.³² Around 1419, the pamphlet *Débats et appointements* combined a highly practical set of suggestions for military reform, almost certainly written by a soldier, with an extremely partial account of the legal debates over the French royal succession, perhaps by a different author.³³ Towards the end of the Hundred Years War, the Provençal squire, Antoine de La Sale, wrote two important pedagogical treatises for the sons of René d'Anjou and Louis de Luxembourg, *La salade* and *La sale*, before undertaking his more famous didactic romance, *Le petit Jean de Saintré*.³⁴ In short, the Hundred Years War was a time of tremendous intellectual debate about warfare and chivalry in France, offering practical advice in the vernacular to kings, princes and aristocrats.³⁵

The obvious temptation is to assume that these treatises were equally well known in England. After all, the English market for chivalric romances and narratives was dominated by French imports, and Hoccleve almost certainly imagined that Oldcastle would be reading all of the works that he had recommended in French.³⁶ Yet there is remarkably little evidence to suggest that the new French treatises on chivalry and warfare did circulate across the Channel before the end of the Hundred Years War. In 1445, John Talbot presented the new queen of England, Margaret of Anjou, with the volume now known as the Shrewsbury book, a remarkable and unique manuscript that contained copies of chivalric romances and narratives, alongside the French translation of Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*, Honorat Bovet's *Arbre des batailles* and

³² Christine de Pizan, *Le livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, ed. Suzanne Solente, 2 vols (Paris, 1936–40; reprinted, Geneva, 1977); *idem*, *Le livre du corps de policie*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy (Paris, 1998); *idem*, *Le livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie* in Christine Moneera Laennec, 'Christine "Antygrafe": Authorship and Self in Prose Works of Christine de Pizan' (Ph D thesis, Yale University, 1988), translated in *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry*, trans. Sumner Willard (Philadelphia, PA, 1999); *idem*, *The Book of Peace*, ed. and trans. Karen Green, Constant J. Mews and Janice Pinder (University Park, PA, 2008).

³³ Nicole Pons, ed., *L'honneur de la Couronne de France: quatre libelles contre les Anglais (vers 1418–vers 1429)* (Paris, 1990), pp. 17–79, lines 644–747.

³⁴ Antoine de La Sale, *Oeuvres complètes d'Antoine de La Sale*, ed. Fernand Desonay, 2 vols (Liège-Paris, 1935–41) and *Jehan de Saintré*, ed. Jean Misrahi and Charles Knudsen (3rd edn, Geneva, 1978). Perhaps the most interesting medieval French treatise was written after the war, between 1461 and 1468, by a veteran of the earlier campaigns: Jean de Bueil, *Le Jouvencel par Jean de Bueil, suivi du commentaire de Guillaume Tringant*, ed. Camille Favre and Léon Lecestre, 2 vols (Paris, 1887–89).

³⁵ These writings were supplemented by treatises on the legal debates of the Hundred Years War, largely unmatched in England during this period, as well as manuals on tournaments, heraldry and hunting. Taylor, 'War, Propaganda and Diplomacy', pp. 70–91 and Contamine, 'Les traités de guerre, de chase, de blason et de chevalerie', pp. 359–64.

³⁶ Warren, 'Translation', pp. 61–3.

Christine de Pizan's *Le livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie*.³⁷ This manuscript, almost certainly prepared in Rouen, marked the start of a rapid influx of French treatises on warfare and chivalry that circulated widely in the ensuing decades, until the efforts of both William Caxton and Gilbert Hay ensured their lasting fame in the British Isles. But the overwhelming evidence for English interest in the French treatises after 1445 does not prove that such works were circulating in England during the previous century. The anonymous fourteenth-century French translation of Ramón Llull's *Libre de l'orde de cavalleria*, translated and published by William Caxton in 1484, survives in just two English manuscripts that predate the end of the Hundred Years War.³⁸ There is no sign that any of Geoffroi de Charny's writings were known in England during the late Middle Ages.³⁹ Honorat Bovet may have met a number of leading English noblemen in Paris in April 1392, but of nearly ninety surviving manuscripts of his *Arbre des batailles*, just one appears to have circulated in England before John Talbot gave the Shrewsbury book to Margaret of Anjou in 1445.⁴⁰ Philippe de Mézières enjoyed extensive contacts in England, including, indirectly, both Geoffrey Chaucer and John Clanvowe, and some of his works were certainly known there: Richard II was the recipient of Mézières' *Epistre d'un vieil solitaire des Celestins de Paris*, calling for an Anglo-French crusade, and his half-brother John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, owned a manuscript of *La sustance de la chevalerie de la Passion*, the third draft of Mézières' proposals for a new order that would

³⁷ London, BL MS 15 E.VI, discussed in Catherine Reynolds, 'The Shrewsbury Book, British Library, Royal MS 15 E.vi', *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rouen. British Academy Conference Transactions*, 12, ed. Jenny Stratford (London, 1993), pp. 109–16 and Michel-André Bossy, 'Arms and the Bride: Christine de Pizan's Military Treatise as a Wedding Gift for Margaret of Anjou', *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference*, ed. Marilyn Desmond (Minneapolis, 1998), pp. 236–56, as well as the essays in the forthcoming collection, *Collections in Context: The Organization of Knowledge and Community in Europe (14th–17th Centuries)*, edited by Karen Fresco.

³⁸ Oxford, St Johns College MS 102, a late fourteenth-century compilation which also includes the *Secretum secretorum* and Renaut de Louens' *Livre de Mellibee et Prudence*, alongside other texts, and London, BL MS Additional 22768, a fifteenth-century manuscript that also contains Honorat Bovet's *L'arbre des batailles*. There are at least fourteen surviving manuscripts of the French translation of Llull's treatise.

³⁹ There are six surviving medieval manuscripts of the complete corpus of works by Charny: *Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne. II, Textes didactiques*, pp. 187–8 and 233–7. Interestingly, Paris, BnF MS nouv. acq. fr. 25447 contains an error-ridden copy of the *Livre Charny*, that may have been prepared by an Englishman with little knowledge of French; the same work was mentioned in the 1534 inventory of the books of Thomas Benolt, king of arms Clarencieux: Anthony Richard Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages* (London, 1956), p. 154.

⁴⁰ BL MS Additional 22768 and BL MS Royal 15 E.VI (the Shrewsbury Book). Bovet's principal source, Legnano's *Tractatus de bello*, may have been better known in England: Chaucer mentions Legnano alongside Petrarch in the prologue to *The Clerk's Tale*, the *Tractatus* was the principal source for Nicholas Upton's *De studio militari*, and a copy of the original Latin text survives in a commonplace book, Dublin, Trinity College MS 516, dating from the 1460s or 1470s, that belonged to John Benet, vicar of Harlington in Bedfordshire: Gerald L. Harriss and M. A. Harriss, eds, *John Benet's Chronicle for the Years 1400–1462* (Camden Miscellany, 4th series 24, London, 1972), pp. 153–4.

lead a crusade to recover the Holy Land, written between 1389 and 1394.⁴¹ Yet there is no evidence that Mézières' two most substantial didactic works, *Le songe du vieil pèlerin* and the *Epistre lamentable* circulated in England.⁴² Humphrey duke of Gloucester owned Charles V's illuminated copy of *Le songe du vergier*;⁴³ his brother, Bedford, had an autograph compilation of works by Christine de Pizan that was prepared for Queen Isabeau of Bavaria, which included the *Epistre Othea* (1399–1400), one of her most popular treatises that survives in nearly fifty copies, and was subsequently translated into English by Stephen Scrope in around 1440.⁴⁴ But beyond the *Epistre Othea*, Christine de Pizan's didactic treatises on chivalry and warfare made little impact, at least until Talbot included *Le livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie* in his Shrewsbury book.⁴⁵ The writings of other French writers produced closer to the recovery of Normandy, such as the works of Jean Juvénal des Ursins and Antoine de La Sale, were unknown in England at that time.⁴⁶

It is certainly true that the lack of formal inventories of English royal or aristocratic book collections must make it extremely difficult to assess with any confidence the circulation of French treatises in England during the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁴⁷ The scale of loss and disappearance of manuscripts since the Middle Ages is amply demonstrated by the fact that barely a hundred volumes have survived from the 843 books that the duke of

⁴¹ BL MS Royal 20 B.VI, in Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II*, ed. George W. Coopland (Liverpool, 1975), and Oxford Bodleian, MS Ashmole 813. See Michael Hanly, 'Courtiers and Poets: An International System of Literary Exchange in Late Fourteenth-Century Italy, France and England', *Viator* 28 (1997), 305–32, and note 28 above.

⁴² *Le songe du vieil pèlerin* survives in seven manuscripts and, though Annetta Ilieva ('Reassessing the Crusade of Nikopolis (1396): a View from Within', *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 10 (1998), 14) suggests that there are four surviving manuscripts of the *Epistre lamentable*, the editors have cited just one.

⁴³ There are over thirty surviving manuscripts of *Le songe du vergier*, including Gloucester's manuscript, BL MS Royal 19 C.VI, and seven more that contain extracts used by English diplomats and heralds: *Songe du vergier*, pp. xix–xlii.

⁴⁴ BL MS Harley 4431, as discussed in James C. Laidlaw, 'Christine de Pizan: the Making of the Queen's Manuscript (London, British Library, Harley 4431)', *Patrons, Authors and Workshops. Books and Book Production in Paris around 1400*, ed. Godfried Croenen and Peter Ainsworth (Leuven, 2006), pp. 297–310. This manuscript may have served as the basis for Scrope's translation, as well as a new copy of the French version, Bodleian MS Laud misc 570, executed in 1450 by Ricardus Franciscus. See Stephen Scrope, *The Epistle of Othea, Translated from the French Text of Christine de Pisan*, ed. C. F. Bühler (EETS Original Series 264, Oxford, 1970) and Richard Beadle, 'Sir John Fastolf's French Books', *Medieval Texts in Context*, ed. Graham D. Caie and Denis Renevey (London, 2008), pp. 97–8.

⁴⁵ Of the twenty-one surviving manuscripts of *Le livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie*, just one comes from England before 1445, BL MS Harley 4605; this copy was completed in London on 15 May 1434.

⁴⁶ Jean de Montreuil's contributions to the legal debates of the war were better known: Jean de Montreuil, *Opera*, ed. Nicole Grévy-Pons, Ezio Ornato and Gilbert Ouy, 4 vols (Turin and Paris, 1963–86), pp. 5–49, especially pp. 44–6, and Taylor, 'War, Propaganda and Diplomacy'.

⁴⁷ Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*, pp. 4–8 and 91–100.

Bedford took from the French royal library at the Louvre in late June 1425.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, plenty of evidence does remain for the circulation of other French treatises in England during the course of the Hundred Years War, including mirrors for princes, romances and devotional works. Intellectual and didactic treatises by authors ancient and modern, ranging from Boethius and Augustine to Vincent de Beauvais, Giles of Rome and Évrart de Trémaugon, were readily available to English princes and noblemen in both French and English.⁴⁹ Chaucer famously translated both Boethius' *De consolacione philosophiae* and the *Livre de Mellibee et Prudence* by Renaut de Louens, perhaps inspiring an increased interest in the writing of didactic works of advice and counsel.⁵⁰ In the fifteenth century, Thomas Hoccleve presented the *Regement of Princes* to the future Henry V, a mirror for princes drawing upon Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*, the *Secretum secretorum* and Jacques de Cessoles' *Le livre du jeu d'échecs*.⁵¹ Henry's brother, Gloucester, not only commissioned John Lydgate's English translation of Laurent de Premierfait's *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes* and an anonymous English translation of Palladius' *De re rustica*, but also owned an extensive library of works in both Latin and French.⁵² Therefore the lack of evidence for ownership of recent French treatises on warfare and chivalry, apart from some of the more traditional, moralistic chivalric treatises like Pizan's *Epistre Othea*, does suggest that England remained relatively unaffected by recent French writings on the science of warfare and chivalry, at least until the end of the Hundred Years War.

The principal explanation for mounting French interest in the science of war and chivalry must be the simple fact that armed conflict was significantly more relevant there during the course of the Hundred Years War. Warfare was endemic in France, not just because of English invasions but also because

⁴⁸ Jenny Stratford, 'The Manuscripts of John Duke of Bedford: Library and Chapel', *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Daniel Williams (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 339–41 and *The Bedford Inventories. The Worldly Goods of John Duke of Bedford, Regent of France (1389–1435)* (London, 1993), p. 96.

⁴⁹ Nicholas Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry. The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy, 1066–1530* (London, 1984), pp. 95–7 and 100–3; Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*, pp. 135–67; Judith Ferster, *Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia, PA, 1996); Daniel Wakelin, *Humanism, Reading and English Literature 1430–1530* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 23–61.

⁵⁰ Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*, p. 166.

⁵¹ Thomas Hoccleve, *The Regement of Princes*, ed. Charles R. Blyth (Kalamazoo, MI, 1999). Meanwhile Edward Langley, second duke of York, translated Gaston Phébus' famous hunting manual, the *Livre de la chasse*: Edward duke of York, *The Master of Game by Edward, Second Duke of York: the Oldest English Book on Hunting*, ed. A. William and Florence Baillie-Grohman (London, 1904). Henry V was also the dedicatee of another traditional Mirror for Princes, *De officio militari*, written by Richard Ullerston: Cambridge Trinity College MS B15 23 fos 16v–22r. Also see Jean-Philippe Genet, ed., *Four English Political Tracts of the Later Middle Ages* (Camden Society 4th series 18, London, 1977).

⁵² Alessandra Petrina, *Cultural Politics in Fifteenth-Century England. The Case of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester* (Leiden, 2004), pp. 259–355 and Wakelin, *Humanism, Reading and English Literature*, pp. 23–61.

of the brutal civil conflicts in Flanders, Brittany, Normandy, Picardy and Aquitaine. Like contemporary Italy or Iberia, the French countryside was persistently ravaged by marauding soldiers, including not only English troops, but also underpaid and poorly disciplined soldiers in service to the crown or in mercenary companies – the *écorcheurs* and *routiers*.⁵³ At the same time, French armies endured a succession of demoralising military defeats, both at home and on foreign battlefields such as Alexandria, Najera and Nicopolis. It was only natural that these pressures would inspire leading French intellectuals and military leaders to engage in a wide-ranging debate about warfare and chivalry.

Some writers, like Le Bel, Froissart and Monstrelet, continued to champion the traditional chivalric ideals of prowess, courage and honour. The royal notary and secretary, Jean de Montreuil, was even more chauvinistic, calling upon the ‘chevalerie’ of France to take heart from ‘la prouesse et vaillance de voz bons predecesseurs’, citing past victories from the days of Clovis, Charles Martel and Charlemagne, as well as an extensive list of ‘journées et rencontres’ that the French had recently won against the English.⁵⁴ But other writers, less directly implicated in the Valois cause, gave voice to the terrible shock of the devastating defeats and the impact of warfare and cultures of violence upon civilians. François de Monte-Belluna expressed deep outrage at the failure of the French aristocracy on the battlefield of Poitiers in 1356, while a Carmelite friar, perhaps Jean de Venette, developed upon this criticism of a decadent and weak French aristocracy by highlighting their failure to protect the people not just from the English but also from the marauding soldiers, robbers and thieves who preyed upon defenceless travellers and peasants.⁵⁵ At the start of the fifteenth century, the Chancellor of the University of Paris, Jean Gerson, lamented the problems plaguing France and offered ideas for reform based upon education and enhanced royal control over the army.⁵⁶ At the same time, Christine de Pizan addressed letters to both Queen Isabeau of Bavaria and Jean duke of Berry, calling upon them to bring an end to the civil war between the Armagnacs and Burgundians that threatened the ‘ruynes de citez, destruccions

⁵³ Alexandre Tuetey, *Les écorcheurs sous Charles VII. Episodes de l'histoire militaire de la France au XVe siècle d'après des documents inédits*, 2 vols (Montbéliard, 1874); Nicholas Wright, *Knights and Peasants: The Hundred Years War in the French Countryside* (Woodbridge, 1998); Kenneth Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries, I: The Great Companies* (Oxford, 2000).

⁵⁴ Montreuil, *Opera*, II, pp. 91 and 110–21, and see notes 6 and 46 above.

⁵⁵ André Vernet, ‘Le Tragicum argumentum de miserabili statu regni Francie de François de Monte-Belluna’, *Annuaire-bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France* (1962–63), 101–63 and Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300 avec les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 à 1368*, ed. Hercule Gérard, 2 vols (Paris, 1843), ii. 179–378, translated in Jean de Venette, *The Chronicle of Jean de Venette*, trans. Jean Birdsall and ed. Richard A. Newhall (New York, 1953). A number of recent scholars have failed to recognise that the third continuation of Guillaume de Nangis and the *Chronique dite de Jean de Venette* are one and the same.

⁵⁶ These ideas were explored in a number of sermons, most famously *Vivat rex*, delivered on 7 November 1405. Jean Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. P. Glorieux, 10 vols (Paris and Tournai, 1960–73), vii, ii. 1137–85, and also see *Veniat pax* in *ibid.*, pp. 1100–37.

de villes et chasteaulx' and ultimately the end of France itself.⁵⁷ The royal notary and secretary, Alain Chartier, gave dramatic voice to the victims of war, most notably in his *Le livre des quatre dames* (1416), in which four women lamented their suffering after the battle of Agincourt.⁵⁸ In 1439, Jean Juvénal des Ursins addressed his treatise *Loquar in tribulacione* to King Charles VII, pleading on behalf of the French people, especially those of his diocese of Beauvais, who had suffered so terribly at the hands of both English and French soldiers.⁵⁹

But the public debate in France went far beyond such polarised reactions to the culture of violence. The repeated success of English armies on the battlefield against numerically superior French forces, combined with the extraordinary threat to public disorder represented by both unemployed *routiers* and the underpaid troops in the royal army, inevitably demanded a fundamental re-examination not just of questions of strategy and tactics, but also of military discipline and the regulation of the army itself. Throughout the Hundred Years War, the French crown issued reform ordinances that slowly increased royal control over the armed forces, particularly following the formation of *compagnies d'ordonnance* under Charles VII in 1445, creating a standing army that, for a short time at least, re-established France as one of the foremost military powers in Western Europe.⁶⁰ These radical changes went hand-in-hand with an extensive public debate over warfare and chivalry, voiced in assemblies such as the Estates General that met in the aftermath of the defeat at Crécy in 1347, but also public documents like the demands of the Cabochiens issued in Paris on 27 April 1413, and other treatises and pamphlets by some of the leading intellectuals and soldiers in France.⁶¹

The most common aim for both the politically active and the writers was the reform of the warrior classes, based upon principles of military discipline and

⁵⁷ Christine de Pizan, *The Epistle of the Prison of Human Life with An Epistle to the Queen of France and Lament on the Evils of the Civil War*, ed. and trans. J. A. Wisman (New York, 1984), p. 86.

⁵⁸ Alain Chartier, *The Poetical Works*, pp. 196–304. He also dealt with the impact of war, both with the English and internally within France, in works like *Le quadrilogue invectif*, *Ad detestationem belli gallici et suasionem pacis epistola*, *Le lay de paix* and the *Dialogus familiaris amici et sodalis super deploracione gallice calamitatis*. See, for example, James C. Laidlaw, 'Alain Chartier and the Arts of Crisis Management', *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*, ed. Christopher T. Allmand (Liverpool, 2000), pp. 37–53.

⁵⁹ Jean Juvénal des Ursins, *Les écrits politiques de Jean Juvénal des Ursins*, ed. Peter S. Lewis, 3 vols (Paris, 1978–93), i. 295–435 and iii. 108–23.

⁶⁰ Philippe Contamine, *Guerre, état et société à la fin du moyen âge: études sur les armées des rois de France, 1337–1494* (Paris, 1972) and 'Structures militaires de la France et de l'Angleterre au milieu du XVe siècle', *Das Spätmittelalterliche königtum im europäischen Vergleich*, ed. Reinhard Schneider (Sigmaringen, 1987), pp. 319–34, together with Anne Crépin, ed., *Construire l'armée française: textes fondateurs des institutions militaires, 1: De la France des premiers Valois à la fin du règne de François Ier* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 13–124.

⁶¹ Allmand suggests that the lack of institutional mechanisms for dialogue between the king and his subjects in France necessitated 'works of commentary, protest or advice ... to take the place of verbal discussions at an institutional level': Allmand, 'Some Writers and the Theme of War', pp. 177–8.

unity under the leadership and unambiguous authority of the Valois monarchy.⁶² Some writers, including Bouvet and Pizan, debated the legal limits on warfare, both with regards to the justification for armed conflict (*ius ad bellum*), and to the rules controlling the conduct of war (*ius in bello*).⁶³ More commonly, the ancient Romans were invoked as the perfect model and justification for increased discipline and training. Such notions were far from new, having been advocated, for example, by John of Salisbury in his famous *Policraticus*, translated into French in 1372 by Denis Foulechat, but also in contemporary Italy where similar threats to public order, particularly because of the *condottieri*, inspired a comparable debate led by scholars like Giovanni da Legnano, Leonardo Bruni and Niccolò Machiavelli.⁶⁴ Writing in 1361 to Pierre Bersuire, Prior of Saint-Eloi and the French translator of Titus Livy, Petrarch had argued that French success in the wars with the English could only be built upon the inculcation of Roman virtues, including military ones.⁶⁵ It is not surprising, then, that when Jean Gerson recommended a list of twenty-two books for the Dauphin, he included not only Vegetius and Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*, but also Valerius Maximus, Titus Livy, Suetonius and Frontinus.⁶⁶ Such classical works were the foundation for the reforms advocated by Gerson, Christine de Pizan, Antoine de La Sale and their peers, applying and adapting the lessons and values of the Romans to the specific circumstances affecting France.

That both French writers and noblemen were receptive to such a wide-ranging debate about chivalry and warfare must also be seen as a consequence of the wider commitment to intellectual culture and didactic writing in France during the late Middle Ages. French scholars had long claimed that they were the heirs to the intellectual culture and learning of ancient Greece and Rome, the beneficiaries of a *translatio studii*. Around 1176, for example, Chrétien de Troyes had famously claimed in the prologue to *Cligès*, that Greece's fame for 'chevalerie'

⁶² Blanchard and Mühlethaler, *Écriture et pouvoir à l'aube des temps modernes*, pp. 85–127.

⁶³ Nicholas Wright, 'The Tree of Battles of Honoré Bouvet and the Laws of War', *War, Literature and Politics in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Christopher T. Allmand (Liverpool, 1976), pp. 12–31 and Charity Cannon Willard, 'Christine de Pizan on the Art of Warfare', *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference*, ed. Marilynn Desmond (Minneapolis, MN, 1998), pp. 3–15.

⁶⁴ Ironically, Leonardo Bruni was unaware of the parallel debates taking place in France and Italy, and characterised the French chivalric model of knighthood as 'knights errant saving damsels in distress, smiting the paynim, and attempting to seduce their lord's wife': James Hankins, 'Humanism in the Vernacular: The Case of Leonardo Bruni', *Humanism and Creativity in the Renaissance: Essays in Honor of Ronald G. Witt*, ed. Christopher S. Celenza and Kenneth Gouwens (Leiden, 2006), pp. 18–19.

⁶⁵ Francesco Petrarch, *Letters on Familiar Matters: Rerum familiarium libri XVII–XXIV*, trans Aldo S. Bernardo (Baltimore, MD, 1985), xxii.13.

⁶⁶ Antoine Thomas, *Jean Gerson et l'éducation des dauphins de France. Étude critique suivie du texte de deux de ses opuscules et de documents inédits sur Jean Majoris précepteur de Louis XI* (Paris, 1930), pp. 48–51 and Jacques Verger, 'Ad prefulgidum sapientie culmen prolem regis inclitum provehere. L'initiation des dauphins de France à la sagesse politique selon Jean Gerson', *Penser le pouvoir au moyen âge (VIIIe–XVe siècle)*, ed. Dominique Boutet and Jacques Verger (Paris, 2000), pp. 427–40.

had passed to Rome while the light of learning that had marked its pre-eminence in 'science' had come to France.⁶⁷ Such lofty claims were increasingly given substance thanks to the patronage of Capetian and Valois kings, as well as leading princes of the blood like the dukes of Orléans, Burgundy and Berry. They were all strong supporters of intellectual culture, driven by varying levels of curiosity but also a sharp awareness of the symbolic value of cultivating an image of wisdom and openness to the counsel offered by intellectuals and their writings.⁶⁸ King Charles V took such image building to new levels, amassing a collection of around 1,200 manuscripts, a library unequalled in Europe by any secular rulers except perhaps the Visconti in Pavia. He surrounded himself with authors of original works but also translators of the greatest works of scholarship by individuals ranging from Aristotle, Valerius Maximus and St Augustine to John of Salisbury, Bartholomaeus Anglicus and Petrarch.⁶⁹ This great intellectual enterprise was marked more by a focus upon vernacular translation and composition, rather than an effort to reclaim the language, style and rhetoric of ancient Latin or Greek. Indeed, it was driven by an extremely utilitarian approach to learning, a desire to draw freely upon any and all wisdom that might be of practical benefit in the face of contemporary needs.⁷⁰ In 1367, Petrarch had brilliantly defeated his French adversary in a debate over the papacy's return from Avignon to Rome, causing Charles V to comment that such a rhetorician was worth an army.⁷¹ The king therefore strongly encouraged

⁶⁷ Serge Lusignan, *Vérité garde le roy. La construction d'une identité universitaire en France (XIIIe–XVe siècle)* (Paris, 1999), p. 233, and in general pp. 226–91. Also see Serge Lusignan, 'La logique de la *translatio studii* et les traductions françaises de textes savants au XIVe siècle', *Traduction et traducteurs au Moyen Âge: actes du colloque international du CNRS organisé à Paris, Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, les 26–28 mai 1986*, ed. Geneviève Contamine (Paris, 1989), pp. 303–15, and Gilbert Ouy, 'La dialectique des rapports intellectuels franco-italiens et l'humanisme en France aux XIVe et XVe siècles', *Rapporti culturali ed economici fra Italia e Francia nel secoli dal XIV al XVI. Atti del 'Colloquio Italo-Francese'* (Rome, 1978), pp. 137–57.

⁶⁸ Jean Baptiste Barrois, *Bibliothèque prototypographique: ou Librairies des fils du roi Jean, Charles V, Jean de Berri, Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens* (Paris, 1830); Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V, roi de France, 1337–1380*, 2 vols (Paris, 1907, reprinted Amsterdam, 1967); Alfred Coville, *La vie intellectuelle dans les domaines d'Anjou-Provence de 1380 à 1435* (Paris, 1941); Georges Doutrepont, *La littérature française à la cour des Ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1909, reprinted Geneva, 1970); Jean Chapelot and Elisabeth Lalou, eds, *Vincennes aux origines de l'Etat moderne. Actes du colloque scientifique sur 'Les Capétiens et Vincennes au Moyen Age'*, Vincennes, 8, 9 et 10 juin 1994 (Paris, 1996); Gilbert Ouy, *La librairie des frères captifs. Les manuscrits de Charles d'Orléans et Jean d'Angoulême* (Turnhout, 2007). Also see Samantha Kelly, *The New Solomon. Robert of Naples (1309–1343) and Fourteenth-Century Kingship* (Leiden, 2003).

⁶⁹ Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*.

⁷⁰ Ezio Ornato, 'Les humanistes français et la redécouverte des classiques', *Préludes à la Renaissance: aspects de la vie intellectuelle en France au XVe siècle*, ed. Carla Bozzolo and Ezio Ornato (Paris, 1992), pp. 1–45 and Gilbert Ouy, 'Humanism and Nationalism in France at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century', *The Birth of Identities: Denmark and Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. Brian Patrick McGuire (Copenhagen, 1996), pp. 107–25.

⁷¹ In 1361, Petrarch had attended the French court as the ambassador of Galeazzo Visconti, sent to congratulate John II on his release from English captivity; the dauphin Charles heard his

two related think-tanks, that is to say the College of Navarre of which Nicole Oresme, translator of Aristotle, had been Grand Maître, and the royal chancery, whose notaries and secretaries provided the Valois monarchy with a consistent supply of scholars throughout the fifteenth century.⁷² As another graduate of the College of Navarre, Jean Gerson, declared in 1389, France finally enjoyed the calibre of writers capable of praising those brave warriors who, alongside its wise men, had contributed to its glory.⁷³

The situation in France contrasted strongly with that of England, which largely experienced warfare from a distance, even if the fear of raids and invasion was never completely banished.⁷⁴ Warfare certainly remained a constant element in aristocratic identity, but campaigns and battles generally took place overseas, and a sustained period of superiority for English strategy and tactics meant that there were very few major defeats or setbacks to diagnose.⁷⁵ The principal burdens of warfare were indirect, particularly in terms of the immense financial and logistical burdens placed upon state and society. As a result, intellectual debate in England tended to focus upon the justification for the wars overseas, the costs that such a conflict imposed upon society, and the conduct of its soldiers.⁷⁶

oration and was greatly impressed by it: Roland Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V*, 5 vols (Paris, 1909–31), ii. 270–2 and iii. 515–27.

⁷² Gilbert Ouy, 'Le College de Navarre, Berceau de l'humanisme français', *Actes du 95e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes: philologie et histoire jusqu'à 1610* (Reims, 1970), I, pp. 275–99; Natalie Gorochov, *Le collège de Navarre et sa fondation (1305) au début du XVe siècle (1418). Histoire de l'institution, de sa vie intellectuelle et de son recrutement* (Paris, 1997); Nicole Pons, 'Les chancelleries Parisiennes sous le règne de Charles VI et Charles VII', *Cancellaria e cultura nel medio evo. 16th Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche* (Vatican City, 1990), pp. 137–68.

⁷³ 'Gallia, que viris semper et strenuis bello et omni sapientia eruditiss illustrata est, gravium et eloquencium historicorum atque poetarum magnam hactenus passa est inopiam', as cited in Gilbert Ouy, 'Le brouillon inachevé d'un traité de Gerson contre Jean de Monzon', *Romania* 83 (1962), 472.

⁷⁴ Anthony Goodman, 'The Anglo-Scottish Marches in the Fifteenth Century: A Frontier Society?', *Scotland and England, 1286–1815*, ed. R. A. Mason (Edinburgh, 1987), pp. 18–33; Michael Hughes, 'The Fourteenth-Century French Raids on Hampshire and the Isle of Wight', *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. Anne Curry and Michael Hughes (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 121–44.

⁷⁵ Christopher T. Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War c. 1300–c. 1450* (Cambridge, 1988); Clifford J. Rogers, 'The Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years War', *Journal of Military History* 57 (1993), 241–78; Maurice H. Keen, ed., *Medieval Warfare: A History* (Oxford, 1999).

⁷⁶ John Barnie, *War in Medieval English Society. Social Values in the Hundred Years War, 1337–1399* (Ithaca, NY, 1974), pp. 117–38; Janet Coleman, *English Literature in History: Medieval Readers and Writers, 1350–1400* (New York, 1981), pp. 79–92; Elizabeth Siberry, 'Criticism of Crusading in Fourteenth-Century England', *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 127–36; Robert F. Yeager, 'Pax Poetica: On the Pacifism of Chaucer and Gower', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 9 (1987), 97–121; Ben Lowe, *Imagining Peace. A History of Early English Pacifist Ideas, 1340–1560* (University Park, PA, 1997); Nigel Saul,

English chivalric literature certainly debated difficult questions about the treatment of civilians and the brutality of war, and the same issues were raised in contemporary chronicles, sermons and other genres. Yet these debates fell far short of the practical responses offered by both French and Italian didactic treatises that directly explored the legal authorities, particularly civil and canon law, that were relevant to these questions. When debating the horrors of war, English writers rarely grounded their discussions in either the realities of the contemporary war or the legal debates of the just war tradition, in the manner of Giovanni da Legnano, Honoré Bouvet and Christine de Pizan.⁷⁷ For example, Chaucer's *Tale of Melibee* was ambiguous and disconnected from contemporary contexts, in part because it belonged to a very different tradition as a reworking of Renaut de Louens' translation of Albertanus of Brescia's thirteenth-century *Liber consolationis et consilii*.⁷⁸ Even Henry V's and the duke of Bedford's increasing concern with military discipline did not inspire any practical English writing on the laws of war and *ius in bello* until these issues were taken up by Nicholas Upton and William Worcester at the very end of the occupation of Normandy.⁷⁹

Similarly, the chivalric narratives of the tragic downfalls of the Greeks, Trojans and the knights of the Round Table that Thomas Hoccleve recommended to Oldcastle, could certainly be read as commentaries on contemporary chivalry and warfare, serving either as inspiration for, or as warnings against an aggressive foreign policy.⁸⁰ Yet for all the emphasis placed in these narratives upon leaders listening carefully to wise and scholarly counsel and wisdom, English chivalric literature gives little sense of what such advice might amount to in practical terms, especially for military commanders. For such matters, English kings and

'A Farewell to Arms? Criticism of Warfare in Late Fourteenth-Century England', *Fourteenth-Century England II*, ed. Chris Given-Wilson (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 131–45.

⁷⁷ Lollard denunciations of warfare made it more difficult to discuss just war theory in the fifteenth century. See, for example, the texts cited in Christopher T. Allmand, ed., *Society at War. The Experience of England and France During the Hundred Years War* (revised edn, Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 20–1 and 38–9.

⁷⁸ Kate L. Forhan, 'Poets and Politics: Just War in Geoffrey Chaucer and Christine de Pizan', *Ethics, Nationalism, and Just War: Medieval and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Henrik Syse and Gregory M. Reichberg (Washington, DC, 2007), pp. 99–116.

⁷⁹ Benedicta J. H. Rowe, 'Discipline in the Norman Garrisons Under Bedford, 1422–35', *EHR* 46 (1931), 194–208, 'The Estates of Normandy Under the Duke of Bedford, 1422–1435', *EHR* 46 (1931), 551–78 and 'John Duke of Bedford and the Norman "Brigands"', *EHR* 47 (1932), 583–600, together with Anne Curry, 'The Military Ordinances of Henry V: Texts and Contexts', *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, c.1150–1500. Essays in Honour of Michael Prestwich*, ed. Chris Given-Wilson, Ann Kettle and Len Scales (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 214–49. See also note 40 above.

⁸⁰ Simpson, *Reform and Cultural Revolution*, p. 99, and in general pp. 68–120 and 255–7. See also Felicity J. Riddy, 'Empire and Civil War: Contexts for *Le Morte Darthur*', *A Companion to Malory*, ed. A. S. G. Edwards and Elizabeth Archibald (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 55–73. Also see Geraldine Barnes, *Counsel and Strategy in Middle English Romance* (Cambridge, 1993).

noblemen could only turn to Vegetius and the summaries in works like the *De regimine principum* of Giles of Rome.

Of course, it is far from clear that English kings and commanders needed to turn to such books for advice on warfare after such a long period of sustained military success. Contemporary writers certainly tried to claim that Vegetius had played an important part in this turn of events. For example, John Lydgate reported in the prologue to the *Troy Book* that as a youth, the future king Henry V had trained and exercised his body in the manner that Vegetius had taught.⁸¹ Hoccleve claimed in his *Regement of Princes* that Prince Henry had already read the three main sources of his book of advice, that is to say the *Secretum secretorum*, Jacques de Cessoles' *Le livre du jeu d'échecs* and Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*.⁸² The anonymous author of the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* reported that Henry V drew military advice from Giles of Rome during the siege of Harfleur,⁸³ and during a disputation in Oxford in 1420, the king was lauded for having waged war in France according to the advice given in Giles' *De regimine principum*.⁸⁴ The problem is that such testimony may amount to little more than an attempt to construct an image of a counselled and wise king, in order to persuade future lay audiences of the utility of these texts and the intellectuals who interpreted them.⁸⁵ It seems most likely that the majority of English kings and noblemen were interested in didactic works, 'not because they specially desired to have instruction in the business of government from clerks, nor because they would appreciate being told things they did not wish to hear, but because it was important that they should represent themselves as receptive to sage counsel.'⁸⁶ Hoccleve later declared in his *Dialogue with a Friend* that he had decided not to prepare an English translation of Vegetius' *Epitoma rei militaris* for Humphrey duke of Gloucester because the duke already knew so much about warfare that it would be unnecessary.⁸⁷ Yet if Gloucester had

⁸¹ Lydgate, *Troy Book: Selections*, p. 29, lines 86–9.

⁸² Thomas Hoccleve, *The Regiment of Princes*, ed. Charles R. Blyth (Kalamazoo, MI, 1999), pp. 97–102, lines 2017–131.

⁸³ *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, p. 42 and also see pp. 28 and 40.

⁸⁴ Oxford, Magdalen College MS 38, fol. 17v, quoted in Briggs, *Giles of Rome's 'De Regimine Principum'*, p. 64n.

⁸⁵ Henry V had certainly been the subject of such efforts, as the preacher of an Epiphany sermon in 1414 entitled 'Natus est rex' encouraged him to attend to the 'many sotell questions and conclusions in mater of were and armes' in Vegetius and Gylus, *De Regimine*, parte ultima': Woodburn O. Ross, ed., *Middle English Sermons Edited from British Museum MS Royal 18 B xxiii* (EETS Original Series 209, London, 1940), pp. xxxvi–xxxviii and 223, cited in Briggs, *Giles of Rome's 'De Regimine Principum'*, p. 64.

⁸⁶ Derek Pearsall, 'Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*: The Poetics of Royal Self-Representation', *Speculum* 69 (1994), 386.

⁸⁷ Gloucester owned Vegetius in the original Latin and the French translation by Jean de Vignay: Alfonso Sammut, *Unfredo duca de Gloucester e gli umanisti italiani* (Padua, 1980), pp. 80, 95 and 100–1, and Cambridge, University Library MS Ee.2.17. Hoccleve also sidestepped the opportunity to write a chivalric biography of Gloucester, arguing that he had insufficient talent, and instead offered a narrative of virtuous women based upon the *Gesta Romanorum*:

no need of such advice, it is hard to imagine that it would have been more useful for Henry V.⁸⁸ Certainly no contemporary attempted to link the military successes of Edward III or the Black Prince to their reading of Vegetius or any précis offered by other writers like Walter de Milemete or Giles of Rome.

Indeed, it is hard to find compelling evidence that either intellectuals or books played an important role in the development of the science of warfare earlier in the Middle Ages.⁸⁹ At the end of the thirteenth century, Ramón Llull had called for the establishment of schools to teach the ethics and science of chivalry to young knights, but as Geoffroi de Charny later attested, these matters were normally learned through practical experience, apprenticeship and conversation with experts.⁹⁰ But training and advice in military matters would more likely have come from qualified and experienced veterans rather than ancient military manuals. Vegetius himself tried to justify the value of his *Epitoma rei militaris* by arguing that it preserved the experience of past experts like Cato, Cornelius Celsus, Frontinus, Paternus, Augustus, Trajan and Hadrian for future generations.⁹¹ In practice, its continued success may have owed more to its reputation and its emphasis on personal discipline, than the military advice offered therein by Vegetius, which amounted to little more than common sense, or was simply irrelevant for medieval warfare.⁹²

Yet in late medieval France the *Epitoma rei militaris* was not treated as a permanent, unchanging model of military wisdom, but rather the starting point for an on-going debate about warfare and chivalry. Enguerrand de Monstrelet

Thomas Hoccleve, *Hoccleve's Complaint and Dialogue*, ed. J. A. Burrow (EETS Original Series 313, Oxford 1999), p. 101, lines 561–5.

⁸⁸ It is important to note that the first English translation of Vegetius was undertaken 'at the ordenaunce & biddynge of the worthi & worschipful lord sire Thomas of Berkeley', rather than the Lancastrian court. See note 13 above, and also Ralph Hanna III, 'Sir Thomas Berkeley and His Patronage', *Speculum* 64 (1989), 878–916.

⁸⁹ Serge Lusignan, *Parler vulgairement: les intellectuels et la langue française aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Montreal, 1987), pp. 89–90: 'La philosophie médiévale s'est néanmoins toujours avérée incapable d'articuler un quelconque discours qui corresponde aux pratiques contemporaines réelles de ces arts ... Le savoir médiéval est théorique et textuel par essence et son épistémologie n'accorde aucun intérêt aux enseignements de la pratique, ... peut-être même en est-on incapable.' Also see Joël Blanchard, 'Ecrire la guerre au XVe siècle', *Le Moyen Français* 24–5 (1990), pp. 7–8.

⁹⁰ Ramón Llull, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie*, p. 257 (II, c.14) and Geoffroi de Charny, *The Book of Chivalry*, pp. 92 and 100–6.

⁹¹ Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris*, book I, chapter 8.

⁹² Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry*, pp. 182–91; Stephen Morillo, *Warfare Under the Anglo-Norman Kings, 1066–1135* (Woodbridge, 1994), p. 118n; Michael Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience* (New Haven, CT, 1996), pp. 186–7. In a rather odd debate, key medieval military historians have recently adopted the terminology 'Vegetian' to describe a strategy of battle avoidance, whilst all agreeing that there is no direct evidence that such a strategy was directly influenced by Vegetius' *Epitoma rei militaris*: see the discussion in the *Journal of Medieval Military History* 1 (2002). Also, see the wider perspective offered by Sidney Anglo, 'Vegetius' *De re militari*. Triumph of Mediocrity', *Antiquaries Journal* 82 (2002), 247–67.

began the second volume of his chronicle by citing the skill in arms and training of the Romans that had enabled them to achieve imperial control over the greater part of the world, as discussed by Vegetius in his book on 'la vaillance et prudence de chevalerie', but went on to assert the value of modern additions to the books of 'sciences composés par les saiges anciens' by 'clercs sages et éloquens, philosophes et poètes', arguing that men of noble courage engaged in warfare should learn from these texts, and ensure that they fight bravely for the common good in the pursuit of great reputation.⁹³ Giles of Rome had added a chapter on siege engines to the material that he drew from Vegetius, though the French translators of his *De regimine principum* subsequently ignored that addition.⁹⁴ Other French writers, including most notably Christine de Pizan, were equally willing to adapt and extend the text rather than offer slavish reproductions of the original. Philippe de Mézières, an experienced military commander, recommended Vegetius, Titus Livy and Valerius Maximus as the foundational works that had served the 'vaillant[e] immuable chevalerie de Romme, qui tout le monde avoit conques a l'espee'. But he also offered wide-ranging, practical advice on chivalry, warfare and crusading.⁹⁵ This practical approach was also echoed in Mézières' pamphlets for the order of the Chevalerie de la Passion de Jésus Christ, that offered spiritual meditations on the necessity of crusade but also extremely detailed discussions of the organisation, logistics and rules of the order.⁹⁶ That French writers were so keen to marry classical wisdom with contemporary experience and ideas was inevitable, given the depth of the crisis that affected France during the course of the Hundred Years War. In the process, they presented themselves as commentators on more than the moral framework of chivalry, justifying the role of texts alongside practical experience in the teaching of the laws and science of warfare, that is to say 'l'art de chevalerie'.⁹⁷ It is not surprising, therefore, that a man whose entire life was bound up in warfare like Guichard Dauphin, lord of Jaligny and master of the crossbowmen of France, would own the *Enseignemens* of Theodore Palaeologus, Honorat Bovet's *Arbre des batailles*, Geoffroi de Charny's *Demandes pour la joute, les tournois et la guerre*, books on tournaments and armorial bearings as well as copies of Titus Livy and the lives of Alexander and Caesar.⁹⁸ The demand in France not only for translations of Vegetius, but also a wider corpus of didactic treatises on 'l'art de chevalerie', is an indication of the fundamental reorientation of military and chivalric culture under the Valois monarchy, driven both by the intellectual milieu and the extraordinary challenges that France faced. The

⁹³ Monstrelet, *La chronique d'Enguerran[d] de Monstrelet*, IV, pp. 125–9.

⁹⁴ Contamine, 'Les traités de guerre, de chase, de blason et de chevalerie', pp. 354–5.

⁹⁵ See note 27 above.

⁹⁶ See note 28 above.

⁹⁷ Contamine, 'Les traités de guerre, de chase, de blason et de chevalerie', pp. 346–7.

⁹⁸ Antoine-Jean-Victor Leroux de Lincy, 'Inventaire des livres composant la bibliothèque des seigneurs de Jaligny, 6 juin 1413', *Bulletin du bibliophile* (November 1843), 518–27 and Contamine, 'Les traités de guerre, de chase, de blason et de chevalerie', p. 365.

military classes proved themselves open to significant reforms and also new forms of advice, part of the gradual development of a 'caste consciousness distinguishing between military professionals and civilians'.⁹⁹

In England, it was only towards the very end of the Hundred Years War, in the face of military defeat and increasing English domestic dislocation from the war effort, that veterans like Sir John Talbot, Humphrey duke of Gloucester, William de La Pole duke of Suffolk, Richard duke of York and Sir John Fastolf played a central role in importing key French treatises and also commissioning both English translations and completely new works on warfare and chivalry. Superficially, the timing of this, and perhaps also the limited role played by the English crown as opposed to such old soldiers, would suggest that these writings amounted to a literature of defeat, an attempt to diagnose and explain the downturn in English fortunes since the death of King Henry V.¹⁰⁰ French cultures of chivalry were being reshaped and developed in original ways, responding not only to military crisis, but also to wider changes in reading and book-ownership, as well as fundamental social renegotiations and redefinitions within aristocratic, gentry and urban contexts.¹⁰¹ Yet ultimately, one cannot help but agree with Jean de Clermont's declaration, during an argument with Sir John Chandos over heraldic devices on the eve of the battle of Poitiers, that the English 'ne se vent aviser riens de nouvel; mès quanqu'il voient, leur est biel'.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Paul D. Solon, 'Popular Responses to Standing Military Forces in Fifteenth-Century France', *Studies in the Renaissance* 19 (1972), p. 91.

¹⁰⁰ Allmand, 'Some Writers and the Theme of War in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', pp. 177–8, and also see Catherine R. Nall, 'Perceptions of Financial Mismanagement and the English Reaction to Defeat in the Hundred Years War', *The Fifteenth Century VII, Conflicts, Consequences and the Crown in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Linda Clark (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 119–35. For Yorkist book ownership, see Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, "'Chevalerie ... in som partie is worthi forto be comendid and in some part to ben amendid": Chivalry and the Yorkist Kings', *St George's Chapel, Windsor, in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Colin Richmond and Eileen Scarff (Windsor, 2001), pp. 107–33.

¹⁰¹ Nall, 'The Production and Reception of Military Texts in the Aftermath of the Hundred Years War'.

¹⁰² Froissart, *Chroniques*, V, pp. 418–19: 'They can never think of anything new themselves, but when they see something good, they just take it.'

Royal Grants of Arms in England before 1484*

Adrian Ailes

Few serious historians have dared venture deep into the secret garden of heraldry. Maybe the fabulous beasts, strange blazons, family legends, and exotically titled heralds have scared them off. Maurice Keen has displayed no such timidity and he has amply and eloquently demonstrated that the subject has much to tell us about the social values, culture and aspirations of the upper echelons of medieval society. In England the heralds (acting as agents of the crown and under their own seals) only began to grant new arms or confirm existing coats from the late 1430s. Indeed, they were not formally incorporated as a collective body (now known as the College of Arms) until 1484, when they were given their own house, Coldharbour, in London. Before the mid-fifteenth century arms were simply adopted without reference to a higher authority, or were given by private licence or individual grant. Those few bestowed by the king himself not surprisingly carried the greatest dignity and weight. Such heraldic patronage from the highest authority in the land could be used to gain political favour, express friendship, reward allies, and help elevate court favourites or close kinsmen. In short, royal grants of arms were a signal honour.

The treatises of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries make it clear that the most prestigious arms were those given by the emperor, a king, or a prince.¹ Heraldry had appeared in England during the 1130s and it is possible that as early as the second half of the twelfth century Henry II gave some sort of express permission for certain of his close associates (including his favourite son John) to use differenced versions of a coat that he almost certainly bore himself, namely two lions passant or passant guardant.² We know that in 1258 St

* This paper is based upon chapter 4 of Adrian Ailes, 'Medieval Grants of Arms 1300–1461' (MA dissertation, University of London, 1997). Unless otherwise stated, unpublished manuscript sources are in The National Archives, Kew, London.

¹ Anthony R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1956), pp. 68–70.

² The men concerned were his son, John lord of Ireland, Hugh IV count of St Pol, Bernard IV count of St Walery, Warin FitzGerold, Gervase Paynell and Henry Count Palatine of the Rhine (Adrian Ailes, *The Origins of the Royal Arms of England: Their Development to 1199* (Reading, 1982), pp. 57–62). For early examples of families differencing arms see David Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain 1000–1300* (London, 1992), pp. 220–35; Crouch, 'The Historian,

Louis IX specifically gave his royal consent for Bohemond VI, prince of Antioch, to quarter his arms with those of France,³ and further afield the emperor Louis IV is known to have granted arms by letters patent to an individual in 1338.⁴ Between 1366 and 1369 the Chancery of his successor, Charles IV, spoke of titles of nobility proceeding from the imperial throne as rays from the sun. All ensigns of that nobility, therefore, proceeded from the one fount of honour – the emperor himself.⁵ In England royal grants could be issued either as licences to use existing arms or crests in whole or in part, or grants of entirely new designs, although often these very deliberately included some charge borrowed from the royal arms or crest as a sign of special favour. Only one English example of a medieval royal confirmation of existing arms is known; this occurred where the original letters patent had been lost and the king confirmed the same arms to the son.⁶

The earliest recorded example of a royal bestowal of arms in England dates to 1335, when Edward III assigned his eagle crest to his loyal captain and close confidant, William de Montagu.⁷ As with so many to come it was a clear and formal act of patronage expressed heraldically. Further grants appear to have been particularly popular between 1385 and 1450 with a sharp decline in numbers for the rest of the century. This paper looks at the evidence for those grants, to whom they were granted, and the forms of conveyance they took.

The surviving evidence for royal grants, in contrast to those by private individuals and heralds, is good. The actual sealed letters patent or licence presented to the grantee were produced in the royal Chancery, where exact copies of the text were usually (but not always) made on the patent and charter rolls, or, in the case of Henry VI's grants to his French subjects, on the Gascon rolls.⁸ Unlike most of the sealed grants presented to the recipients these rolls survive and are today kept in The National Archives. Not all grants, however, were automatically recorded on Chancery rolls since the grantee had to pay for such a privilege. For example, at some point in his reign Edward III issued letters patent granting arms to Peter de Maundell and his heirs, but their text was not enrolled. We only know of their existence because the loss of the original letters

Lineage and Heraldry 1050–1250', *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, ed. Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 17–37; Anthony Wagner, 'Heraldry', *Medieval England*, ed. A. L. Poole, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1958), i. 338–81; Bruce McAndrew, *Scotland's Historic Heraldry* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 10–13. For late examples see Maurice Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman: Heraldry, Chivalry and Gentility in Medieval England, c. 1300–c. 1500* (Stroud, 2002), pp. 8–9.

³ Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans M. R. B. Shaw (Harmondsworth, 1963), p. 297, and see D. L. Galbreath, *Manuel du Blason*, revd by Léon Jéquier (Lausanne, 1977), p. 54 for further examples.

⁴ Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 65.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 123.

⁶ The arms were confirmed to Sir Otho de Maundell by Richard II – see below.

⁷ See below, pp. 90–1.

⁸ For the charter (C 53), Gascon (C 61) and patent (C 66) rolls see *Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office 1* (London, 1963), 15, 20, 22–3.

patent was referred to in a confirmation of the same arms granted by Richard II to Peter's son and heir, Sir Otho, on 22 October 1393. Fortunately, this later confirmation was enrolled in the Chancery.⁹ Similarly, Richard II's grant allowing certain of his kinsmen to impale their arms with those attributed to his favourite royal saint, Edward the Confessor (as he himself had done) does not exist on any Chancery roll, if indeed any such formal grant was ever made under the great seal.¹⁰ Nor do any formal records exist for Richard having permitted the newly legitimated Beaufort sons of his uncle John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, by Gaunt's mistress Katherine Swynford, to use the differenced versions of the royal arms.¹¹ Again, no official records survive for Henry VI having formally allowed the legitimated sons of Sir Owen Tudor, Edmund (d. 1456) and Jasper (d. 1495), recently created earls of Richmond and Pembroke respectively in November 1452, to bear similarly differenced versions of the royal arms.¹² Nevertheless, these cases were exceptional in not being formally recorded, and because of their rarity and high prestige value most royal grants of arms were officially enrolled.

In addition to the Chancery enrolments examples often survive of the king's initial authorisation of a grant of arms in the form of a warrant or 'bill' issued under a small seal or the king's sign manual. This instructed the chancellor or keeper of the great seal to draw up letters patent under the great seal to be given to the grantee.¹³ In normal circumstances the warrants simply set out the text to be copied and offer no further information than that contained in their enrolled copies. However, such warrants can provide crucial evidence for

⁹ Warrant: C 81/543 no. 9054; enrolment: C 66/338 m. 15; *CPR 1391–96*, p. 327; Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 66; *Foedera*, vii. 756; Sir H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, *Historical Notes on the Use of the Great Seal* (London, 1926), p. 382.

¹⁰ See below, pp. 91–2.

¹¹ The children henceforth bore the royal arms differenced with a compony (single row of chequers) bordure of argent (or ermine) and azure, the livery colours of the House of Lancaster. See Rodney Dennys, *Heraldry and the Heralds* (London, 1982), p. 19; J. H. and R. V. Pinches, *The Royal Heraldry of England* (London, 1974), pp. 81–5; M. H. Jackson-Lipkin, 'The Beaufort Legitimation', *Coat of Arms* 6 (1956–58), 113–14, 321–8; and Sir Anthony Wagner, *Historic Heraldry of Britain* (London and Chichester, 1972), p. 61. Richard may also have allowed his near kinsmen, Thomas Holand, earl of Kent (d. 1397), John Holand duke of Exeter (d. 1400) and Thomas Mowbray duke of Norfolk and earl marshal (d. 1399) to use differenced versions of the arms of England (*three lions passant guardant*), but again there is no formally recorded grant (Dennys, *Heralds and Heraldry*, pp. 108, 111, and J. H. Round, *Peerage and Pedigree: Studies in Peerage Law and Family History* (London, 1910), ii. 354–6).

¹² Edmund bore the royal arms in a bordure azure charged with alternate fleurs de lys and martlets (heraldic swallows) and Jasper the royal arms in a bordure of martlets (Dennys, *Heraldry and the Heralds*, p. 118, and Pinches, *Royal Heraldry of England*, pp. 127–30; M. D. Siddons, *The Development of Welsh Heraldry*, 4 vols (Aberystwyth, 1991–2006), i. 116–17). Henry VI also granted greyhounds (a royal beast) as supporters to Edmund (Sydney Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London, 1992), p. 35).

¹³ For Chancery warrants (C 81) see *Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office* 1, 43; Maxwell-Lyte, *Historical Notes on the Use of the Great Seal*, *passim*; and Pierre Chaplais, *English Royal Documents: King John–Henry VI 1199–1461* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 39–44.

the design of the new arms, since they sometimes bear an illustration of the new coat enabling it to be accurately copied on the letters patent to be given to the grantee and then properly recorded on the appropriate Chancery roll. For example, painted shields appear on Henry's warrant delivered to the lord chancellor on 30 January 1449 for letters patent granting arms to be drawn up for his clerk Nicholas Cloos, for services connected with the building of King's College, Cambridge,¹⁴ and on his warrant delivered into the Chancery on 19 May 1449 for arms to be granted to Roger Keys and his brother, Thomas, and the issue of the latter, for similar work at Eton (Plate 1).¹⁵ The letters patent granting arms to Cloos and Keys do not survive and were never enrolled (probably to avoid the fee), so the warrants with their painted shields provide not only the text of the grant but also the official design of the arms described only in the text as *hic depicta* and not blazoned.

Evidence survives for three medieval royal grants where all three administrative and documentary stages – warrant, letters patent, and enrolment – still exist. The first two are the related arms granted by Henry VI to his religious and educational foundations at Eton¹⁶ and Cambridge (now King's College).¹⁷ The warrants for both are signed and dated 1 January 1449. They were subsequently stitched on to the charter roll as a permanent record, since the arms were never copied on to the roll even though blank spaces were left for them (Plate 2). The third example is Edward IV's grant of arms in November 1472 to Louis de Bruges, lord of la Gruthuyse, whom Edward had recently created earl of Winchester. On this occasion all three records include both a full blazon and a painting of the new arms.¹⁸ The letters patent of arms to Eton, King's, and Louis de Bruges, each

¹⁴ C 81/1479 no. 41 (originally a petition to the king); Samuel Bentley, ed., *Excerpta Historica* (London, 1831), p. 364; 'Letters of Nobility', *Herald and Genealogist* 1 (1863), 135–6. For Nicholas see *Oxford DNB*.

¹⁵ C 81/1454 no. 15 (originally a petition to the king); Bentley, ed., *Excerpta Historica*, 49; 'X' [A. C. Fox-Davies], *The Right to Bear Arms* (London, 1900), pp. 50–2; 'Letters of Nobility', 137. For Cloos see *Oxford DNB*.

¹⁶ Warrant and enrolment: C 53/190 m. 43; *CChR*, iv, 106; Bentley, ed., *Excerpta Historica*, 45, 47–9. 'Heraldic Exhibition at the Society of Antiquaries', *Herald and Genealogist* 1 (1863), 119. The warrant is dated 1 January 1449 and was delivered to the Lord Chancellor for the letters patent to be drawn up and enrolled on the same date. The illuminated letters patent granting the arms to Eton College and now in the possession of Eton College are dated 1 January 1449.

¹⁷ Warrant and enrolment: C 53/190 m. 43; *CChR*, iv, 106; Bentley, ed., *Excerpta Historica*, 362–4; Cecil Humphery-Smith *et al.*, eds, *Cambridge Armorial* (London, 1985), pp. 54–7; *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 8 (1895), 118 ff.; 'Heraldic Exhibition at the Society of Antiquaries', 119; Maxwell-Lyte, *Historical Notes on the Use of the Great Seal*, p. 382. The warrant is dated 1 January 1449 and was delivered to the lord chancellor for the letters patent to be drawn up and enrolled on the same date. The illuminated letters patent granting the arms and now in the possession of King's are dated 1 January 1449. The 1443 seal of King's had borne the arms two lily flowers (for Mary) and in base pastoral staff encircled by a mitre (for St Nicholas), with the same chief as in 1449 (Humphery-Smith *et al.*, eds, *Cambridge Armorial*, p. 57; Richard Marks and Paul Williamson, eds, *Gothic: Art for England 1400–1547* (London, 2003), 162).

¹⁸ Warrant: C 81/1505 no. 4; letters patent (dated 23 November): British Library Egerton MS

still with their great seals attached, are the only extant examples of such English royal patents granting arms during the Middle Ages (Plate 3).

No direct evidence of a specific royal grant of arms, whether warrant, patent or enrolment, survives for the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V. The only known reference to such a grant is in the creation of an earldom. On 24 November 1414 Henry V granted to his brother, John duke of Bedford and earl of Kendal, the reversion of the earldom and lordship of the honour of Richmond 'with the whole arms belonging and pertaining to the said earldom, honour and lordship'. The grant is recorded on the parliament rolls.¹⁹ Doubtless Henry V did grant arms directly. He was the first English king known to have attempted some form of control over the wrongful assumption of arms²⁰ and his reign witnessed a number of important initiatives with regard to the leadership and corporate responsibilities of the royal heralds, including the appointment of the first Garter King of Arms and the first chapter of the English officers of arms.²¹ Perhaps it is only the comparative shortness of his reign and his almost continual absence abroad that are to blame for the lack of known grants.

The absence of any royal grants of arms by the new king, Henry VI, between his accession in 1422 and 1439 is very probably not because the evidence has been lost but rather because it never existed in the first place. Henry was only nine months old when he became king and only after the end of his minority in 1437 was he invested with full powers and could exercise the royal grace in

2830; and enrolment: C 66/529 m. 11, *CPR*, 1467–77, p. 338. W. H. St John Hope, 'On a Grant of Arms under the Great Seal of Edward IV to Louis de Bruges, seigneur de la Gruthuyse and earl of Winchester, 1472, with some remarks on the arms of English earldoms', *Archaeologia* 56 (1898), 27–38; Richard Marks and Ann Payne, *British Heraldry from its Origins to c. 1800* (London, 1978), p. 27. For Louis see M. G. A. Vale, 'An Anglo-Burgundian Nobleman and Art Patron: Louis de Bruges, Lord of La Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester', *England and the Low Countries in the later Middle Ages*, ed. C. Barron and N. Saul (Stroud 1995), pp. 115–32.

¹⁹ C 65/75 m. 9; *PROME* ix (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 82; Hope, 'On a Grant of Arms under the Great Seal of Edward IV', 34; H. Stanford London, 'The Arms of the Earldom of Richmond', *Coat of Arms* 3 (1953–54), 241–2. The arms in question were very probably checky or and azure, a bordure of England, and overall a canton ermine.

²⁰ C 54/267 m. 15d; Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman*, pp. 81–2; Anne Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 435, 451.

²¹ *Oxford DNB* sub William Bruges; Peter J. Begent, 'The Creation of the Office of Garter King of Arms', *Coat of Arms*, new series 11 (1995), 134–40; Adrian Ailes, 'The Creation of the Office of Garter King of Arms: A Postscript', *Coat of Arms*, new series 12 (1998), 239–40. For the chapter of the royal heralds at Rouen in January 1420 (possibly 1421) see BL Additional MS 4101 fols 56v–61 and 71–5, printed in H. S. London, *The Life of William Bruges: The First Garter King of Arms* (Harleian Society, cxi–cxii, 1959–60, published 1970), Appendix XII; Sir Anthony Wagner, *Heralds of England: A History of the Office and College of Arms* (London, 1967), pp. 68–70. A number of families claimed arms granted by the king for their actions at Agincourt and on Henry's French campaigns but there is no evidence for any royal grants; see J. F. Huxford, *Honour and Arms: The Story of Some Augmentations of Honour* (London, 1984), pp. 23–7 for examples.

grants for life.²² There followed an extraordinary period of material grants and distribution of favours and this is reflected in the number of armorial grants he made between 1439 and 1449. No more, however, appear for the rest of his troubled reign and the only other known royal grants issued before 1484, indeed before 1500, are those of his successor Edward IV assigning arms to Louis de Bruges in 1472, and a licence dated 23 October 1461 for Francesco Coppini, bishop of Terni, and his nephews Bartholomew and Thomasinus to bear 'our device' of a white rose – the famous badge of the House of York.²³

This sharp decline in the number of royal grants from 1450 onwards was probably due to a number of factors, such as the decline of Henry's personal authority from 1450, his mental incapacity beginning in 1453, the military collapse in Gascony the same year, the outbreak of the Wars of the Roses in the mid-1450s, and the turbulent reigns of Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III. In particular royal grants would have been severely affected by the increasing heraldic influence of the kings of arms (the senior royal heralds) who, acting under the authority of the Crown, now became the main agents through whom armorial bearings could be granted.²⁴ Between 1439, the date of the first known grant of arms by a royal herald, and 1484, when the College of Arms was founded, the heralds granted or confirmed at least seventy-six arms, compared with only ten granted by the king.²⁵ Since then arms or augmentations of arms granted directly to individuals by the sovereign under the great seal have continued to be rare.²⁶

We must now turn our attention to the fortunate few who found the king's armorial favour. Recipients of royal grants of arms in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries varied in status and background. However, as far as we know, all shared the king's favour. Heraldic patronage was a swift, relatively cheap and very public way of rewarding friends and allies and signalling a close relationship between the king and his most trusted subjects. By granting arms or allowing others to use royal badges or references from the royal arms the king could win political favour, whilst the recipients were augmented in honour and could publicly demonstrate their adherence to, and in some cases a close personal relationship with, the crown. As already noted, such heraldic practice may have appeared under Henry II, although Edward III is the first English

²² Bertram Wolffe, *Henry VI* (London, 1981), p. 87; J. Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 130–1.

²³ C 66/493 m. 6; *CPR 1461–67*, p. 59; *Foedera*, xi. 479–80; Hope, 'On a Grant of Arms under the Great Seal', 34.

²⁴ At least twenty-seven grants and confirmations were made by the heralds between 1439 and 1461 (Ailes, 'Medieval Grants of Arms', Appendix I).

²⁵ Royal grants: Pierre and Elias de Bosquat (1439); Arnaud and Grimond de Bordeaux (1444); Bernard Angevin (1445); Bernard de Guares (1445); Eton College and King's College (1449); Nicholas Cloos (1449); Roger and Thomas Keys (1449); Francesco Coppini, bishop of Terni, and his nephews (1461); Louis de Bruges, earl of Winchester (1472).

²⁶ See Maxwell-Lyte, *Historical Notes on the Use of the Great Seal*, pp. 383–6, and Huxford, *Honour and Arms*, *passim*.

monarch known to have had that action formally recorded. The letters patent granting his eagle crest to William de Montagu in 1335 specifically state that the grant was made 'for good service rendered and out of special affection'. Two years later the king created Montagu earl of Salisbury and he remained one of the chief influences behind the throne until his death in a tournament in 1344.²⁷ Unfortunately, we know virtually nothing about Edward's other armorial recipient, Peter de Maundell.

Edward's successor, Richard II, took a great interest in matters armorial. He surrounded himself with regal display and a cultured court, and hoped to create a loyal affinity and a new nobility built in his image. He also wished to elevate his own royal stock both in dignity and public consciousness.²⁸ Heraldry played its part in all these areas, not least by the popular use of the king's favourite badge of a white hart as borne by the angelic court in the Wilton Diptych, Richard's portable altar-piece exquisitely painted for him in the late 1390s. During the period of the Hundred Years War the bestowal of particular arms and badges by lordly patrons would have been encouraged by the widespread distribution of livery (later also livery collars) to men of various backgrounds whom they maintained and from whom they sought support and loyalty.²⁹ This was certainly true of the king as ultimate patron. Robert de Vere earl of Oxford was a very close companion to Richard, who created him marquess of Dublin in 1385 and in October 1386 duke of Ireland. Between these two dates, on 3 January 1386, Richard granted Robert a licence by letters patent to bear the arms *azure three crowns or, a bordure argent*, for as long as Robert held the lordship of Ireland. Robert quartered these arms, which were associated with one of Richard's favourite saints, the martyred king, St Edmund, with his own family arms of de Vere.³⁰ Sometime in 1394 or 1395 the king started to impale his own royal arms – the lilies of France quartering the lions (or 'leopards') of England – with those attributed to the Confessor, a cross patonce between four martlets.³¹ By March 1396 he appears to have allowed his new court favourite, Edward earl of Rutland, likewise to impale his arms with those of the saintly Confessor.³² In September the following year he created Edward duke of Aumale. At the same

²⁷ C 53/122 m. 3; CChR, iv, 348, 349. See Knighton, *Chronicon*, ed. J. R. Lumby, 2 vols (Rolls Series, 1889–95), i, 472, 473. Edward used the eagle crest at the second Dunstable Tournament in 1334 (Juliet Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry* (Woodbridge, 1982), p. 69). W. M. Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England 1327–1377* (London, 1990), p. 12. For Montagu's arms see Wagner, *Historic Heraldry of Britain*, p. 51.

²⁸ Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (London and New York, 1997), pp. 245–8, 381–2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 304–9; Ailes, 'Heraldry in Medieval England', 94–7; M. V. Clarke, 'The Wilton Diptych', *Fourteenth-Century Studies*, ed. L. S. Sutherland and M. McKisack (Oxford, 1937), pp. 272–92; Dillian Gordon, *Making and Meaning: The Wilton Diptych* (London, 1993). For private grants see Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman*, pp. 77–8, and Ailes, 'Medieval Grants of Arms', 30–5.

³⁰ C 66/320 m. 1; CPR, 1385–89, p. 78; Wagner, *Historic Heraldry of Britain*, pp. 53–4.

³¹ Clarke, 'Wilton Diptych', 274–6; Dennys, *Heraldry and the Heralds*, p. 106.

³² TNA E 30/333; R. C. Fowler, 'Seals in the Public Record Office', *Archaeologia* 74 (1925), 115 and plate xxxiv, no. 64; Pierre Chaplais, *English Medieval Diplomatic Practice, Part II: Plates* (London, 1975), no. 40; Dennys, *Heraldry and the Heralds*, p. 106.

time he raised four other men of royal descent to dukedoms and appears to have allowed them also to follow the royal example and bear the Confessor's arms alongside their own. Unfortunately, as already stated, if there were formal royal grants to this effect they have not survived.³³

Included among the new creations was Thomas de Mowbray, the new duke of Norfolk. He was the only one, who, like his royal master, bore the attributed arms of the Confessor undifferenced.³⁴ He too was an intimate of the king, and despite briefly siding with the Lords Appellant against Richard in the late 1380s, he was quickly won back to court. By letters patent under the great seal and dated 12 January 1394 Richard had permitted Thomas, then earl of Norfolk and Nottingham and earl marshal, the hereditary right to use the royal lion crest, though differenced with a crown around his neck and not by a plain label, the latter being a mark of difference belonging exclusively to the king's eldest son.³⁵ Gaunt's Beaufort sons, who were also allowed to use differenced versions of the royal arms (but without the Confessor's arms), were, of course, cousins of Richard II.

A particularly interesting recipient of arms from Richard II was, however, a man of much lower status. On 1 July 1389 John de Kyngeston, a liege man of the king, was challenged by a French knight to perform certain deeds of arms. In order that he could do so, Richard received him into the estate of gentleman and made him an esquire, and granted him arms: *argent, a chapeau azure with an ostrich plume gules*; these contained no royal element. It is the earliest surviving grant of a newly devised coat of arms in this country.³⁶

Grantees of arms given by Henry VI were particularly diverse. From 1439 to 1445 they comprised a series of loyal French subjects who sought ennoblement and the ensigns of that new nobility, including Pierre de Bosquat and his brother Elias (1439),³⁷ Arnaud de Bordeaux and his son Grimond, both burgesses of Bordeaux (1444),³⁸ Bernard Angevin, a member of the king's council in Bordeaux (1445) (Plate 4),³⁹ and finally Bernard de Guares a loyal servant in

³³ Henry, earl of Derby, cr. duke of Hereford; Thomas Holand, earl of Kent, cr. duke of Surrey; John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, cr. duke of Exeter; Thomas de Mowbray, earl of Norfolk and earl marshal, cr. duke of Norfolk; see Dennys, *Heraldry and the Heralds*, p. 112.

³⁴ The new dukes of Hereford and Exeter followed the duke of Aumale by impaling the Confessor's arms with a label of three points, whilst the duke of Surrey impaled the Confessor's arms within a bordure.

³⁵ C 66/338 m. 2; CPR, 1391–96, p. 350; 'X', *The Right to Bear Arms*, pp. 42–3; *Foedera*, vii. 763; 'The Arms of Mowbray and Howard', *Genealogical Magazine* 2 (1898–99), 396–403, 509. W. Paley Baildon, 'Heralds' College and Prescription I', *Ancestor* 8 (1904), 124–5. For Mowbray see Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 121–3.

³⁶ Warrant: C 81/505 no. 5280; enrolment: C 66/328 m. 37; CPR, 1388–92, p. 172; Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, pp. 66, 123; *Foedera*, vii. 630; Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman*, p. 78.

³⁷ 10 February 1439. Enrolment: C 61/129 m. 18; *Foedera*, x. 718 (the text does not include the blazon).

³⁸ 28 March 1444. Warrant: C 81/742 no. 7293A; enrolment: C 61/132 m. 8; *Foedera*, xi. 57.

³⁹ 11 March 1445. Enrolment: C 61/133B. W. A. Littledale, ed., *Miscellaneous Grants of Arms*, 2 vols (Harleian Society, lxxvi–lxxvii, 1925–26), ii. 217–18; *Foedera*, xi. 81. For Angevin see

war (1445).⁴⁰ As already stated, in 1449 Henry granted arms to his colleges at Eton and Cambridge, and to his clerks Nicholas Cloos and Roger Keys (and his brother and descendants) for their work in the construction of these buildings. Jasper and Edmund Tudor, who after their legitimization in 1452 were allowed to difference the royal arms, were half-brothers to the king, although it should be added that no royal blood (at least of England) flowed through their veins.

Edward IV is known to have granted a licence to use his white rose badge to one individual and new arms to another. Both were distinguished foreigners and perhaps by now it was considered inappropriate for a mere subject of the crown, namely one or more of the English kings of arms, to grant arms to such distinguished overseas persons. The two were Francesco Coppini, lately papal legate in England, and Louis de Bruges, lord of la Gruthuyse. From 1459 Coppini was an active supporter of the Yorkist cause in England so that a royal licence in 1461 to use 'our device' of the white rose on his arms was entirely appropriate.⁴¹ In 1470 Louis de Bruges had rescued the king and his brother Richard of Gloucester (later Richard III) from possible captivity whilst they were in exile on the continent.⁴² Louis was a close friend of the king, who lavishly rewarded his hospitality with the earldom of Winchester and a month later, on 23 November 1472, with a new coat of arms specifically incorporating a canton of England.

What form of conveyance did these royal grants take? Only one English royal confirmation of arms already in existence is known, that to Otho de Maundell (who had lost his father's patent of arms), and two licences: for Montagu to use Edward III's eagle crest and for Coppini to use Edward IV's white rose badge. Otherwise the grants were made by letters patent under the great seal, though Henry VI did grant arms to certain of his French subjects as part of their letters of ennoblement. Edward III's grant of an eagle crest in 1335 was in effect a licence, since it is doubtful whether he gave up his own right to use the same device. The crest was attached to a grant of land, but unusually the land came with the crest rather than the other way round.⁴³ The grant states that to bear the crest 'more honourably' William de Montagu and his heirs were also granted the reversion of certain manors and advowsons to be held by rendering yearly at Christmas to the king a small sword worth 40*d* and by performing services due to other lords of the fees. Montagu certainly bore the crest on his new seal, but three years later, in 1339, and now earl of Salisbury, he granted it to his godson, Lionel of Antwerp, the king's small son.⁴⁴ At the same time Montagu

M. G. A. Vale, *English Gascony 1399–1457: A Study of War, Government and Politics during the Later Stages of the Hundred Years' War* (Oxford, 1970), p. 204.

⁴⁰ 18 September 1445. Enrolment: C 61/134 m. 6; *Foedera*, xi. 101.

⁴¹ Charles Ross, *Edward IV* (New Haven, CT, and London, 1997), p. 25.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁴³ For arms attached to lands see Ailes, 'Medieval Grants of Arms', 21.

⁴⁴ *CChR*, iv, 393. In 1336 William had been using a seal bearing just his arms (*Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office: Personal Seals*, vol. ii, compiled by Roger Ellis (London, 1981), seal: P 1760). The eagle crest appears on his seal which can be dated to 1337 (W. de Gray Birch,

wisely obtained a grant from the king to retain the manors that had come with the crest. The crest was thus a piece of property to be held in its own right and one which could, therefore, be alienated at will.

Edward III's grant by letters patent of a differenced version of his own arms, *gules three lions passant guardant or*, but differenced by a blue crown round the lions' necks, to Peter de Maundell was almost certainly a grant of hereditary right to a coat of arms. The letters patent thus constituted a deed of grant. They were not just writings for safe remembrance or confirmations of delivery of seisin. They were proof in themselves of the conveyance and it is not surprising that, since they had been lost, Peter's son, Sir Otho, sought a written confirmation of the lost patent, which he duly received from Richard II. Documentary proof may have been particularly important in the light of the similarity of his coat to the royal arms. Richard's grant of a differenced version of the royal crest to Thomas Mowbray, earl marshal, again a grant of hereditary right, was also issued by letters patent.

Richard's grant to John de Kyngeston by letters patent appears to have been a 'one-off' to fill a particular need – so that Kyngeston could accept the immediate challenge of a French knight. The grant is to Kyngeston alone, since there is no mention of heirs or assigns. Yet it does closely link arms with status. In order to participate in deeds of arms and 'be received more honourably' Kyngeston had to be of the right standing. As already noted, Edward III's grant of manors to Montagu was made so that he might be able to bear his eagle crest 'more honourably'. An important element of private grants of arms by nobles in the next century was to increase the recipient in honour and estate. Henry VI's adoption of the continental practice of including a grant of new arms in letters of ennoblement took this link between arms and status much further.⁴⁵ It is interesting to note, therefore, that he used the same formula – to ennoble and give arms as a sign of that nobility – in his letters patent granting arms to his English clerks, Cloos and Keys, and to those two very English institutions they helped build, Eton and King's.

The grants to Cloos and Keys did not make them noble in the modern sense that they were now members of the aristocracy, nor did they confer any title or

Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, 6 vols (London, 1887–1900), no. 11855; L. C. Loyd and D. M. Stenton, eds, *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals* (Oxford, 1950), no. 188; *Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office: Personal Seals*, ii, P 1761 where incorrectly dated 1363). After giving the crest to his godson William and his son, the second earl used the griffin crest more usually associated with the family (Lloyd and Stenton, *Hatton's Book of Seals*, no. 24, Birch, *Catalogue of Seals ... in the British Museum*, nos 6231, 11859–61).

⁴⁵ For Henry's letters of ennoblement and arms see above, p. 92. The practice of granting arms at the same time as 'making noble' was used by the emperor Charles IV from the late 1360s (Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 66). Except for the much longer grant to Bernard Angevin, which included conveyances of land and property, these followed a short and simple formula adding an initial statement that it was important for princes to reward and 'adorn' those who have done them good service.

dignity. Rather the grantees' good services were formally recognised by raising them into the armigerous classes (which could mean no more than making them gentlemen of coat armour) and that, henceforth, they were distinguished by the outward symbols of that elevation, namely arms. They were now men to whom a certain amount of honour should be accorded, and not only to them but also their lineage. Perhaps the nearest modern analogy is the conferment of knighthood which rewards an individual for certain recognised services and qualities, and at the same time allows them if they wish to do so to use the distinctive title 'Sir' in token of their new standing.⁴⁶

Henry's grants to Eton and King's also include the formula *nobilitamus nobileque facimus et creamus*, and assign arms as a sign of that nobility. As institutions these two royal foundations could hardly be made aristocratic, though in a sense they could be made 'noble' – worthy of special respect and honour – and be seen to wear the trappings of that nobility in the arms they now bore and which were so clearly derived from those of the king himself. Indeed, the grants state that in order 'to declare the work [i.e., colleges] truly royal and illustrious' the king has granted them portions (a lily and a leopard) of his own arms. Unlike the grants to Cloos and Keys, their patents include the blazons of the shields and, very unusually, they explain in rather florid language the symbolism of the colours and royal and Marian charges depicted.⁴⁷

Louis de Bruges was already an English noble (and, indeed, already armigerous) when in 1472 Edward IV granted him arms by letters patent.⁴⁸ According to the patent these were to ensure that, as the newly created earl of Winchester, he and his heirs male in that earldom were to 'be adorned with the ensigns worthy of an earl ... and that at home and abroad, in war and in peace, he may go more ornately decorated by our bounty'.⁴⁹ Again, the link between status, honour and arms was clearly present.

Since only three original letters patent of royal grants of arms survive, and they all date from the reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV, it is impossible to generalise as to the illumination and decoration of such documents. The letters patent granting arms to Eton and King's are not illuminated except for

⁴⁶ In the case of Henry VI's joint grants of ennoblement and arms to his French supporters, except for the somewhat unusual case of Bernard Angevin the arms are not blazoned in the text but are depicted (as far as we know) on the letters patent given to the grantee. Even in Angevin's grant the blazon in the text omits the angel supporters, angel's head crest and colours of the wreath and mantling as depicted on the Gascon roll and presumably also on the grant given to Angevin.

⁴⁷ Translations in Bentley, ed., *Excerpta Historica*, 45, and Humphery-Smith *et al.*, eds, *Cambridge Armorial*, 56.

⁴⁸ The family was already armigerous on the continent: Hope, 'On a Grant of Arms under the Great Seal of Edward IV', 33; *Complete Peerage*, xii, pt 2, p. 755 note h. The arms are depicted in René d'Anjou's famous 'Livre de Tournois' (Bibliothèque Nationale MS français 2693 fols 3v–4) written 1455–60 and illustrated in Ottfried Neubecker, *Heraldry: Sources, Symbols and Meaning* (London, 1977), p. 13.

⁴⁹ Translation in Hope, 'On a Grant of Arms under the Great Seal of Edward IV', 31–2.

the tall ascenders of the initial capitals in the opening line and, of course, the painted shields at the centre.⁵⁰ They are sealed with the great seal in green wax appended on plaited cords of two colours (blue and white?). Edward IV's grant to Louis de Bruges is similar in design with the arms painted at the centre, except that it includes some decoration, namely, the Yorkist badges of an ostrich feather transfixing a scroll, the rose-en-soleil, and, prominently displayed in the opening initial, the familiar white rose. It is sealed with the great seal in green wax appended by a pink and blue plaited silk cord.⁵¹

Reward for service and the desire to increase the grantee in honour and estate were very much at the heart of medieval royal grants as they were for most grants of arms over the early modern period. Since royal patronage was involved and some royal symbol might be incorporated in the shield design, such arms granted by the crown were considered a signal honour and were highly prized. Most family lines bearing the arms discussed here have long since died out, or their entitlement to such arms has been cut short. Montagu gave away his eagle crest, and Louis de Bruges's son and successor, John, resigned his earldom and the arms that went with it in 1500; his letters patent of arms and the Chancery enrolment of the same were duly annotated and cancelled.⁵² Had Henry Howard, the poet earl of Surrey and son and heir of Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk, been able to provide documentary proof that Richard II had formally granted the Confessor arms to his Mowbray predecessors in the dukedom then he might perhaps have kept his head in 1547. Instead, he chose to claim that his family had borne the arms since the Confessor's own day thereby opening himself up to the accusation that he saw himself as the true heir of the Confessor, perhaps even prepared to wrest the crown from descendants of the Norman usurper. By doing so he sealed his own fate as a traitor.⁵³ On the other hand, the Beauforts still bear the differenced royal arms, and the eventual heirs of the Mowbrays, the dukes of Norfolk, continue to carry the differenced royal lion crest.⁵⁴ Eton and King's retain their arms as proud symbols of their medieval royal foundations, and still today augmentations of arms, some containing elements from the royal arms, continue to be made (albeit very rarely) as a sign of royal patronage and pleasure. Assuming the monarchy survives, they will not be the last.

⁵⁰ Compare the similarly illuminated grant by the emperor Frederick III dated 12 August 1461 to Vienna of an augmentation of the imperial double eagle in reverse colours (illustrated in Neubecker, *Heraldry*, p. 247).

⁵¹ The original letters patent are illustrated in Hope, 'On a Grant of Arms under the Great Seal of Edward IV', plate iii.

⁵² Hope, 'On a Grant of Arms under the Great Seal of Edward IV', 32; see also E 36/273 fol. 145, and Sir Francis Palgrave, *The Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of His Majesty's Exchequer*, iii (1836), p. 71.

⁵³ Peter R. Moore, 'The Heraldic Charge against the Earl of Surrey 1546–7', *EHR* 116 (2001), 557–83; Dennys, *Heraldry and the Heralds*, pp. 125–9.

⁵⁴ Dennys, *Heraldry and the Heralds*, p. 108.

Chivalry and Art: The Camoys Family and the Wall Paintings in Trotton Church

Nigel Saul

The language and rituals of chivalry permeated almost every aspect of medieval aristocratic society. They had their most obvious impact in knightly attitudes to war. As much as the attractions of booty, it was the ethos of chivalry and the expectations which it aroused which spurred knights to follow kings and lords on campaigns afar. The influence of chivalry manifested itself in physical form in a fondness for the architecture of war. The fairy-tale castles of romance were reproduced in fairy-tale castles in stone, such as Sir Edward Dallingridge's Bodiam. The architectural language of turreted battlements was reproduced in castles, manor houses, colleges, even hospitals.

In churches and abbeys the language of chivalry found expression in the rich displays of heraldry in stained glass windows and on tombs and painted walls. Maurice Keen has drawn attention to the armorials which adorned the walls of the Teutonic knights' castles in Prussia.¹ In England displays of heraldry were found in the windows of such abbeys as Byland, Warter and Newburgh and in such parish churches as Norbury and Etchingham.² Generally, these schemes celebrated lineage and the ties of kinship and marriage. Sometimes, however, as on the brass of Sir Hugh Hastings (d. 1347) at Elsing (Norfolk), they honoured the ties of companionship forged in war.

One of the grandest schemes of painted decoration is found on the walls of Trotton church in Sussex. On the two side walls of the nave is a series of paintings, today much faded, showing members of the Camoys family, lords of the manor, in a variety of poses, in some cases kneeling, in others standing fully armed. Covering the west wall is a simplified Last Judgement scheme, and

¹ M. Keen, 'Chaucer's Knight, the English Aristocracy and the Crusade', in his *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London, 1996), pp. 101–20.

² N. H. Nicolas, ed., *The Controversy between Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor in the Court of Chivalry*, 2 vols (London, 1832), i. 96, 98, 100, 125, 256, 269, 272, 312; for the parish churches, see N. E. Saul, *Scenes From Provincial Life. Knightly Families in Sussex, 1280–1400* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 148–51.

paintings of religious character probably once decorated the chancel. On the long expanses of the nave wall, however, the tone of the painted decoration was overwhelmingly secular. More than that, it was overwhelmingly chivalric.

Conservation work carried out on the paintings in the late 1980s has allowed us to form a more precise idea of their character.³ On the north wall, immediately opposite the main entrance, is a series of four monumental figures identifiable as members of the Camoys family from the coats of arms on their jupons, *or on a chief gules, three roundels argent* (Plate 5). The figures carry weapons and are shown in full armour, with long skirt-like coat-armours and tournament-style helmets sporting the Camoys crest of a fan-shaped plume of feathers. The figures are set in a stark red landscape of stylised bare trees and bushes. The figure set slightly apart on the left holds a dog on a leash, apparently standing over dead game. On the evidence of the armour, specifically the 'hour-glass' type gauntlet worn by the easternmost figure, a date of c. 1370–90 can be assigned to the paintings. On the south wall there are three main schemes of painting, the later of these overlapping the earlier. The earliest, to the east of the door, is an early fourteenth-century depiction of St Christopher, over-painted at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by a more complex rendition of the same subject, the saint carrying the Christ Child over a river watched by a hermit. Alongside this work, the Camoys theme continues in a donor scene (Plate 6). Thomas, Lord Camoys (d. 1421), is shown kneeling before a *prie-dieu* with, behind him, his son Sir Richard, identifiable from a scroll, and the latter's wife, Joan Poynings. The Camoys crest and arms are again both shown. Lower down, to the east of the door, is another heraldic scheme, too faded to allow definitive reconstruction. A series of helmets, two of which belong to the Sussex knightly families of Poynings and Culpeper, are arranged around a tent, beneath which a haloed knight is depicted. Unfortunately, insufficient paintwork survives to identify the rest of the heraldry or to establish the precise meaning of the scheme. In 1988 a kneeling angel and a helm and shield suspended from a tree were uncovered in the splays of the window to the east. It is not altogether clear whether the lower paintings on the south wall formed part of the same scheme as the paintings above; they may be earlier. The upper scheme can be assigned a date of no earlier than c. 1402, roughly the time that Richard Camoys married Joan Poynings.⁴ If a late fourteenth-century date for the paintings on the north

³ A useful general description of the paintings, accompanied by diagrams, is in the church guide, *The Parish and Church of St George, Trotton* (1989). There is more detailed information in the conservation reports at the Department of Wall Painting Conservation, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London. Particularly useful are the art historical reports by Katey Powell who participated in the conservation work. I am grateful to the head of the Department, Dr David Park, for allowing me access to this material. For further discussion of the paintings, see M. C. Gill, 'Late Medieval Wall Painting in England: Content and Context (c. 1350–c. 1530)' (PhD thesis, University of London, 2002).

⁴ Margaret, the elder of Richard's two daughters and eventual heiresses, was said to be twenty-four or more at the time of her brother's death in 1426, implying that her parents must have been married by 1402 at the latest: *CIPM*, xxii, no. 727.

wall is accepted, then the impression is given of a single extended campaign of decoration embracing all three walls.

This highly ambitious scheme of decoration needs to be seen in the context of the control which the Camoys family exercised over the church as patrons and holders of the advowson. By the time the paintings were executed, members of the Camoys family had been buried at Trotton for several generations: the Camoys family had no local monastery in which to seek burial (see Figure 1). The first recorded interment in the church is that of Margaret de Camoys, whose celebrated brass, c. 1305–10, one of the earliest extant to a woman, remains at the eastern end of the nave. Margaret's effigy shows her in a kirtle and sideless cote, with a wimple enveloping her head and neck in such a way as to give her face a triangular outline; the indents of the canopy and inscription, both now lost, are clearly visible in the stone. There were two Camoys ladies called Margaret who flourished in the early fourteenth century, and it is unclear which the brass commemorates. One possibility is that it was the notorious Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir John de Gatesden (d. 1258), who married Sir John de Camoys and who in the 1280s abandoned him for Sir William Paynel. Margaret is known to have died in early 1311, which would fit the date of the brass conveniently.⁵ Against the claims of this lady, however, must be set the fact that the inscription refers to her as Margaret de Camoys, an unlikely identification in the light of her abandonment of her Camoys husband. An alternative possibility is that the brass commemorates Margaret, daughter of Sir William de Braose, the first wife of Sir John's son, Sir Ralph.⁶ Her distinguished lineage – the Braoses were an ancient baronial family – would provide an explanation for one of the brass's most noteworthy features, its rich display of heraldry.⁷ Nine small shields, the inlays bearing their charges now lost, decorated the front of Margaret's gown, and another eight the surface of the stone. The brass may have been Ralph's posthumous tribute to a lady who brought social distinction and aristocratic connections to the Camoys line.⁸

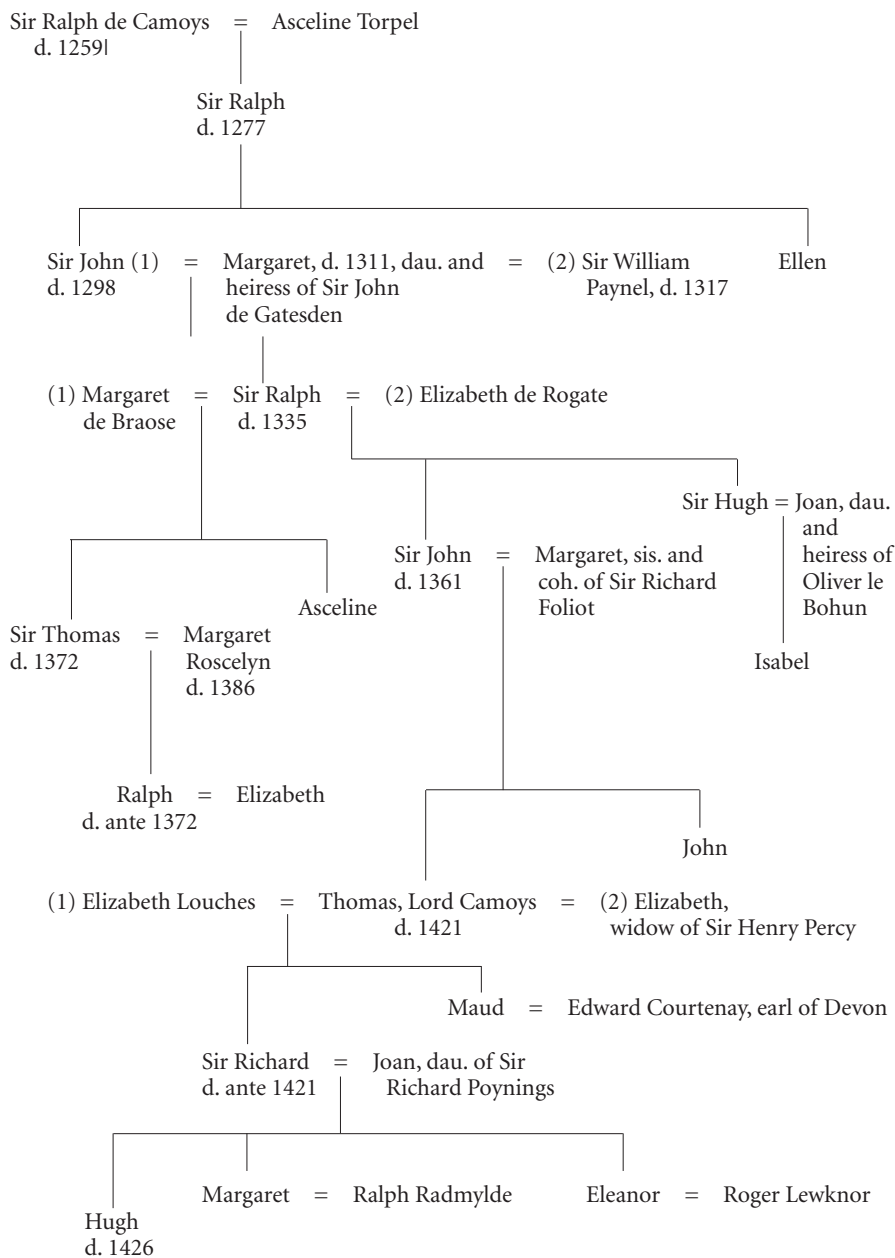
Three-quarters of a century later, another Camoys lady was brought for burial at Trotton – Margaret, widow of Sir Thomas de Camoys, who had died in 1372. In her will of 1386 Margaret had requested burial in 'St George's church at Trotton', making elaborate arrangements for her funeral, and leaving a bequest

⁵ *VCH Sussex*, iv, ed. L. F. Salzman (London, 1953), p. 34; *CFR 1307–19*, p. 77.

⁶ For the marriage, see *CPR 1301–7*, p. 147.

⁷ The Braoses were lords of Bramber, their main estate in Sussex, of the lordship of Gower in South Wales, and of many manors in southern England.

⁸ Unfortunately the date of this Margaret's death is not known. P. Binski, in his discussion of the brass in 'Stylistic Sequence of London Figure Brasses', *The Earliest English Brasses. Patronage, Style and Workshops, 1270–1350*, ed. J. Coales (London, 1987), p. 80, confuses her with her namesake, assigning her a date of death in 1311, which was in fact the year of her namesake's death.

Figure 1. Genealogy of the Family of Camoys of Trotton

of thirty sheep to pay for improvements to the fabric.⁹ Given the attention she showed to securing intercession, it is likely that she was commemorated by a tomb or brass in the church. If this was the case, however, no monument to her memory survives there today.

It has been suggested that it was this Margaret, Thomas's widow, who was responsible for commissioning the paintings on the north wall and that it was her bequest which provided the funds. Although attractive, and providing a neat linkage between visual and documentary evidence, the suggestion lacks plausibility. There is nothing at all in the paintings to suggest female patronage or involvement. The figures are all Camoys males and Margaret herself is not included. Moreover, there is no obvious explanation for why Margaret should have been moved to commission such a scheme.

A more plausible candidate for patron is found in a figure of the next generation – her husband's heir and successor, and the man commemorated by the second great brass in the church, Thomas, Lord Camoys (d. 1421). Thomas was a man of high ambition. He had a distinguished career in war and politics under Richard II and the two Henries. He was a Knight of the Garter. Far more than Margaret, he had good reasons for wanting to stamp the imprint of Camoys lordship on the church. To understand the context of his actions we need to look at the earlier history of the Camoys family. The histories of the Camoys family and Trotton church are all but inseparable.

The Camoys family were of east Midlands origin. They held a string of manors across north-east Northamptonshire and neighbouring counties, principally those of Torpel, Tansor, Upton and Pilton (Northants.), Great Stewkley (Hunts.), Ditton (Cambs.) and Flockthorp (Norfolk). They had acquired Trotton and other estates in Sussex by the 1270s by Sir John de Camoys's marriage to Margaret, the Gatesden heiress. The acquisition could hardly have been more timely. As a result of John's father's involvement with the Montfortians in the civil wars of the 1260s, the family had incurred heavy debts which had forced them to part with several of their estates.¹⁰ Unlike some of the more severely compromised families on the same side who found themselves financially pressed, they were able to hold onto their core holdings and in the 1290s their fortunes revived.¹¹ As a result of the marriage, however, a decision was made to relocate to Sussex and to establish what amounted to a new lordship there.

In the next generation Sir Ralph de Camoys injected new life into the family's fortunes. A leading retainer of the Despensers, father and son, Edward

⁹ The phrase is *trent berbyez*, which must mean sheep to be sold: Lambeth Palace Library, Register of Archbishop Courtenay, fol. 235v, extracts of which are printed in W. H. Godfrey, ed., *Sussex Wills, IV* (Sussex Record Society, 45, 1941), pp. 256–9.

¹⁰ The problems of indebtedness can be traced in the trail of recognisances on the Close Rolls: CR 1268–72, p. 392; CCR 1272–79, pp. 233, 259, 581; CCR 1279–88, pp. 28–9, 48, 49, 52, 46, 54. The family eventually lost the manors of Torpel and Upton to the crown.

¹¹ It may have helped that Ralph's commitment to de Montfort was of limited duration. According to the jurors of Hampshire, he was 'never an enemy of the king': N. Denholm-Young, *Collected Papers on Medieval Subjects* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 119–20.

II's favourites, he held a range of appointments and enjoyed a long and distinguished career in arms.¹² He appears to have taken to military service as a way of restoring his family's tarnished repute.¹³ In 1297, while still an esquire, he joined an expedition to Gascony to relieve the local commander there, the earl of Lincoln. In 1298, at around the time that he succeeded his father, he had his first experience of service in Scotland: he took part in the Falkirk campaign, serving for the first time in the retinue of the elder Despenser.¹⁴ In 1300 he was in Scotland again, this time joining in the siege of Caerlaverock castle and the march into Galloway. In the decade to come he was to see service in Scotland several more times. In 1305 he joined the elder Despenser in operations directed at re-establishing English ascendancy after Bruce's seizure of the crown.¹⁵ In 1310 he was again with the elder Despenser in the first expedition led by Edward II against the Scots, this time seeing little action. In 1314 he enlisted in the disastrous campaign which was to culminate in the English defeat at Bannockburn. Along with many other English knights, he was taken prisoner, and had to sell timber from his estates to raise money for his ransom.¹⁶ In the years after Bannockburn, he saw much less action in the field. The last campaign in which he took part was apparently Edward III's expedition north in 1333, which culminated in the victory at Halidon Hill.¹⁷ He died in the late summer of 1335.¹⁸

Ralph enjoyed an exceptionally long career in arms, stretching over some thirty-five years. In his later years he figures in the military records as a knight banneret.¹⁹ The bannerets were the body of elite knights whose wealth enabled them to act as retinue leaders, their status indicated by use of a square banner instead of a pennon. As a social class, the bannerets hovered on the borderline between the barons proper and the knights bachelor. Most, but not all, were summoned to parliament as lords. Sir Ralph de Camoys was the recipient of such summonses for some twenty years between 1313 and 1335.²⁰ The honour extended to him was a personal one, implying no automatic recognition of his son and heir. The summons almost certainly owed something to his association with the Despensers in their years of dominance at Edward II's court. After

¹² For his Despenser connections, see N. E. Saul, 'The Despensers and the Downfall of Edward II', *EHR* 99 (1984), 6–7 and the sources there cited, to which should be added TNA:PRO, SC8/169/8415.

¹³ For a tally of his campaigns, see W. Dugdale, *The Baronage of England*, 2 vols (London, 1675–76), i. 766–8.

¹⁴ H. Gough, ed., *Scotland in 1298* (London, 1888), p. 188, where he appears as 'Ralph de Cammeys'.

¹⁵ *CPR* 1301–7, p. 382.

¹⁶ *CPR* 1313–17, p. 265.

¹⁷ TNA: PRO, C71/13, m. 24.

¹⁸ Writs to the escheators were issued on 17 September: *CFR* 1327–37, p. 459.

¹⁹ In the Ashmolean roll of arms, c. 1334, he appears as a lord, *Le Sr de Camois*; he is not styled *Monsr*, as the bachelors are: R. W. Mitchell, ed., *English Medieval Rolls of Arms, I, 1244–1334* (privately published, Peebles, 1983), p. 471.

²⁰ *Complete Peerage*, ii. 506–7.

the Despensers' overthrow his position was less secure, but he managed the transition to the new reign with some success. He probably benefited from his good relations with some of the leading magnates in southern England. Between 1326 and 1329 he enjoyed close ties with Edward of Woodstock, earl of Kent, who on one occasion nominated him a keeper of the peace in Sussex.²¹ Later he tried cultivating the favour of Richard, earl of Arundel, the leading landowner in west Sussex, though with less obvious success.

By assiduous cultivation of the powerful and by regular participation in war, Ralph de Camoys brought honour to himself and his line. He went a long way to restoring his family's fortunes. His achievement, however, was a personal one. If the foundations he laid were not built on by later generations, the family fortunes could falter again. In the immediate generation after his death there was indeed some slippage. The summonses to parliament which he had enjoyed were not extended to his son. The memory of Ralph's achievements, however, was to live on in the Camoys family. In the Camoys line, as in gentry lineages generally, ancestral memory ran deep.

In dynastic, if not political, terms Ralph's legacy could be considered a promising one. Ralph sired three sons who survived to adulthood, one by his first marriage to Margaret de Braose, and two by his second to Elizabeth de Rogate. He managed to arrange a good marriage for his second son, John. He secured for him the hand of Margaret, one of the two sisters and co-heiresses of Sir Richard Foliot, a lady whose custody he had acquired.²² In this way John was established as a country gentleman in Norfolk, probably basing himself at the former Foliot manor of Gressenhall, near Dereham.²³ He played an active role in the administrative life of his adopted county, serving at different times as a commissioner of array, justice of the peace and justice of oyer and terminer.²⁴ John's brother, Hugh, launched himself into magnate service, finding a place in the retinue of the king's cousin, Henry of Grosmont duke of Lancaster.²⁵ He too secured a good marriage. He won the hand of an heiress, Joan, daughter of Oliver le Bohun, and widow of Sir John de Podenhale.²⁶ He settled in Hampshire and was active in local administration there.²⁷ In his later years he

²¹ A. Harding, *The Law Courts of Medieval England* (London, 1973), p. 97.

²² *CCR 1330–33*, p. 39; *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, v, 148.

²³ Strangely, on his return from Calais in 1347 he and his wife took up residence with their son-in-law Sir Hamo le Strange at his manor of Hunstanton: H. le Strange, 'A Roll of Household Accounts of Sir Hamon le Strange of Hunstanton, Norfolk, 1347–8', *Archaeologia* 69 (1917–18), 111–20.

²⁴ *CPR 1354–58* pp. 388, 554; *1358–61*, pp. 78, 403, 415, 517.

²⁵ K. Fowler, *The King's Lieutenant. Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster, 1310–1361* (London, 1969), pp. 186, 287 n. 119. An otherwise unrecorded Ralph de Camoys served under Henry of Grosmont in 1345–47: TNA: PRO: E101/25/9.

²⁶ *VCH*, iv, ed. W. Page (London, 1911), p. 148.

²⁷ He appears to have resided at Eastrop, near Basingstoke, where in 1375 his wife was licensed to have a chapel in her manor house: T. F. Kirby, ed., *Wykeham's Register*, 2 vols (Hampshire Record Society, 1896–99), ii. 237. For his involvement in Hampshire administration, see *CPR*

became an associate of William Wykeham, the bishop of Winchester, assisting in his acquisition of properties in Hampshire for Winchester College.²⁸

Thomas, Ralph's heir and the eldest of the three, appears to have been the least active of the siblings. He lacked the ability and assertiveness of his father. He was never summoned to parliament as a lord; nor was he appointed to any major office in his native county. For a landowner of his rank he played surprisingly little part in local affairs. He does not even seem to have cultivated the favour of the earl of Arundel, the most prominent magnate in Sussex. He served from time to time on commissions of oyer and terminer, and he occasionally acted in business matters on behalf of his neighbours.²⁹ But beyond such activity his involvement was slight.

Common to all three brothers, however, was a commitment to service in arms. John led the way, winning his spurs in the Low Countries in 1340, in a retinue commanded by Sir Hugh de Despenser, son of his father's former patron.³⁰ Thomas and John both enrolled in Edward III's expedition of 1346–47 which culminated in the twin triumphs of Crécy and Calais. Thomas initially enlisted with his kinsman Sir Thomas de Braose of Bramber, later transferring to the retinue of the earl of Arundel – his one recorded connection with the earl³¹ – while his brother John served in the first division at Crécy with the earl of Warwick, a magnate with lands in Norfolk, transferring to the retinue of Henry of Grosmont at Calais.³² Hugh, the third of the brothers, probably had wider experience still as a dependant of Henry of Grosmont, although in the absence of extensive protection lists the range of his employments cannot now be established. The mid-fourteenth-century Camoys family emerges as active in maintaining the family's tradition of service in arms. Not only did they appreciate the importance of such service in sustaining personal honour; they also realised that it was the foundation of the family's claim to the status of banneret.

The family's commitment to service in arms was to reach its climax in the career of the next Thomas – Thomas, Lord Camoys (d. 1421), the likely patron of the paintings. A man with wide experience of politics and diplomacy, it was yet as a soldier and military administrator that he excelled. He was to prove himself by far the most distinguished of his line.

Thomas's career as a soldier was to stretch over some thirty-five years, thus matching Ralph's in length. It began early in the reign of Richard II and was to end in that of Henry V.³³ Thomas's first experience of war came in 1380

1370–74 pp. 111, 398; 1377–81, pp. 50, 516. He and his wife were survived by a daughter, who became abbess of Romsey.

²⁸ CPR 1374–77 p. 272; CCR 1377–81, p. 128; *Wykeham's Register*, i. 151–6.

²⁹ CPR 1358–61, p. 584; 1370–74, p. 87.

³⁰ TNA: PRO, C76/15, m. 20.

³¹ G. Wrottesley, ed., *Crécy and Calais* (London, 1898), pp. 115, 119.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 142.

³³ For Thomas's career, see *Oxford DNB*, ix. 677–8 (by J. Leland); A. R. Bell, *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 93–4, 121.

when he enrolled under his kinsman William, Lord Latimer, for Thomas of Woodstock's chevauchée across France from Calais to Brittany. On this occasion he was in the field for nearly ten months. Just over four years later, in 1385, he took part in Richard II's expedition to Scotland in retaliation for the Scots' raids on England. In the summer of 1388, in the period of Appellant rule, he led a retinue on the earl of Arundel's naval expedition, which harassed the west coast of France and made a landing on the Norman coast near Carentan.³⁴ In the years of truce from 1389 he had fewer opportunities to engage in the practice of arms. After Henry IV's accession in 1399, however, he found the pace of activity quickening again. As relations with France worsened, he was appointed to serve on commissions in the southern counties to array soldiers and to muster sailors; it is possible, although not certain, that he may also have seen action in the field against Glendower in Wales. In Henry V's reign, as the prospect of renewed war with France increased, he became more involved in military preparations. He was present at the council meeting of 16 April 1415 held to plan the king's projected invasion of Normandy. Later in the same year, when the descent on the duchy came, he took part in person with a retinue of one knight (Sir Thomas Hoo), twenty-four men at arms and sixty archers.³⁵ Two months later, he commanded the rearguard, the left wing of the army, at Agincourt. In the remaining years of his life Camoys continued to be active in military administration, arraying and mustering men and raising loans to support the king's conquest of Normandy.³⁶ He seems to have allowed himself little respite to the moment of his death on 28 March 1421.

Far more than his forebears Thomas was a court-based magnate. In the early fourteenth century, Sir Ralph had enjoyed close connections with the Despensers, Edward II's favourites, but he was not a courtier himself; Thomas was. He owed his position initially to his kinship with Lord Latimer, Edward III's chamberlain and Alice Perrers's associate. Camoys's relationship to Latimer is not altogether clear, but Latimer referred to him in his will as 'his cousin', and left him his manor of Wotton (Surrey).³⁷ By the mid-1380s Camoys was sufficiently well entrenched at Richard's court to attract the enmity of the Appellants when the latter took over government after their victory at Radcot Bridge in December 1387. The Monk of Westminster tells us that Camoys was one of the group whom the Appellants ordered to abjure the court when they conducted a purge of Richard's close associates.³⁸ By comparison with the more controversial courtiers whom the Appellants excluded, Camoys was hardly a substantial figure; indeed, it may have been not so much his present friendship with the king which gave offence as his earlier association with Latimer. He appears to

³⁴ For his retinue, see TNA: PRO, E101/41/5, m. 6.

³⁵ TNA: PRO, E101/47/13.

³⁶ *CPR 1416–22*, pp. 72, 85, 148, 197, 250, 270, 323, 459, 460.

³⁷ N. H. Nicolas, ed., *Testamenta Vetusta*, 2 vols (London, 1826), i. 108.

³⁸ L. C. Hector and B. F. Harvey, eds, *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381–1394* (Oxford, 1982), p. 230.

have enjoyed good relations with Arundel, one of the leading Appellants, and, as we have seen, was to serve under Arundel at sea in 1388.³⁹ Certainly, when Henry IV took the throne in 1399, Camoys's record of service with Richard did not stand in the way of his continued presence at court. Indeed, he was to move into a position of much higher importance. His loyalty was secured by grants, made in November 1399, of Portchester castle and of Woolmer and Alice Holt Forests in Hampshire.⁴⁰ From 1402 on, he was entrusted with a number of prestigious political or diplomatic responsibilities. In 1403, for example, he was charged with escorting Henry's new queen, Joan of Brittany, to England, while in 1406 he was appointed a member of an embassy to France under the king's half-brother, Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester. In Henry V's reign he was entrusted with further important diplomatic responsibilities. In April 1416 he was included among the party which welcomed the Emperor Sigismund on his arrival in England and escorted him to London. Later in 1416 he was included among the English negotiators who treated for an alliance with the duke of Burgundy at Calais. His position of eminence at the Lancastrian court found appropriate recognition in his election in or shortly after September 1414 to the Order of the Garter. His high standing was also reflected in his marriage (his second), sometime after 1403, to Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, and widow of Henry 'Hotspur'.

Simply to recite Camoys's appointments is to draw attention to the position which he occupied in the affairs of the day. An able administrator and an experienced soldier, he raised the prestige of the Camoys family to new heights. That he was the patron of at least some of the wall paintings in Trotton church is suggested by his inclusion in the scheme on the south wall. High up by the door he is shown kneeling at a *prie-dieu* with his son and his daughter-in-law behind him. The two male figures are depicted in mantles which, in each case, probably bore the Camoys arms. It seems altogether probable that Thomas was the patron of the genealogical cycle on the north wall too. On the evidence of the armour, the paintings can be dated to no earlier than c. 1380–90, coinciding with the time of Thomas's entry into the manor of Trotton. Trotton was one of the dower estates occupied after Sir Thomas's death in 1372 by his widow Margaret, and Thomas himself only formally entered on her demise in 1386.⁴¹ It may be that Thomas was able to commission the scheme by taking advantage of the bequest which Margaret had made in her will. To spend the money in this way would have appeared to him a highly appropriate way of marking his entry into his inheritance.

There was, in fact, one very particular reason why Thomas should have

³⁹ He was a tenant of Arundel at Woolavington: M. Clough, ed., *Two Estate Surveys of the Fitzalan Earls of Arundel* (Sussex Record Society, 67, 1969), p. 140.

⁴⁰ *CPR 1399–1401*, p. 46.

⁴¹ Thomas and Margaret held the manors of Trotton and Elsted jointly (*CIPM*, xiii, no. 173). It was at Trotton that Margaret made her will in 1383 (Lambeth Palace Library, Register of Archbishop Courtenay, fol. 235v).

wanted to make his mark. He was not actually a member of the main branch of the family. He was a nephew of Sir Thomas, the son of his younger brother John. Thomas's own son, another Ralph, had predeceased him. The younger Thomas owed his good fortune in inheriting to a settlement of the Camoys estates in tail which had been made some years earlier.⁴² As a youth he had grown up on his father's estates in Norfolk. His relative detachment from the main Camoys interests was reinforced by the fact that, when he succeeded his uncle, he had to live at another Sussex manor, Broadwater, owing to his aunt's occupation of Trotton. In 1386, therefore, he was effectively a newcomer to the manor which was the focal point of the family's lordship. It is just possible that he was not even of legitimate birth. In 1372, when the inquests on Sir Thomas's lands had been held, the jurors in Sussex, after detailing the terms of the settlement of the estates, said that they did not know who Thomas's heir was.⁴³ In the context of this extraordinary profession it may be possible to make new sense of a settlement which Sir Thomas had made of his Norfolk manor of Flockthorp. In 1370 Sir Thomas granted the reversion of the manor, which was expectant on the demise of his daughter-in-law, to Sir John Arundel, with remainder to Richard, brother of Sir John de Camoys.⁴⁴ He made no mention at all of his nephew and heir presumptive. It is hard to know what to make of this cocktail of silences and denials. It is quite possible that Sir Thomas was simply on poor or rather distant terms with his nephew. But, equally, could the latter have been of illegitimate birth? Whatever may have been the case, Thomas's succession marked an awkward moment in the Camoys line of descent. It is hardly surprising that he should have wanted to gloss over it by commissioning paintings which stressed the legitimacy of his place in the family line of succession.

There can be little doubt that the circumstances of his accession sharpened Thomas's awareness of the twists and turns of family history. On a number of occasions, his knowledge of that history was to reveal itself in his actions. On one such occasion he drew on an apparently still vivid recollection that some of his ancestors had been bannerets. In the autumn of 1383 he had been honoured with election to parliament as a knight of the shire for Surrey. Evidently he regarded himself as too exalted a figure to sit in the Commons as a county knight. On 8 October a writ was sent to the sheriff of Surrey setting aside his election on the grounds that he was a banneret, whose ancestors 'used not to be elected knights of the shire'.⁴⁵ The background to the episode is to be found in the gradual division, by the late fourteenth century, of the bannerets into two, the wealthier of their number moving up into the peerage, the less well-off sinking into the gentry. Thanks to Thomas's ability and initiative the Camoys family was able to make it into the peerage, Thomas himself being summoned as a peer

⁴² *CIPM*, xiii, no. 173.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *CPR 1367–70*, p. 368.

⁴⁵ *CCR 1381–85*, p. 398.

from 1383. Other families, such as the Cobhams of Sterborough, were not so lucky.⁴⁶ What the episode reveals is Thomas's acute sensitivity to social position. Though a newcomer to his inheritance, and not yet in possession of Trotton, he was aware of his family's past glories; he was conscious of his ancestors having enjoyed banneret rank. A knowledge of family ancestry, transmitted in the collective memory, was a significant influence on his actions in the present.

Further evidence of Thomas's awareness of family history is found in the circumstances of a grant made to him by Henry IV shortly after his accession. As we have seen, on 3 November 1399 Henry had awarded Thomas keeping of Portchester castle with the forests of Woolmer and Alice Holt in Hampshire. The grant was in fact made twice, the letters on the second occasion correcting and superseding those issued on the first.⁴⁷ Both versions, but particularly the second, attest Thomas's influence on the terms on which the grant was made. In the first version Henry had said that Thomas and his heirs should have the bailiwick of the forests as Thomas's grandfather Ralph had held them in the reign of Edward III. In the second, the wording was amended to read that Thomas should hold them as his grandfather had held them in the reign of Edward II. In each set of letters Thomas can be seen vindicating rights which he knew that his distinguished ancestor had once possessed. In the second grant, however, we are afforded a glimpse of just how precise Thomas's recollection was. He knew that the grant had been made not in Edward III's reign but in Edward II's. Almost certainly the letters making the grant were kept as part of a small family archive. It is possible that the Camoys family put together a cartulary which preserved such their title deeds, as other gentry proprietors did. Unfortunately, because of the many breaks in the descent of gentry estates, these documents rarely survive. The Camoys cartulary, if we assume one existed, must be numbered among the casualties.

If Thomas was deeply conscious of his own family's history, he may also have been conscious of that of another – a line of even greater chivalric renown, and certainly one more blue-blooded. This was the Hastings family, to whom his mother was related. Thomas's mother, Margaret, had been one of the two sisters and co-heiresses of a Norfolk knight Sir Richard Foliot, lord of the manors of Elsing and Gressenhall. Margaret's other sister, Margery, had been awarded the hand in marriage of none other than the earl of Pembroke's younger brother, Sir Hugh Hastings.⁴⁸ Hugh was one of the most distinguished knights of his day.⁴⁹ He had served his military apprenticeship in Edward III's campaigns in Scotland between 1335 and 1338. When Edward switched operations to the Continent in July 1338, Hugh accompanied the king on the campaigning which culminated

⁴⁶ N. E. Saul, *Death, Art and Memory in Medieval England. The Cobham Family and their Monuments, 1300–1500* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 136–42, 175–6.

⁴⁷ *CPR 1399–1401*, pp. 46, 149.

⁴⁸ *CCR 1330–33*, p. 39.

⁴⁹ For his career, see *Oxford DNB*, xxv. 764–5 (by Andrew Ayton).

in the confrontation with the French in the Low Countries. In June 1340 he was present at the naval victory over the French at Sluys off the Flemish coast. In 1342 he saw service in the Breton civil war in the retinue of his half-nephew, Laurence Hastings, earl of Pembroke. In 1345 he was in the earl's retinue again on Henry of Grosmont's expedition to Aquitaine. In 1346, when Edward led the English invasion of Normandy, he was charged with conducting operations in Flanders. He was not present at the battle of Crécy because of his commitments in that theatre. Later in 1346, however, he joined the king at the siege of Calais. In May 1347 he was appointed seneschal of Gascony. He was never to take up the post, however, because in July 1347 he died.

Hastings was to be commemorated in Elsing church by one of the most spectacular brasses of the age. It still survives, albeit much mutilated.⁵⁰ In the side shafts of the canopy are depicted some of the commanders alongside or under whom the deceased had fought. On the sinister side at the top is Henry of Grosmont, under whom he had served in Aquitaine. Immediately below his was the figure, now lost, of Laurence Hastings, Hugh's half brother. On the opposite side in the uppermost niche is Edward III himself. Beneath Edward is Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, beside whom Hugh had fought at Calais. In the two sets of niches lower down on each side are other commanders with whom he would have campaigned – Ralph, Lord Stafford, Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin and Sir Aymer St Amand. Thomas Camoys would almost certainly have known this remarkable brass; there must have been occasions when he had gazed down at it as a youth: he had grown up nearby at Gressenhall. Even if he did not regard himself as personally heir to Hugh's memory (the Hastings line still flourished), he would have known of his achievements in arms. Quite possibly he found inspiration for the idea of chivalric celebration in a church in Hugh Hastings's spectacular brass.

Certainly, the two themes highlighted on Hugh's brass, of service to the crown and service in arms, are picked up on Thomas's own magnificent brass placed, like Hugh's at Elsing, centre-stage in front of the high altar (Plate 7).⁵¹ Thomas's memorial, a product of London style 'D', shows him with his second wife, Elizabeth, the two holding hands, under a lofty double canopy and super canopy, and a Latin inscription at the foot. In front of the female figure is the diminutive figure of a boy, probably a son who had predeceased his parents.⁵² The brass abounds with references to Thomas's career. Thomas's membership of the Order of the Garter is accorded due prominence. Thomas is shown with the garter tied around his left leg, and garters encircle the two shields with the Camoys arms between the canopy gables. The textual discourse on the brass

⁵⁰ For description, see M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses. The Memorials*, 2 vols (London, 1977), i. 18–19, and plates 21, 22.

⁵¹ The two monuments are placed in this position because of the absence in each church of side chapels which could be used for burials. Trotton and Elsing are both aisleless, two-cell structures.

⁵² The figure cannot be Richard because he was Thomas's son by his first marriage.

picks up the theme of Thomas's service to the crown. In the inscription Thomas is described as 'baro et providus Consul Regis et regni Anglie et strenuus Miles de Gartero' ('a baron and prudent counsellor of the king and realm of England and a valiant Knight of the Garter'). The wording does more than justice to Thomas's status consciousness. It is not known who actually placed the commission. Thomas could hardly have done so himself because the date of his death is given in the inscription. His grandson and heir could not have been responsible either, because he was a minor at the time of his grandfather's death. Whoever took responsibility for the commission – and it was probably one of Thomas's executors – was someone with a clear sense of his tastes and priorities. The brass affords a perfect mirror of his self-image.

It is sometimes maintained that the scheme of secular chivalric celebration at Trotton is without parallel in an English church. In a limited sense this is true. In no other church is there an extant pictorial scheme in which the themes of chivalry and lineage are so much to the fore. The impact on those beholding the paintings must have been overwhelming. A parishioner entering the church through the south door would have received, as his first impression of the interior, the four massive figures of the Camoys lords on the opposite wall. Yet what the Camoys family did at Trotton was not entirely without precedent. Three-quarters of a century earlier the Despensers, with whom the family had once been associated, had inserted a series of massive standing armed figures into the windows of the choir clerestory at Tewkesbury – four such figures on the north side and four on the south. If the Tewkesbury figures were not the direct models for those at Trotton, and it is doubtful if they were, they at least give an indication of the mentality which could regard such martial representation as acceptable in an ecclesiastical setting.

Moreover, the idea of a scheme of secular chivalric celebration finds a remarkable parallel in a set of wall paintings in another church under gentry patronage, Winterbourne (Gloucs.). The manor of Winterbourne was held by the Bradestons who, like the Camoys family, had a strong commitment to military service. In the second quarter of the century Sir Thomas de Bradeston, a royal household knight and Berkeley retainer, had commissioned a scheme of paintings which in some ways anticipated that at Trotton.⁵³ It was concentrated in a chapel occupying the space under the tower on the south side of the nave. From what survives, it appears to have consisted of three main tiers.⁵⁴ The lower tier was composed of a series of crested helms of the Bradeston family, of which four survive. The middle tier contained standing figures of saints, that on the west wall St Michael, to whom the chapel was dedicated, and that on the south perhaps St George. In the splays of the south window at this level and on a blank arch on the west wall are unidentified figurative subjects with small figures. These scenes are framed by canopies surmounted by the crossed

⁵³ For his career, see *Oxford DNB*, vii. 179–80 (by Nigel Saul).

⁵⁴ Gill, 'Late Medieval Wall Painting in England', pp. 90–3.

pennons bearing the Bradeston arms (*argent on a canton gules a rose or barbed proper*). The upper tier on the east wall contains an Annunciation group depicted against a background of foliate decoration. In the corresponding position on the west wall are traces of two figures, while on the south wall there is part of a scene of the Three Living and the Three Dead. On the south jamb of the arch in the east wall is the figure of a knight kneeling at prayer, probably Sir Thomas de Bradeston himself (Plate 8). A shield shown suspended from a hook above him displays the Bradeston arms.

There are differences between the painted schemes at Winterbourne and Trotton. The paintings in the Gloucestershire church are more discreetly positioned than those at Trotton: they are in a side chapel not on the walls of the nave. Moreover, there is no counterpart at Winterbourne to the genealogical sequence dominating the north wall at Trotton. On the other hand, the delight in shields and crests is common to both. So too is the idea of including a kneeling figure of the patron or donor. In both churches the outward manifestations of piety are fused with a pride in family and a delight in the trappings of chivalry. The values of secular and religious life are brought together and made one as they were to be institutionally in the Order of the Garter – a secular Order accommodated in a castle chapel. If, as Maurice Keen has argued, the origins of chivalry were essentially secular, nonetheless by the early fourteenth century chivalric decoration was as common in parish churches as in the halls and chapels of castles. Another characteristic of the two schemes is the concern of each family to assert lineage and status through the display of specifically military imagery. By the mid-fourteenth century a fair number of the gentry were settling down to largely civilian existences as county administrators. Yet, as Maurice Keen has again shown, as a class they still attached high importance to military service and the repute which that service brought. What the wall paintings at Trotton and Winterbourne both attest is the continuing faith which the gentry placed in the legitimising imagery of chivalry. The justification for the gentry's privileges was found principally in the military service which they performed for society in a just cause. Legitimacy for the gentry could, accordingly, only be conferred by the display of imagery which referred to their commitment to, and involvement in, that service.

The Prayers of the Bohuns

Jeremy Catto

On 16 January 1373 when Humphrey, the last Bohun earl of Hereford, died, the inheritance of that ancient earldom must have been among the greatest in England.¹ Although no accounts of the Bohun receiver-generals have survived, a valor of the half inherited by Anne, countess of Stafford, in 1412 estimated its income at £1,203 a year; as a third of the original estate was at that date still retained for dower, the total income must have amounted to about £3,600.² This was not as much as the duke of Lancaster or the earl of Arundel could command in 1373, but it must have put Humphrey among the richest of the nobility. The fortune of the Bohuns derived principally from the lands of the earldom of Hereford, which they had possessed since 1200, augmented with those of the earldom of Essex, which they acquired through marriage with the Mandeville heiress in 1236, and the more recent acquisitions of the last earl's father, William earl of Northampton, a younger son who, as Edward III's boon companion, had profited from royal favour and the perquisites of war. Descended through Miles of Gloucester from a tenant in chief of William I, they were conscious that their blood derived through the female line from more than one of the heroes of ancient chivalry; they associated themselves, through their ancestors the counts of Boulogne, with the Knights of the Swan and the glorious exploits of the First Crusade. The story was told in the *Historie de chivaler a cygne* which was bequeathed by the earl's eldest daughter, Eleanor duchess of Gloucester, to her son Humphrey Plantagenet in 1399.³ From the

¹ The lands and rents are listed incompletely in the Inquisition post mortem; see *CIPM*, 44–47 *Edward III*, pp. 130–46. Further lands were in the hands of trustees: see G. A. Holmes, *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth Century England* (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 56–7, and on the Bohun inheritance, pp. 19–25.

² The valor is PRO DL 41/4/18. See Carole Rawcliffe, *The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham, 1394–1521* (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 14–15.

³ Will of Eleanor Duchess of Gloucester in J. Nichols, *A Collection of All the Wills, Now Known to Be Extant, of the Kings and Queens of England* (London, 1780), pp. 177–86, see p. 181; on the story of the Chevalier au Cygne see Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, CT, and London, 1984), pp. 57–9.

time of Humphrey, the fourth earl (died 1322), if not before, the Bohuns had adopted the swan as their badge.⁴

With such evident pride of ancestry it is not surprising that the last two earls and their co-heiresses should have had their psalters and books of hours, a remarkable number of which have survived, adorned with an unusual wealth of coats of arms, in shields or in clothing, and other items of family history. Some of these books were studied by M. R. James, from the point of view of their contribution to the history of English book illumination in the fourteenth century; but their significance is now much more clearly to be appreciated in the comprehensive survey of Lynda Dennison, whose work has allowed the several stages or 'campaigns' of the painting to be distinguished.⁵ The question of the devotional use of the various books and more generally of the religious observances and interests of the last generations of Bohuns can now be approached more comprehensively, not only from the perspective of the Bohun manuscripts but, more speculatively, from the possible connexion of Joan countess of Hereford, the mother of the coheiresses, with a collection of devotional and literary texts. The implications of these books, devotional and literary, for the personal religion of the last two earls and the wife and daughters of the last earl, and for the high nobility generally in an epoch of lay initiative in such matters, will be the subject of the following pages.

Dennison has established that the three great psalters were commissioned by Humphrey, the sixth Bohun earl, at various dates between about 1345 and his death in 1361.⁶ The text of the earliest, the Vienna psalter, seems to have been written in or shortly after 1345 and illuminated in two main 'campaigns', the first in the later 1340s and the second in the later 1350s, after which it was effectively complete. One of its scribes, hand B in the Dennison classification, was also the artist of the Fitzwarin psalter, which was not a Bohun book, and

⁴ See A. R. Wagner, 'The Swan Knight and the Swan Badge', *Archaeologia* 97 (1959), 127–38. The Bohuns were not alone in the heraldic use of the swan, as is shown here, but its display as a badge was evidently a custom restricted to them and their heirs.

⁵ M. R. James, *The Bohun Manuscripts* (London, 1936); L. E. Dennison, 'The Stylistic Sources, Dating and Development of the Bohun Workshop, ca. 1340–1400' (PhD thesis, University of London, 1988); Lynda Dennison, 'Oxford, Exeter College 47: The Importance of Stylization and Codicological Analysis in Its Dating and Localization', *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence*, ed. Linda M. Brownrigg (Los Altos Hills, CA, 1990), pp. 111–59; and 'British Library Egerton 3277: A Fourteenth-Century Psalter-Hours and the Question of Bohun Family Ownership', *Family and Dynasty*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies ix, ed. Richard Eales and Shaun Tyas (Donington, 2003), pp. 122–55. See also C. De Hamel, 'A New Bohun', *The English Mediaeval Book, Essays in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, ed. A. S. G. Edwards, V. Gillespie and R. Hanna (London, 2002), pp. 19–25.

⁶ The psalters are Vienna, Nationalbibliothek MS 1826*; Oxford, Exeter College MS 47 and London, BL, Egerton MS 3277. M. R. James had assumed that they were commissioned by Humphrey, the seventh Bohun earl.

probably worked in London.⁷ When the project continued in the late 1350s, the two new hands at work, the 'English artist' and the 'Flemish hand', would participate as a team in the decoration of the other two psalters and in later Bohun books up to the 1380s. The 'English hand' was evidently John Tye or Teye OESA, a friar mentioned in the Earl's will as his illuminator and a beneficiary.⁸ The Exeter College psalter, a book of similar dimensions, was also decorated by Tye and his associate in this second phase, and the text of the Egerton psalter, a slightly larger book, seems to have been written by the scribe of the Exeter psalter, presumably about the same time. The sixth Bohun earl must have owned at his death at least three psalters; indeed he must have had more, as three (which cannot have included the Exeter or Egerton psalters, since they continued to be used in a Bohun milieu) were sold to the Black Prince by his executor and confessor, William Monkland OESA.⁹ Little is known of this earl, who apparently suffered (as his elder brother John the fifth earl had also suffered) from a disability which prevented him from participating in the wars of Edward III and which may have precluded his marrying and having children.¹⁰ The traditional role of the Bohuns in close support of the English dynasty was therefore undertaken by his brother William. Whether or not Earl Humphrey's leisure and infirmities disposed him to a more intense form of personal religion than was usual at the time, he was certainly close to William Monkland, to whom in his will he granted lifelong quarters at his principal seat, Pleshey Castle in Essex. His largest psalter included a text of Robert Grosseteste's *Confessioun*, a prayer designed to recall a penitent's sins to mind, which Monkland may have used to prepare the earl for confession.¹¹ Whether Monkland was the driving force behind the making of these great psalter-hours we cannot know, but he must at least have been complicit.

What is less clear is how the earl used these books. Their size and weight were not conducive to personal handling in the manner of later and smaller books of hours, particularly by a man afflicted with *infirmetas diuturna*. Nor were they, of course, service books for his chapel. The psalter with its added prayers and *memoriae*, though derived from monastic offices, can only have been for the earl's personal use, as their heraldic decoration implies. The most plausible construction is that they were placed on a lectern or desk beside his stall or chair as he followed the chanting of the offices in his chapel. The depictions of scenes

⁷ See L. E. Dennison, 'The Fitzwarin Psalter and Its Allies: A Reappraisal', *England in the Fourteenth Century, Papers of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. W. M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 42–66.

⁸ Nichols, *Wills*, pp. 44–55, the text of the earl's will from the Register of Archbishop Simon Islip. See p. 50.

⁹ *Register of Edward the Black Prince*, 4 vols (Public Record Office, London, 1930–33), iv. 476. See L. F. Sandler, 'A Note on the Illuminators of the Bohun MSS', *Speculum* 60 (1985), 364–72.

¹⁰ In 1337 he granted the office of Constable of England to his brother William 'ob corporis sui imbecillitatem quam propter infirmitatem diuturnam'; *Complete Peerage*, ix. 666n.

¹¹ Edited from the only other known text by H. Urtel, 'Eine altfranzösische Beichte', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 39 (1909), 571–5.

from the Bible or the lives of saints will have served the religious purpose of guiding the beholder to identify with the suffering of Christ on the Cross, or with the protagonists in other episodes of biblical or ecclesiastical history. This was a practice encouraged by such well-known texts as the *Meditationes super Vitam Christi* attributed to Bonaventure, compiled about 1300, and Ludolf of Saxony's *Vita Christi* (c. 1360). The joint assault of miniature painting and chanting on the earl's sensibilities must have been powerful. The most reasonable explanation for the multiplication of virtually identical texts similarly illustrated is that they were prepared for his several habitual places of abode. One must have been at his London residence or perhaps kept for his use at the Austin Friars' convent, where he asked to be buried, and another presumably at Pleshey Castle in Essex, his principal seat and place of death. It might further be speculated that since his confessor was apparently resident generally at Pleshey, the Egerton psalter with its text of Grosseteste's *Confessioun* in French (fos 166r–168v) might have been put to use in preparing the earl for his confession.¹²

The religious background of these early Bohun psalters must not have been far removed from that of the *Livre de seyntz medicines* of the earl's contemporary, Henry duke of Lancaster, which appears to have been written as a penitential exercise.¹³ It was a personal response to a serious call, in this case from an Austin friar whose confrères were themselves deeply influenced by the affective piety of Italy. Friar William Monkland himself may have been in communication directly or indirectly with the Italian Austin friars, if he was the *Guglielmo Monchelaio* recalled by the seventeenth-century Augustinian historian, Luigi Torelli. In Torelli's *Secoli Agostiniani* he is described as a member of the earl of Hereford's family and of royal blood who became a friar against the opposition of his kinsmen, and who was sent abroad to study and died in the convent of Jordan of Quedlinburg. Though the relation of Monkland to the Bohuns is here described in a distorted way incompatible with the known facts, its reality was genuine enough and must have percolated to Italy.¹⁴ In any case Friar William Flete's quest for an eremitical life in Italy from 1359 onwards, which would bring him the spiritual friendship of Catherine of Siena, is a striking contemporary instance of the attraction of the Italian example to English friars.¹⁵ The Italian model must have been at least a strand in the employment of visual stimuli to awaken the earl's devotion by an Austin friar illuminator, the use of which had, of course, in the previous half century, proceeded much further in Italy.

¹² This is implied by the request in Earl Humphrey's will that his confessor be permitted 'y puisse demorer a touz jours, et q'il eyt sa chaumbre bele et honeste' (Nichols, *Wills*, 50).

¹³ Henry duke of Lancaster, *Livre de seyntz medicines*, ed. E. J. Arnould (Anglo-Norman Texts, ii, Oxford, 1940).

¹⁴ L. Torelli, *Secoli Agostiniani*, 8 vols (Bologna, 1659–86), vi, 53–4. On this story see A. Gwynn, *The English Austin Friars in the Time of Wyclif* (Oxford, 1940), pp. 107–13, whose speculation that Monkland had himself renounced a hereditary claim to the earldom is incompatible with what is known about the Bohun succession.

¹⁵ On which see B. Hackett, *William Flete, OSA, and Catherine of Siena* (Villanova PA, 1992).

Earl Humphrey died on 15 October 1361. He was succeeded by his nephew, the new earl of Northampton, also called Humphrey. The seventh Bohun earl of Hereford was, at nineteen, in the prime of youth, though the conclusion of peace with France precluded immediate military service of the kind his father had performed. However he travelled to Spain on pilgrimage in 1363 and was present at the conclusion of Edward III's treaty with Pedro king of Castile. He fought in Lithuania and in the eastern Mediterranean, and acted in a diplomatic capacity before finally serving in war in the company of John of Gaunt in France in 1370.¹⁶ Like many of the royal circle he was one of the early patrons of Froissart, at that time more of a poet than a chronicler.¹⁷ Before succeeding to the earldom of Hereford he had married Joan, daughter of Richard the fourth Fitzalan earl of Arundel and sister of Richard the fifth Fitzalan earl and of Thomas Arundel, later archbishop of Canterbury. The Fitzalans were already closely connected by marriage and friendship with the Bohuns. Joan would survive the break-up of both inheritances, and her forceful personality would impose itself on the court, and not least on her grandson, Henry V, for sixty years after her marriage. Her husband, by dying at the age of thirty, had fewer opportunities to make a mark. But he continued to employ John Tye and his collaborator to illuminate at least two of his books, and he may well have confessed to William Monkland if the latter remained at Pleshey. His two psalter-hours differed from his uncle's in their much smaller size, capable of being carried about in a saddle-bag by their much travelled owner.¹⁸ Their contents are more or less the same as those of the earlier psalter-hours, two at least of which must have remained, their decoration incomplete, on their lecterns or desks in the various Bohun residences. The seventh earl carried with him, however, no copy of Grossteste's *Confessioun*. If there is any innovation here it is one common to many owners of psalter-hours in the 1360s, a preference for carrying their books of hours with them and therefore having the opportunity of private prayer. This somewhat more personal form of devotion heralds the more general use of books of hours in the fifteenth century. Too much should not be made of this, since no further evidence of the earl's devotion appears to survive. His very brief and unspecific will, leaving everything at the disposal of his executors and only specifying his burial at the family abbey of Walden, adds nothing of note.¹⁹

With Earl Humphrey's decease in January 1373 the male line of the Bohuns

¹⁶ *Complete Peerage*, vi. 473–4.

¹⁷ Jean Froissart, *Le Joli Buisson de Jonece*, ed. Anthime Fourrier (Geneva, 1975), p. 56 lines 263–4.

¹⁸ These books are Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 38-1950 (169/170mm x 118/119mm) and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auctarium D.4.4 (168/169mm x 115/118mm). They were probably conceived as a pair: see Dennison, 'The Stylistic Sources, Dating and Development of the Bohun Workshop', p. 173. A third, now fragmentary psalter and book of hours, Pommersfelden, Graflichen Schonbornische Bibliothek 2934 (348), was also made for him, since his name is inserted in the *memoriae*, but is stylistically intermediate between his other psalter-hours and the Bohun books now in Copenhagen. See *ibid.*, pp. 174, 266–7.

¹⁹ Nichols, *Wills*, pp. 57–8.

failed. His daughters, aged seven and four, were royal wards, though his widow probably had the care of them. The elder, Eleanor, was destined for the hand of Thomas of Woodstock, youngest son of Edward III, as early as April 1374, and was married to him apparently before 24 August 1376; Thomas was made earl of Buckingham and Constable of England in 1377 and duke of Gloucester in 1385.²⁰ The effective division of the estate between the co-heiresses occurred in 1380–81 when Eleanor was of age. Her husband was granted custody of Mary, the younger daughter, now aged about twelve, on 8 May 1380: according to a story apparently by Froissart, it was his intention to put his sister-in-law in a Franciscan nunnery and thus acquire the whole inheritance. He was frustrated (the story continued) by his brother John of Gaunt who, when Thomas was abroad on his chevauchée to Brittany, secured the marriage of Mary and had her removed from Pleshey to Arundel Castle by ‘the aunt of the two ladies ... the sister of the earl of Arundel’ (a conflation of Elizabeth countess of Arundel with Joan countess of Hereford), to marry his son Henry Bolingbroke.²¹ They were married by February 1381. Thomas, on his return from Brittany, reconciled himself to *force majeure*, though resentful, as Froissart reports, of his brother’s devious proceedings, and proceeded to the partition of the Bohun properties. These events did not, therefore, occasion a complete breach in the Bohun family. The hand of John Tye in the decoration of psalters assignable to both Eleanor and Mary is thus readily explained.

Two manuscripts now in Denmark, if Dennison’s date of c. 1375–80 is accepted, must have been made for Countess Joan, though they may, of course, have been intended for the use of one of her daughters.²² They are roughly of the same size as the seventh earl’s psalter-hours, and must have been easily transportable. Tye’s hand is detectable in all of them. With the establishment of separate households for Eleanor (probably in 1380) and Mary (perhaps in 1384), the sisters must have had the opportunity to commission books to their own taste. Eleanor’s will of 1399 indicates a preference, or perhaps a sense of obligation, for elaborate exequies; she also possessed a small collection of learned books, and a psalter which she regarded as an heirloom ‘quel psautier me fuist lesses de remeindre a mes heirs et ainsy de heir en heir avautndit’ (which may

²⁰ CPR 1370–74, p. 472; CPR 1374–77, p. 337; *Complete Peerage*, v. 719–28.

²¹ CPR 1377–81, p. 502. The story is now reported only in Thomas Johnes’s English translation, *Sir John Froissart’s Chronicles of England France, Spain and the Adjoining Countries*, 2 vols (London, 1839), i. 623–4; the original, from a manuscript in the possession of Johnes, was burnt in 1807. It was unknown to Froissart’s first critical editor, J. M. B. C. Kervyn de Lettenhove, but is mentioned (though not transcribed) in the edition of S. Luce and G. Raynaud, *Oeuvres de Froissart* (Paris, 1869–1931), pp. x, xxiii n., xxix n. See Holmes, *Estates of the Higher Nobility*, p. 24n. The story is confirmed by the grant of Mary’s marriage to John of Gaunt, 27 July 1380 (CPR 1377–81, p. 537).

²² They are Copenhagen Kongelige Bibliotek MSS Thott 547 (176 x 130mm), a psalter and book of hours, and Thott 517 (176 x 130mm), lives of the Virgin, St Margaret and St Mary Magdalen. See Dennison, ‘British Library, Egerton MS 3277’, pp. 128n, 129n, and ‘The Stylistic Sources, Dating and Development of the Bohun Workshop’, pp. 157–75 and 265–7.

well be the Egerton psalter-hours).²³ Her literary interests are confirmed by the much larger collection of books owned by her husband, which included an early copy of the Wycliffite scriptures and several devotional books and chapel books; his predilection for pursuing the French war and perhaps idealistic chivalry did not preclude a distinct independent religious stance.²⁴ We cannot know for certain which of the Bohun psalters were in the possession of the duke and duchess. However, since the earlier and larger books are likely to have remained at their principal residences, including Pleshey Castle, and since two of them, the Egerton and Exeter College psalters, received further embellishment from Tye himself (Exeter College psalter), his 'Flemish' collaborator (Egerton psalter, second 'campaign') and a probable apprentice of Tye who may plausibly be identified with Henry Hood OESA (Egerton psalter, third 'campaign'), it is difficult to escape the conclusion that these formal books were now at Pleshey and that the new work was done at their direction.

This probability is confirmed by Dennison's study of the iconography of the second (c. 1380–84) and third (1384–89) campaigns of decorated initials and margins in the Egerton psalter.²⁵ Outside the biblical scenes of the main initials, in the margins and in small historiated initials, heraldic devices and figures seem to refer to the Bohun family, their associates and their preoccupations. They include three kings, evidently Edward III, John II of France and Charles the Bad of Navarre (fol. 68v, Psalm 101), a Bohun lady (fol. 131v) and a richly dressed kneeling man (fos 132r, 142r, 145v), the latter shown in one instance with a bishop and in another with a guardian angel). The kings seem to invoke the last triumphant phase of the first French war, in which the Bohun earl of Northampton had played a distinguished role and which his grandson-in-law aspired to renew. The Bohun lady, depicted wearing the Bohun arms and the arms of England and not those of Lancaster, must be Duchess Eleanor; the finely attired man, painted with the protection of his guardian angel, can hardly be other than Duke Thomas. Either or both of them, if they followed the liturgical offices in their chapel in the pages of the Egerton psalter, must have been confirmed by these images in a deeply hereditary and familial sense of public duty and destiny. Their sense of place will have been strengthened by another set of prominent images in the principal initials of the Office of the Dead which Dennison has remarkably, and convincingly, shown to refer to the death of Eleanor's maternal grandfather, Richard the fourth Fitzalan earl of Arundel in 1376 (fos 142r, 145v). They illustrate, in the context of Christ's redemption of sinners at the Resurrection, the earl, identified by his arms and his notorious and reputedly usurious wealth. The lesson is underlined by the

²³ Nichols, *Wills*, p. 181. The description does not well fit the Edinburgh psalter-hours (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland Advocates' MS 18.6.5) sometimes cited as the book here described. See Dennison, 'British Library Egerton MS 3277', p. 142.

²⁴ Viscount Dillon and W. H. St John Hope, 'Inventory of the Goods and Chattels belonging to Thomas duke of Gloucester', *Archaeological Journal* 64 (1897), 275–308.

²⁵ Dennison, 'British Library, Egerton MS 3277', pp. 134–49.

two scenes of the usurer's soul saved, from the Miracles of the Virgin, in the office of Compline (fol. 129). The Office of the Dead must have been here laid out to remind them of their obligation to pray for the soul of a sinner explicitly placed in a framework of ill-gotten wealth, and therefore especially in need of the prayers of a family bound to the Fitzalans by numerous ties of blood and friendship.

By comparison with this unusual iconography, the wealth of heraldry inserted into initials and marginal decoration at this stage seems almost conventional. It had of course a precedent in the sixth Bohun earl's profusion of shields of his Courtenay and Fitzalan cousinage painted into his psalters. Some of the new shields were a reminder of the Bohun past as earls of Essex and East Anglian magnates: the arms of St Edmund, whose abbey was among the greatest landowners of the eastern counties, and those of the extinct Montfitchett family, once prominent in Essex. The arms of Sir John Neville of Essex commemorate a close friend and benefactor of the seventh Bohun earl and his widow. The fourth in this series is that of Sir Thomas Bardolf, a retainer of Duke Thomas; his inclusion is a further indication of the duke's hand in the embellishment of the Egerton psalter and perhaps a marker, in the Office of the Dead, of his need for the duke's and duchess's prayers.²⁶ A further shield, that of the Beauchamp earls of Warwick, can only be an evocation of the bond which joined Thomas, the fourth Beauchamp earl, with the duke of Gloucester and Richard, the fifth Fitzalan earl of Arundel as Appellants in 1387–88. It is placed in the centre of an historiated initial of the curing of the man sick of the palsy, perhaps for some private prayer the nature of which we can only guess.²⁷ The natural explanation for the occurrence of these shields at particular places in the text is that, like the heraldry of the sixth Bohun earl's kindred which reminded him of his obligation to remember them in prayer, they brought up to date the kindred and friendship network of a new generation with further obligations of charity. That the reminders should take heraldic form in a world of chivalry habituated to recognition by armorial bearings is not, as Maurice Keen has memorably reminded us, surprising.²⁸

If the Egerton psalter-hours was completed by the duke and duchess of Gloucester, a conclusion which on the evidence of the heraldry seems to be unavoidable, it is possible with the help of Duchess Eleanor's will to reconstruct something of her religious stance. The solemn exequies she required, which lack the desire for simplicity so often in evidence in contemporary funeral directions, indicate her sense of standing and perhaps public duty. This was primarily derived not from her marriage into the royal house but from her own ancestors, of whose traditions, as both her will and the heraldry of the Egerton psalter hours attest, she was sharply aware. It is perhaps significant that no personal book of hours can be assigned to her; she used a large psalter, an

²⁶ Egerton MS 3277, fols 142v, 145r; Dennison, 'British Library Egerton MS 3277', pp. 146–7.

²⁷ Egerton MS 3277, fol. 123r.

²⁸ Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 133–4.

heirloom, which must have stood on some support, probably in her chapel. She must have been constantly reminded of her obligations to kindred living and dead as she turned its pages. Her sister Mary, countess of Derby from 1380 to her early death in 1394, and perhaps her mother too were quite different. At the age of eleven, we learn on the dubious authority of Froissart, Mary was not unwilling to become a Poor Clare as her brother-in-law desired.²⁹ In the event she submitted to the will of her mother and the house of Lancaster and bore the future king Henry IV six children. She seems to have inherited one of the small psalter-hours of her father, the seventh Bohun earl, in which a miniature was painted of a lady being presented to the Virgin by St Mary Magdalen; the lady is wearing a jacket with the golden lions of England over a robe of the Bohun arms. This must be an image of Mary as countess of Derby.³⁰ Though the name *Himfridus* was not erased from the *memoriae*, four short prayers cast for *ego indigna et peccatrix* were inserted at the beginning as suitable for recital before reading (or following the chanting of) the psalms and monastic offices. The first prayer, *Susciperis dignare domine deus*, is found in various forms as a preliminary prayer to reciting the psalter in a number of early fifteenth-century books, and is probably a much earlier text. The tone of the others, and especially the third, is notably more personal and closer to the devotional writings of her own age, with a hint of the language of Richard Rolle: 'Breathe I beg into my heart that interior sweetness of spirit which thou inspired in thy child David ...'³¹ Whether this is her own language or more likely that of a confessor, it shows that she had been touched by the new spirituality of the English contemplative writers, mediated though it may have been through a friar or some other spiritual adviser.

Further light on Mary Bohun's spiritual life is shed by a manuscript which has not received attention as one of the religious books of the family. This is a small and richly decorated collection of contemplative texts now in the library of Liverpool Hope University.³² It is of a size (192mm x 125mm) suitable for carrying about, and the identity of its original owner is indicated by the painted initials with which most of the texts are launched: they contain a repeated device of the letters IHC within a collar of SSS from which depends a small roundel of a white swan on a blue field. This device was used by Henry IV as earl of Derby; it appears on the effigy of John Gower in Southwark Cathedral and in the complex imagery of the Corby slab stone, allegedly set up originally in Venice

²⁹ *The Chronicles of Froissart*, tr. T. Johnes, i. 623–4.

³⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auctarium D.4.4. The miniature is on fol. 181v.

³¹ Fos iii^v–iv^r. The text is printed in the appendix. For other versions of the first prayer see Tiverton, St Peter's Church MS (Book of Hours), fol. 80 and Winchester College MS 48 fol. 115v, as described in N. R. Ker and A. J. Piper, *Mediaeval Manuscripts of Great Britain*, 5 vols (Oxford, 1969–2002), iv. 494–5, 632–4.

³² Liverpool Hope University, Gradwell Collection MS Upholland College 165. It is described in Ker and Piper, *Mediaeval Manuscripts of Great Britain*, iv. 503–5, as a manuscript then belonging to Upholland College.

for John Mowbray duke of Norfolk.³³ The case for assigning this manuscript to Henry IV is strengthened by the date assigned to it palaeographically by Ker and Piper, 's.xv in.'. However the date of the writing, a good textura with some secretary features, cannot be determined within too narrow boundaries, and in any case Henry is only known to have used the Bohun badge with the SSS collar as earl of Derby, when the Bohun inheritance was his primary support, and not as king of England. It could, then, have been as appropriately used by his first wife before 1394, and the indications already mentioned of her interest in spiritual literature make her marginally the more likely owner of the book.

The contents and arrangement of this collection, then, have some significance in a Bohun context. It was clearly intended for the personal use of its owner, with its elegant format and embellishments and repeated association of the swan badge with the name of Jesus. This owner must have been prepared to read the texts in Latin; but the process was made easier by the provision of a table of contents (fos 5v–7r) of all the texts except the first (which is an imperfect text probably added later) divided into chapter headings such as *de paupertate*, *de contemptu mundi*, etc. With the table's help, the reader could direct attention to themes running through the spiritual books in the collection, using it as a prompt for meditation on particular topics. The texts included are mostly patristic and well known: the meditations of Augustine *De diligendo deo*; Augustine's *Soliloquia de ineffabilibus beneficiis dei*; Richard Rolle's popular book *De emendacione peccatoris*, usually known as *Emendatio vitae*; book ii of Isidore of Seville's *Soliloquia*; the *Meditationes* of St Bernard *ut ab exterioribus ad interiora nostra cognoscenda convertamur ad deum contemplandum*; the letter of St Louis to his son *de modo vivendi*; and Paulinus of Aquileia, *De salutaribus documentis* – here, as usual, attributed to Augustine. The text of part of Anselm's *De triplici modo contemplandi domini* has been added at the beginning as an afterthought.³⁴ All these texts were being circulated at the end of the fourteenth century as suitable items for a spiritual library, though not yet as systematically as the Carthusians would do early in the following century. Paulinus' *de salutaribus documentis* would be translated by the Wycliffite masters in the course of their biblical translation project.³⁵ The letter of St Louis had long circulated in the northern European court world. There is nothing surprising in a collection of these writings arranged as an aid to meditation. What is notable is that a royal lady, or possibly her husband, should be expected to read quite difficult texts,

³³ Wagner, 'The Swan Knight and the Swan Badge', plates xxxvi f and xxxvii g.

³⁴ For these texts see *PL* xl.847–64; *PL* xl.863–97; Richard Rolle, *Emendatio vitae, orationes ad honorem nominis Ihesu*, ed. Nicholas Watson (Toronto, 1995); *PL* lxxxiii.845–68; *PL* clxxxiv.485–508; *The Instructions of St Louis, A Critical Text*, ed. David O'Connell (Chapel Hill, NC, 1979); *PL* xcix.197–282. The work attributed to St Anselm is evidently not his; I have not identified this portion of the text.

³⁵ S. L. Fristedt, *The Wycliffe Bible*, 3 parts (Stockholm, 1967–76), ii (1969), with the Latin text at pp. 61–120.

and in Latin. The learning of the Bohun ladies and their spouses can therefore be documented for both the elder and the younger coheireses.

It is possible, by implication, to detect some features of the religious practice of the two Bohun daughters: their mother, in contrast, remains opaque. Joan countess of Hereford probably commissioned and may always have owned the Copenhagen psalter-hours and its companion book of lives of the Virgin, St Margaret and Mary Magdalen. Her will is not extant, and we know nothing more of her books, except that she gave her grandson, later Henry V, a missal and breviary which he remembered in his will of 1415.³⁶ She was a notable benefactor of Walden Abbey, the mausoleum of the earls of Essex where she was eventually buried next to her husband.³⁷ It is enough to show that she shared in the devotions of her daughters, not enough to associate her with the more personal spirituality of the younger. Her forceful personality can be glimpsed in the story of her removal of Mary from Thomas of Woodstock's custody and collusion in her marriage to Henry Bolingbroke in 1380; it is further attested in the colourful report in the *Trahison et Mort de Richart II*, doubtless biased and dependent on hearsay but credible by dint of its geographical particulars, of the death of John earl of Huntingdon in January 1400. According to this account she blamed the earl for the deaths of her brother and son-in-law in 1397, and when he fled down the Thames from the failure of the Ricardian lords' conspiracy of December 1399 and happened to land at Prittlewell next to Rochford she had him apprehended and taken to Pleshey, where she caused him to be beheaded, threatening to wield the axe herself, in front of a mob violently hostile to him.³⁸ She certainly retained the affection of her equally ruthless royal grandson, as his 1415 will attests, and she may have imparted to him his habit of intense prayer.³⁹ It is difficult not to see her as a Fitzalan sibling as forceful as her two Arundel brothers, who must have been the model equally for her daughters' fierce Bohun pride and for their practice of personal devotion.

There is just one further fugitive piece of evidence for Countess Joan's spiritual reading. It occurs in the margins of the Simeon manuscript, one of the two associated collections of English devotional verse and prose (the other is the Vernon manuscript) put together probably in the 1390s.⁴⁰ The compilation of these texts is a problem not yet completely understood. They are very large 'ledger' or 'coucher' manuscripts made to be consulted and copied but not

³⁶ *Foedera*, ix. 291. It is only speculation that she gave him these books when he visited Pleshey in March 1397; see J. H. Wylie, *A History of England under Henry the Fourth*, 4 vols (London, 1884–98), iv. 327–9.

³⁷ Cartulary of Walden Abbey, BL Harleian MS 3967, fol. 10r. See W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6 vols in 8 (London, 1817–30), iv. 236.

³⁸ *Chronique de la traison et mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre*, ed. B. Williams (London, 1846), pp. 96–9.

³⁹ On which see *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, ed. Frank Taylor and J. S. Roskell (Oxford, 1975), p. 154.

⁴⁰ Both the Simeon manuscript (London, BL Additional MS 22283) and the Vernon Manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Eng. Poet. a.1) are now incomplete. Both in their current state have material absent from the other.

moved about. As they share a scribe and a large proportion of their contents they must have originated in one place or two places in close contact. The most acceptable explanation of their textual history would have them as the product of a concerted attempt to construct a library of religious verse and prose, mostly in English, in which the South English Legendary (in the Vernon MS) and the Northern Homilies (in both) are the most prominent elements; the texts were put together from numerous sources, especially from Yorkshire and the south-west Midlands. The associations of the texts, and one reference to Newark College, Leicester, as not far away in both manuscripts' versions of the *Pricke of Love*, indicate the most plausible place of compilation to be in the central Midlands. Collections cognate with these manuscripts, which have copies of many of the same texts, were in Lichfield Cathedral and Bordesley Abbey in north-east Worcestershire.⁴¹ Some of the texts unique to the Simeon manuscript are found too in a Worcestershire compilation, William Counter's book of moral and devotional writings.⁴² While there is still much uncertainty about the two manuscripts, the most likely supposition is that they were the result of a concerted effort to gather and make available material in English suitable for meditation and devotional reading, and that they could be consulted in one or more institutional libraries in the central Midlands.

The name *Joan boun* appears in very faint and small letters in the bottom margin of the middle of three columns of fol. 91v of the Simeon manuscript.⁴³ In such an obscure position this can hardly be the signature of the owner; nothing in the associations of the manuscript suggest that the countess of Hereford would be likely to possess a collection of this kind. But if it was available for copies of individual texts to be made, then the name of a potential customer would make sense. In this column begins the text of a poem on Jesus disputing in the Temple, *Listneth lordes leoue in londe*, which continues for two or three columns. A more explicit note on an earlier folio indicates a similar transaction. On fol. 38r a note appears in the bottom margin: 'memorandum quod Johannes Brideyn scribet domino Thome heuely tres quaternos vel quatuor et tria folia et incipit ad ista verba in isto columine Oþur dignites or benefys.' This corresponds to the first words at the top of the middle column, fol. 38rb, which are part of a longer, imperfect text of the *Mirroure of life*, which takes up fos 33r to 61v. A further, illegible note in the lower margin of fol. 121v may well record another request for a copy. The note of Joan Bohun's name is less explicit. But is is placed exactly where such a request would be noted. Nor is it surprising that

⁴¹ See A. I. Doyle, 'The Shaping of the Vernon and Simeon Manuscripts', *Studies in the Vernon Manuscript*, ed. Derek Pearsall (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 1–13.

⁴² Oxford, University College MS 97. See A. I. Doyle, 'University College Oxford 97 and Its Relation to the Simeon Manuscript (BL Add. 22283)', *So Many People Longages and Tonges, Philological Essays in Scots and Middle English presented to Angus McIntosh*, ed. M. Benskin and M. L. Samuels (Edinburgh, 1981), pp. 265–82.

⁴³ This name seems to have been noticed first by Hope Emily Allen. See Robert E. Lewis, 'The Relationship of the Vernon and Simeon Texts of the *Pricke of Conscience*', *So many People Longages and Tonges*, pp. 251–64, cf. p. 252.

a lady of her rank would seek to possess copies of devotional writings: in the next generation it would become a common practice for them to own books of devotion, often through the deliberate circulation of such texts by Carthusian compilers, translators and scribes. If this is the correct interpretation of her name in the margin, it places her firmly in the trinity of Bohun ladies, who together with her late husband and his predecessor, the sixth Bohun earl, left a notable record of personal devotions in their psalter-hours and other books.⁴⁴

The last generations of the Bohun family occupied a pivotal place in the court nobility of the late fourteenth century. The sixth Bohun earl, though left out of the excitements of the French wars on account of his infirmities, had the taste and leisure to indulge his devotions through a series of elegant manuscript books in which his sense of family was distinctly emphasised. The seventh earl, his wife and family had the Bohun books further embellished and others made which exhibited not only their love of beauty but also the scope and distinctiveness of their prayers and meditations. They did so among political events which propelled them ever closer to the centre of the dynastic crisis of the royal house and which left Countess Joan as a potent influence on her grandson King Henry V, the greatest and the most creatively religious of the Lancastrian kings. Heirs of the proudest stratum of English chivalry, they also seem to have developed an independent interior life alongside their public activities, a 'mixed life' of the kind recommended by contemporary spiritual authors to persons with large worldly responsibilities. We do not know whether others in the same position shared their preoccupations, knowledge of which derives mostly from the survival of many of their books. Probably some of them did. The Bohuns however imprinted a distinctive style on the prayers of a king who would be instrumental in gathering private devotions into the public religion of fifteenth-century England. They have a place, therefore, not only in the development of an interiorised phase in the changing values of chivalry, but in the stern, soldierly, rather puritanical but aesthetically sensitive quality of the public cult which the sons of Mary Bohun imposed on Lancastrian England.

Appendix:

The prayers inserted in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auctarium D.4.4

[Fo iii verso] Suscipere dignare domine deus ompnes hoc psalmos consecratos quos ego indigna et peccatrix decantare cupio in honore tui sanctissimi nominis, et sancte marie semper virginis et omnium sanctorum tuorum, pro me misera et infelici et pro fratribus et sororibus meis et pro omnibus consanguineis meis et amicis meis, nec non et pro illis qui in me habent fiduciam, et pro cuncto populo christiano et pro animabus fratrum et sororum meorum,

⁴⁴ For the text, see F. J. Furnivall, ed., *The Poems of the Vernon Manuscript*, ii (London, EETS o.s.117), pp. 479–83.

et pro animabus omnium parentum meorum, vel pro quibus orare promisi, et pro omnibus fidelibus defunctis. Amen.

Concede domine Jesu Christe ut isti psalmi nobis omnibus proficiant ad salutem et ad remedium anime, atque ad veram penitenciam faciendam, necnon et ad vitam feliciter faciant nos [iv recto] pervenire eternam. Amen.

Domine deus, opus, principium et perfeccio tocius bonitatis, qui desiderium pauperum exaudire digna preparacionem cordis nostri clementer attende, et affectum devocionis quem in famula tua propicius excitasti, perduc ad perpetue salutis effectum. Inspira queso cordi meo illam internam in spiritu suavitatem, quam puero tuo david inspirasti et rorem gracie quem infudisti scribenti, infunde supplicanti. Aperi domine auditum anime mee ad hoc organum caritatis tue, sit mihi canticum istud in adversitate solacium, in dubietate consilium, in prosperitate cautela, in infirmitate medela. Suscipiat igitur [iv verso] clemencia tua preces et vota humilitatis mee, et concede propicius ut illis omnibus presit dileccio et devocio mea, quos ut diligere precipisti et dedisti. Cooperetur itaque pietati tue domine deus hec ipsa psalmorum decantacio ad salutem vivorum et refrigerium defunctorum, ut in presenti gratiam tuam habere et in futuro gloriam tuam videre mereantur. Amen.

[O]mpnis sempiternus deus, miserere mihi famule tue, et fidem rectam et perseveracionem bonam mihi largiri digneris, ut hii psalmi quos ad conspec[tu] tuo decantam, mihi et omnibus illis pro quibus ego indigna peccatrix orare presumpsi prosint ad indulgenciam et remissionem omnium peccatorum te concedente. Qui vivit et regnat.

Piety, Chivalry and Family: The Cartulary and Psalter of Sir Edmund Rede of Boarstall (d. 1489)

Rowena E. Archer

The interpenetration of Christian and secular values, the religious mentality of knighthood, and the need to see chivalry as a cultural and social phenomenon are among the major themes which Maurice Keen has explored in a lifetime's engagement with the military world of the later Middle Ages.¹ He has, moreover, made historians see that noble and gentle soldiers were not merely fighting but thinking, educated men. These last qualities, affected by rising levels of literacy, undoubtedly remained long after great fighting careers had begun perforce to decline, at least in England with the ending of war with France. Yet becoming a knight was still something to be remembered in a man's life and the recording of the moment by one who never directly engaged with war brings together these themes which are central to this investigation. The reputation of Sir Edmund Rede the Younger, of Boarstall in Buckinghamshire, owes nothing to soldiering and everything to a private cartulary and his ownership of books, the latter detailed in his testament of 1487.² What may one gauge about a man from his books? Two of Rede's surviving books have received consider-

¹ M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, CT, 1984), pp. 57, 219. My own personal debt to Maurice for over thirty years is immense and it is a huge pleasure to acknowledge it here. I am, as always, indebted to Dr G. L. Harriss for commenting on an earlier draft of this article. The librarian of Christ Church, Oxford, Cristina Neagu, has been exceptionally accommodating and has provided the illustration from MS 98, and Mr Jean-Yvès Thin of Entrepose Industrial Services has provided much technical help.

² *The Boarstall Cartulary*, ed. H. E. Salter, Oxford Historical Society, lxxxviii (1930), pp. 286–95 for the full text of both wills. Though he calls his Latin will of 7 April 1487 'my last will and testament' it is clearly his testament whereas his English will made on 21 February 1489 is indeed a will disposing of lands. Both words will be used henceforth to distinguish the documents. A. I. Doyle, 'English Books In and Out of Court from Edward III to Henry VII', *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (London, 1983), pp. 175–7; G. L. Harriss, *Shaping the Nation. England, 1360–1461* (Oxford, 2005), p. 158. See also K. Harris, 'Patrons, Buyers and Owners: The Evidence for Ownership and the Role of Book Owners in Book Production and the Book Trade', *Book Production and Publishing in England, 1375–1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 163–99, specifically, p. 168.

able interest from literary scholars but a third has lain largely neglected, even though for the historian it is the one that offers the greatest insight into the man and his priorities. Taken all round, much about Edmund suggests a man who went out of his way to forge an identity for himself as a gentleman, and a chivalrous one at that.³

Sir Edmund Rede's world was focused very tightly on the Thames Valley. It was the source of his wealth, through lands primarily held in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire and of his political and social connections, with his wider family and his many associates drawn from the local gentry. It was here too that he expressed his attachment in the form of religious and cultural patronage.⁴ The private cartulary, begun for him in 1444 or 1445,⁵ records the deeds relating to his principal land holdings and, as will be seen, is a very self-conscious celebration of the descent of his lands from the families of FitzNigel, Haudlo, de la Pole, Marmion and James from the late twelfth century.⁶ Yet even without this survival, a man much preoccupied by his estates is revealed in the bequest in Sir Edmund's testament to his heir apparent of

[the] cartularies,⁷ terriers, books of forests, books of swanimotes,⁸ a small book of old statutes of England and a little register with silver clasps with all my indentures belonging to the heritage of my aforesaid heir kept in my closet above le Tresaunce next to the hall in the aforesaid manor [Boarstall].⁹

³ The books are John Gower's *Confessio amantis* (BL, Harley, MS 3490) Nicholas Upton's *De studio militari* (BL, Cotton, MS Nero Ciii) and his psalter (Christ Church, Oxford, MS 98). See D. Pearsall, 'The Rede (Boarstall) Gower: British Library MS Harley 3490', *The English Medieval Book. Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, ed. A. S. G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie and Ralph Hanna (London, 2000) and C. G. Walker, 'An Edition with Introduction and Commentary of John Blount's English Translation of Nicholas Upton's *De Studio Militari* (Bodl. MS Eng. Misc D.227)', 2 vols (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1998).

⁴ For a review of this world see C. Carpenter, 'The Stonor Circle in the Fifteenth Century', *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England. Essays presented to Gerald Harriss*, ed. Rowena E. Archer and Simon Walker (London, 1995), pp. 174–200.

⁵ See below for discussion of the date, p. 131, note 21.

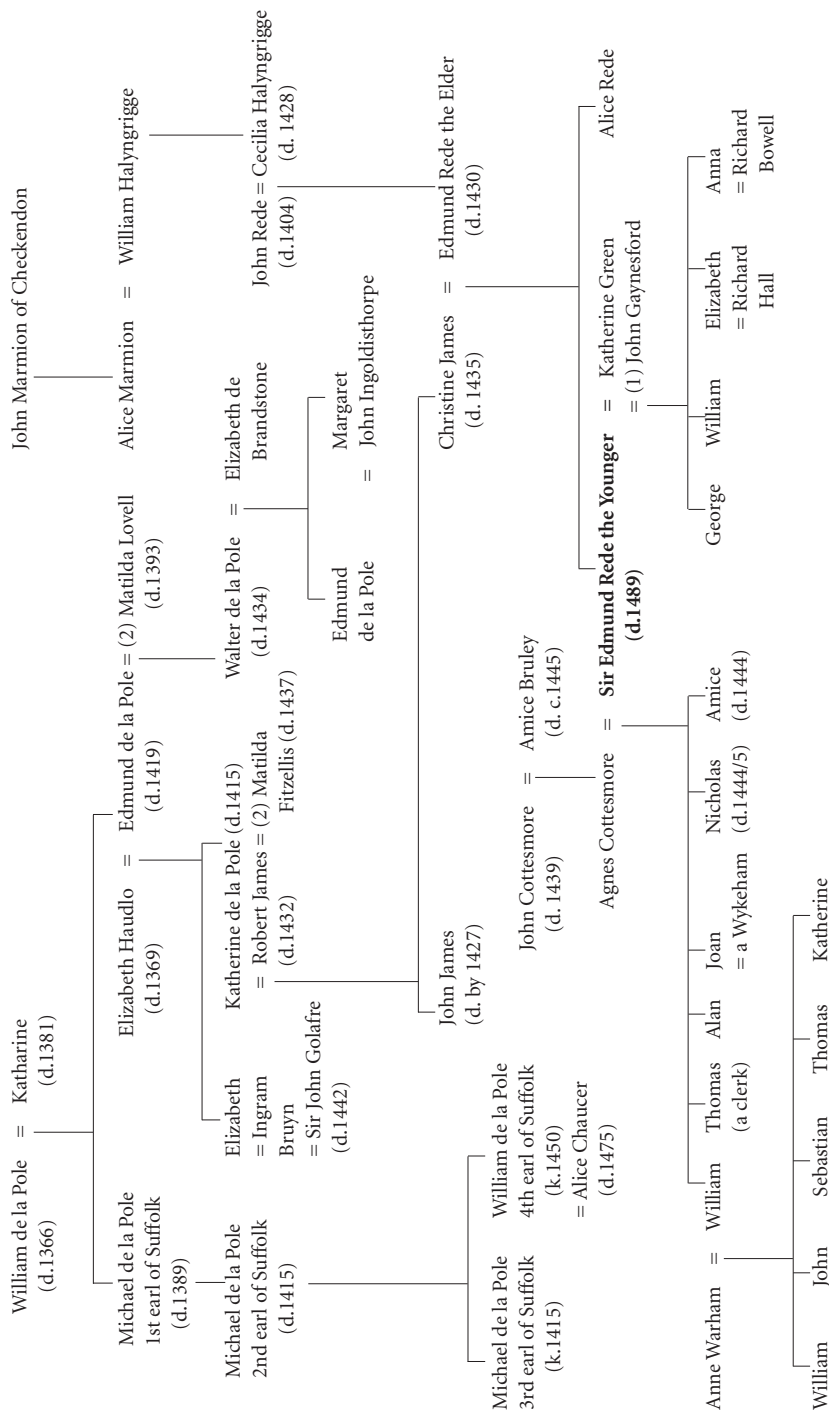
⁶ The cartulary is at the Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, Aylesbury, AR.38/62/1 (henceforth CBS). I am indebted to the county archivist, Roger Bettridge, and his colleagues who answered my many questions about the Rede archives. See the genealogy below, Figure 2, p. 128.

⁷ As the cartulary was drawn up in sections, Rede's use of the plural here may refer to the several parts of the now single volume. Whilst the binding is clearly contemporary it may well have been made after Edmund's death. See below p. 130.

⁸ The Redes held two grand forest serjeanties, Boarstall along with Shotover and Stowood, and the section of the cartulary dealing with Boarstall is headed 'a transcript of the evidences of Edmund Rede esquire of his manor of Boarstall ... with the balliwick of the forest of Bernwood' (see Plate 9). The cartulary asserts that the forestership of Bernwood, a petty serjeanty, was held by Rede's ancestors before the Norman Conquest: *Boarstall Cartulary*, pp. 75, 170. The books of swanimotes were probably records of the meetings of swineherds which, according to the Forest Charter of 1217, were meant to take place three times a year. An inquisition of 1365 refers to the swanimote held that year: *ibid.*, p. 176.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

Figure 2. *The Family and Connections of the Redes of Boarstall*



Edmund's grandfather, John Rede, came from Bledlow in Buckinghamshire, acquired property in Oxford and, through his wife, Cecilia Halyngrigge, whose mother Alice was niece and co-heiress of John Marmion, added the manor of Checkendon (Oxon) (Figure 2). It was here that he was buried in 1404; the triple canopied monumental brass in the south chancel, showing him in his lawyer's robes and with very prominent feet, describes him with enormous pride as 'quondam serviens domini Regis ad legem'.¹⁰ Locally, he had received a fee from the wealthy Buckinghamshire knight, Sir William Moleyns, acted as deputy for Sir John Golafre, the constable of Wallingford Castle, and been attorney to Sir Walter de la Pole along with the latter's brother-in-law, Robert James.¹¹ John's son, Edmund Rede the Elder, boosted the family's position in terms of both land and status through this network, most particularly by marriage to Christine James. The latter's father, Robert, had married Katherine de la Pole, the niece of the first earl of Suffolk. Christine and Edmund were married by October 1412, when Robert settled his manor of Standhill in Pyrton (Oxon) on the couple, but it was the death of Christine's elder brother, John James, some time around 1427 that substantially improved Rede's prospects.¹² However, as Christine's father did not die until 1432, Edmund Rede the Elder benefited very little from the match, for he predeceased his father-in-law by two years.¹³ In 1428, perhaps because he had lost his son and heir, Robert James conveyed the manors of Clapcot and Rush Court in Wallingford (Berks.) to the rector of Checkendon who reconveyed these to the couple on 28 February following, in return for the sum of 50 marks, but for the rest they had to wait.¹⁴ Robert made his will on 13 November 1430, just over a month after Edmund's death, and, in making cash bequests, requested that his daughter be content with the 160 marks and the various domestic utensils that he had settled upon her and her husband at the time of their marriage. He made no mention of his grandson, Edmund Rede the Younger but left his granddaughter, Alice, who was living in his house, £20 for her marriage, so long as she was guided by James's second wife, Matilda. Edmund the Elder's rather undistinguished life may have owed something not only to the longevity of Robert James but also to that of his own mother Cecilia, who finally died in 1428, circumstances which had left him with a much diminished estate for most of his adulthood.¹⁵ Edmund's humble

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. vii. For a recent biography of John Rede see *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons, 1386–1421*, ed. J. S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe (Stroud, 1992), iv. 180–1 where it is incorrectly stated that the brass is now lost. M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses. The Memorials* (London, 1977), i. 81 for a detailed description of the brass.

¹¹ *House of Commons*, iii. 103–5 for a biography of de la Pole; iv. 199–202, 486–8, 753–4 for Golafre, James and Moleyns, respectively.

¹² *Boarstall Cartulary*, p. 49 refers to Christine and Edmund as married in a deed dated 6 October 1412; p. 263 refers to John James's wife, Katherine, as a widow in 1428.

¹³ He died on 8 October 1430: *ibid.*, p. 168.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 263–4.

¹⁵ For Robert James's will see *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414–43*, ed. E. F. Jacob and H. C. Johnston, Canterbury and York Society, xlii (Oxford, 1938), ii. 451–3

and damaged palimpsest brass in the north aisle describes him as a patron of Checkendon church but somehow signals his lesser place in the world. It lacks his exact date of death but gives Christine's as 28 March 1435.¹⁶

Edmund Rede the Younger was born on 21 September 1413 and was a minor at his father's death. It was not until 1437 that he at last derived the full advantage of the James marriage, following the death of Robert James's second wife, Matilda Fitzellis.¹⁷ Christine James's maternal grandmother, Elizabeth Haudlo, was the descendant of John Haudlo who had received a licence to crenellate his house in Boarstall in 1312, and it was through her that the Redes finally acquired Boarstall which became the principal residence of her son.¹⁸ The splendid fourteenth-century gatehouse and part of the surrounding moat are all that survive but they bear witness to the considerable wealth that Edmund Rede enjoyed.¹⁹

That Edmund was a meticulous man emerges from his great cartulary. In fine condition, measuring 325mm by 225mm, it is bound in oak boards covered with a soft white leather chemise. It is clear that the main sections recording the deeds of Checkendon, Gatehampton, Boarstall, Clapcot and Wallingford were originally made separately for each has its own internal numbering. Why, beyond the obvious reason, Edmund had it drawn up, is not easily answered. P. Geary has recently commented that cartularies have been used almost entirely for their contents with 'little regard to the nature, function and history of this genre' and Katherine Keats-Rohan is surely right to note that behind a cartulary lies 'a specific purpose related to, and revealed by, the moment ... when it was

in which he is called 'lord of Borstall'. He requested burial next to his first wife, Katherine de la Pole, in the church of St James, which lies just east of Boarstall Gatehouse. Rebuilt in 1818, Boarstall church contains a fragment of a late fifteenth-century tomb with three blank shields more likely to have been that of Sir Edmund Rede. Dr Philip Lindley kindly confirmed the probable late date of the tomb. Rob and Pam Dixon generously welcomed me to Boarstall Gatehouse and made possible my examination of the stained glass and the tomb. Mr Dixon made a number of valuable suggestions to an earlier draft. *Boarstall Cartulary*, pp. 167, viii. Though Cecilia Rede does not appear on her husband's brass in Checkendon church a small brass plate in the north chancel records her death as 20 May 1428. Below the inscription are two coats of arms, first Rede, probably impaling Marmion, though it is very badly damaged, and secondly Marmion.

¹⁶ For a detailed description of the brass see Norris, *Monumental Brasses*, i. 269.

¹⁷ His date of birth is given in the inquisition on Christine: *Boarstall Cartulary*, p. 166. Before her death, Christine, who had held a share of Rede property in Checkendon, Muswell, Headington, the balliwick of the forestership of Shotover and Stowood (Oxon) and Stoke Marmion (Bucks.) had assigned some shares in her James property, including Boarstall, as dower to her stepmother: *ibid.*, pp. 165–7.

¹⁸ For the early history of the Haudlo family see *Complete Peerage*, vi. 398–401. *CPR, 1307–1313*, p. 493; *House of Commons*, iii. 486–7 makes the common mistake of calling the family Handlo.

¹⁹ W. Kennett, *Parochial Antiquities Attempted in the History of Ambrosden, Burcester and other adjacent parts in the counties of Oxford and Bucks* (new edn., Oxford, 1818), ii. 320–2. Table vii is a full plate illustration of Boarstall, showing the extant gatehouse and the now lost house. Apart from the closet, the room called the tresounce and the hall, Edmund's will mentions his great parlour, the kitchen, the long chamber and the chapel: *Boarstall Cartulary*, pp. 288–9.

written.²⁰ Had that for Boarstall been begun in 1437 when Edmund finally secured his estates then the desire to record more precisely what was his would afford some obvious explanation for this undertaking. Was there something in 1444/45 that made him think that he needed to set this substantial task in hand?²¹ The cartulary itself does not offer any real clues. There is no statement as to why it was begun though this was common enough in the opening words of such documents.²² There is neither a predominance of deeds for these years nor evidence of some sort of challenge to his rights. Edmund's strong sense of heredity and his rights is clear from a later challenge made around 1479, by Sir William Stonor.²³ Nothing of this sort can be linked to 1444/45 so perhaps it was simply that Edmund wished to know his estates better. Yet would not something much more workmanlike have sufficed?²⁴

Nothing is known of the way in which the cartulary was made or from what documents the scribes were working. Some were clearly deeds that the family held since each section has the heading 'transcriptum evidenciarum Edmundi Rede' and there are some that, in the absence of originals, could easily have been acquired by purchase from the royal courts. Only one original deed survives, a grant by Edmund to his feoffees in 1459 of the manor of Headington. Perhaps once copied the originals were no longer treated with quite the same reverence, though the care with which Edmund bequeathed 'omnibus evidenciis meis' to his heir suggests that he considered muniments precious.²⁵ It is not any clearer either how or why decisions were made about what to include. The construction of a cartulary was 'a process of neglect, selection, transformation and suppression' and the possibility of forgery of some sort can never be entirely ruled out.²⁶ H. E. Salter cast doubt on the scribe's interpretation of some of the early charters and at the very least there was a degree of selectivity, some of which may have

²⁰ P. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance. Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, NJ, 1994), p. 83; *The Cartulary of the Abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel*, ed. K. Keats-Rohan (Donnington, 2006), p. 1.

²¹ Folio 1 of the Checkendon section of the cartulary states that it was made on 12 May 1444 and in the 23rd year of Henry VI; the latter, however, would put it in 1445.

²² The Segrave cartulary has a long opening paragraph describing how 'the book called the Red Book' of the Segrave lordships which contained proofs of land ownership, needed to be recopied and updated for they 'stonden so ferre a part and out of gode ordre': BL, MS Harley, 4748, fol. 1.

²³ *The Stonor Letters and Papers, 1290–1483*, ed. C. L. Kingsford (Camden Society 3rd series xxx, London, 1919), pp. 80–1.

²⁴ P. Coss, *The Langley Family and Its Cartulary. A Study in Late Medieval 'Gentry'*, Dugdale Society Occasional Papers, xxii (Oxford, 1974) and *The Langley Cartulary*, ed. P. Coss, Dugdale Society (Oxford, 1980) suggests this as a reason for the Langley cartulary. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, p. 86 argues that some were made to defend legal claims.

²⁵ CBS, D/AF/3/2. The copy of this deed is in *Boarstall Cartulary*, p. 224 which also records the demise by the feoffees to Edmund on the same day, the original of which has not survived. The quotation from the will is on p. 289. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, p. 82.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

been intended to deceive.²⁷ There are few entries in the cartulary for the 1460s and none for the 1470s or 1480s. The last entries are deeds relating to Rede's widow in 1490 and 1498, notice of Rede's heir having paid homage in late September 1498, and, in a unique informal hand, an indenture between the earl of Oxford and William Rede witnessing Rede's payment of homage and relief to the former for lands in Buckinghamshire.²⁸ What is clear, however, is that the cartulary is outstanding for its sophisticated emphasis, not just in narrative comments but visually, upon the marriages and resultant descents of the various parts of Edmund's property. This was most certainly a man trying to prove something.

Just over 160 secular cartularies have survived, ranging from the humble parchment roll to substantial tomes, but having in common the almost complete absence of any form of decoration. Even in the far greater number of ecclesiastical examples, illustration is extremely rare. Some have headings in red and some narrative comments on the contents.²⁹ The only survivor remotely comparable is the Anlaby Cartulary of c. 1450 though the Boarstall book certainly challenges M. R. James's delightful comment: 'little as I know of private cartularies, I venture to say that there can hardly exist another which brings out in so graphic and amusing a fashion as this the personal characteristics of its compiler.'³⁰

Even if the Boarstall cartulary provides less amusement, it remains in a class by itself, unsurpassed in elegance, decoration and refinement. At the bottom of the first folio for each manor is a coloured shield of arms which acknowledges the means by which Edmund acquired his lands and, in a crescendo of impalings and quarterings, the marriages which brought the whole ensemble together. They begin simply and without scribal comment, with the Marmion arms at Checkendon, the Rede arms at Standhill and Gatehampton, and the

²⁷ *Boarstall Cartulary*, pp. 66, 149.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 269–70, 87. The indenture is at the bottom of fol. 10v in the Boarstall section between deeds of 1272 and 1273, all of these relating to Adingrave, a manor acquired by John FitzNigel in 1279. Edmund's own inquisition post mortem is not entered. For this see *CIPM*, Henry VII, i, nos. 465–7.

²⁹ For a list of most of the surviving examples see G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain. A Short Catalogue* (London, 1958). Davis comments on most being simply written with business-like competence. See, for the very different forms of production, the roll for the Moleyns family (BL, Egerton Roll, 8762) or the huge volume for the Beauchamps (Add. MS 28024), neither of which contains any colour. Harley, MS 392 (Gainsford cartulary); Add. MS 37671 (another Segrave cartulary); and Sloane MS 986 (Braybroke) have some headings in red. BL Egerton, MS 3724 (Mohun) has some summaries of documents and some narrative analysis of these in red to give them greater prominence.

³⁰ M. R. James, 'The Anlaby Chartulary', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 31 (1934), 337–47. This cartulary, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS 329, is decorated with several coats of arms and some amateur sketches of members of Thomas Anlaby's family, including himself. See Kari Anne Rand, *The Index of Middle English Prose. Handlist xviii: Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College Cambridge and the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 55–9 for a description of the contents.

FitzNigel arms at Boarstall. In this, by far the largest section of the cartulary, the introductory page is elegantly and lavishly decorated with four elaborately drawn initials, the first two surrounded with flowers and foliage (see Plate 9). Fine decoration is maintained throughout with red filigree marginal scrolls down the left-hand side and capitals in blue, some filled in with faces or foliage in red. Full recognition is afforded to the historic marriages which account for the family's social progress, each of which is recorded in red and marked with an appropriate shield. The marriage of Joan FitzNigel and John Haudlo is noted, making specific reference to a royal licence of Edward I allowing the couple to enter the property and observing that they had occupied their lands in peace. Proudly drawn beneath are the impaled arms of FitzNigel and Haudlo.³¹ Next comes the descent from this couple to their son Richard who married Isabelle, daughter of Almaric, lord St Amand (d. 1310)³² – a baronial connection not to be overlooked to be sure – and had three children. Their son, Edmund, notes the scribe again, enjoyed the estates in peace but died leaving the property to be divided between his sisters, the youngest of whom, Elizabeth, married Edmund de la Pole. They too, the reader is told, enjoyed the peaceful occupation of their lands. Below the rubrics are the two shields, first, quarterly Haudlo and FitzNigel impaling St Amand and second, de la Pole impaling Haudlo and FitzNigel quarterly.³³ What follows are the records of the process of partitioning the lands between the Haudlo sisters which ultimately left Elizabeth securing the whole of the Boarstall estate.³⁴

Story-like, the scribe next records the marriages of the two daughters of Elizabeth and Edmund de la Pole, namely Elizabeth's to Ingram Bruyn and Katherine's to Robert James and, most importantly, the 1394 fine by which, for 500 marks, Ingram and Elizabeth settled Boarstall upon the younger sister in perpetuity. Between a heading in red and the text of the fine is the coat of arms of James impaling quarterly FitzNigel and Haudlo.³⁵ After this comes the record of the deaths of Edmund and Elizabeth de la Pole and the peaceful entry to, and occupation of, the estates by Robert and Katherine James.³⁶ The family history next proceeds to its grand finale, namely the birth of Christine James, her marriage to Edmund Rede the Elder, the deaths of Robert and Katherine and of Edmund and Christine, and the entry of Edmund Rede into his own 'quamdiu deo placuerit'. It is gloriously, positively triumphantly, celebrated with two elaborate shields which encompass the entire descent, firstly, for the

³¹ CBS, AR38/62/1, fol. 1v, in this separately foliated section, is the opening page for Boarstall; fol. 35 has the coat of arms. Salter's description does not do justice to the manuscript and he attached no great importance to it as an object. He was even selective in his noting of the coats of arms (*Boarstall Cartulary*, pp. 108, 118, 120, 123, 233). I am indebted to Sir Henry Aubrey-Fletcher for permission to reproduce pictures of the cartulary and the horn.

³² See *Complete Peerage*, xi. 297–8 for St Amand.

³³ CBS, AR38/62/1, fol. 46.

³⁴ *Boarstall Cartulary*, pp. 118–19; *CCR*, 1360–64, pp. 386–7.

³⁵ CBS, AR38/62/1, fol. 49.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 49v.

marriage of Christine and Edmund, quarterly 1st and 4th Rede, 2nd and 3rd Marmion, impaling quarterly 1st and 4th James, 2nd Haudlo, 3rd FitzNigel; and then to mark Edmund the Younger's own marriage to Agnes Cottesmore, daughter of John Cottesmore of Brightwell Baldwin and Amice Bruley, quarterly 1st Rede, 2nd James, 3rd FitzNigel, 4th Marmion, impaling quarterly, 1st and 4th Cottesmore, 2nd and 3rd Bruley.³⁷ A final shield showing the James arms is drawn at the foot of the first folio of the section on Rush Court and Clapcot. Here it was necessary to record that the grandfather of Edmund the Elder's wife Christine, John James (d. 1396), had married another Christine, the daughter and heir of John Anesty and that it was thus through their son, Robert James that the Redes had eventually acquired these manors. The final section of the cartulary dealing with Wallingford was added later by a third scribe.³⁸ Though it has its own folio numbers, no shield of arms was drawn below the introductory heading which merely states that this is a transcript of the deeds, giving no details of the descent, though the deeds which follow show clearly that this too was James property. Perhaps the most remarkable survival in the cartulary is the map of Boarstall which forms the first page of that independent section of the cartulary for the principal manor. Precisely when it was drawn is a little uncertain. P. D. A. Harvey suggests that it was executed between 1444 and 1446. He concludes that the map 'was drawn to embellish the cartulary, not to illustrate or prove any particular contention of the book's owner', adding that it was simply intended as the frontispiece to a work that would start with Rede's chief property, yet everything about the manuscript, above all the heraldry, suggests a man trying to prove his respectability and gentility, and possibly too certain rights to these estates.³⁹

The map shows the gatehouse and the main residence together with the surrounding fields and woods, many of which are named, but it also tells a story. In the foreground is a man kneeling whilst handing a boar's head impaled on a

³⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 54. The verso of the preceding folio has the heading for an agreement made between Robert James and William Wilicotes about Headington Quarry but the scribe has not copied the instrument and the top two-thirds of fol. 54 have been left blank for deeds that were never entered. The sense of a carefully prepared narrative is very striking here. A memorial brass on the chancel floor in Brightwell Baldwin church shows Sir John Cottesmore, his wife Amice Bruley with their respective coats of arms and their eighteen children. On the north wall of the chancel a second brass shows the couple kneeling in prayer before a now lost image of the Trinity; it states that only eight of the children had survived. Norris comments upon the rare but effective practice of two brasses in one church bringing more attention to the deceased: *Monumental Brasses. The Craft* (London, 1978), p. 62. For an illustration see M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses. The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society, 1894–1984* (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 160, 168. For a biography of John Cottesmore see *Oxford DNB*.

³⁸ For a description of the scribes see P. D. A. Harvey, 'Boarstall, Buckinghamshire, 1444–46', *Local Maps and Plans From Medieval London*, ed. R. A. Skelton and P. D. A. Harvey (Oxford, 1986), p. 218.

³⁹ CBS, AR/32/68/1, fol. 1. Harvey, 'Boarstall', suggests that the map was the work of Scribe A who entered deeds down to 27 April 1446 before handing over to Scribe B. Harvey also explains how the book was most likely assembled.

sword to a king. At the latter's wrist hangs a horn and he presents the kneeling figure with a shield of arms of the FitzNigels. The arms are *argent a fess gules between in chief two crescents gules and in base a hunting horn stringed vert* (see Plate 9). Simultaneously, the king points with his left hand to the land called Deerhide. This appears to make reference to what historians have long regarded as purely a legend, that Boarstall owes its name to a feat of forestry performed by a certain Nigel who, as Edward the Confessor's forester of Bernwood, slew a boar and presented it to the king.⁴⁰ If it was merely a legend, it was evidently one that Sir Edmund knew well and treasured. Had he in fact created it?⁴¹

The coat of arms almost certainly appears to have been invented by Edmund. There is no reference in the records of the College of Arms of arms being granted or confirmed to anyone called FitzNigel, and in 1579 virtually the same coat of arms was granted to William Neale of Warnford, Hertfordshire.⁴² The Boarstall section of the cartulary begins with a story, not a deed, namely that William, son of Nigel, held a hide of land in Boarstall called Deerhide, by descent from pre-conquest ancestors by the service of one horn 'quod est carta predictae foreste' and 50s in rent. A forester called Nigel is mentioned in an agreement with Missenden Abbey about an acre of land in Boarstall only in 1169.⁴³ The first deeds in the cartulary relating to Deerhide are inquisitions of 1230 and 1265, which make reference to the 50s but not to the horn. However, in 1266, in an inquisition held at nearby Brill, it was stated that William FitzNigel held the forestership of Bernwood 'per unum cornu, que est carta predictae foreste' and owed 10s for the land and 50s for the forest. An inquisition taken after the death of John FitzNigel in 1289 records the deceased's rights to one hide of land containing sixty acres of arable in Deerhide but says nothing about the horn. Inquisitions of 1419 and 1432 for Edmund de la Pole and Robert James respectively confirm only that Boarstall was held of the king in return for the

⁴⁰ Maurice Keen writes that canting arms could make a play on a name but 'wit and learning could be applied to fit a coat and its chargers to their bearer': *Chivalry*, p. 130. A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire* (Cambridge, 1925), pp. 115–16 make it clear that the name owes nothing to a boar. The cartulary does not name the king and it seems that it was White Kennett who started the idea that it was Edward the Confessor: Kennett, *Parochial Antiquities*, i. 71. None of the sixteenth-century heraldic glass in the hall of Boarstall Gatehouse corresponds to the arms shown in the cartulary. Professor Richard Marks kindly examined and dated the glass with me on a visit to Boarstall.

⁴¹ G. Lipscomb, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham*, 4 vols (London, 1847), i. 55 expressed a degree of scepticism and more recently so did Harvey, 'Boarstall', p. 217, fn. 3.

⁴² William Hunt, Windsor Herald, obligingly searched the typescript of the *Dictionary of British Arms. Medieval Ordinary* which lists the arms known to have existed from 1127, the earliest known coat of arms, to 1530. The Neale arms are deemed to be identical since new coats of arms have to differ in two ways from an existing one and in this case only the tincture is different, the hunting horn being gules stringed vert.

⁴³ *Boarstall Cartulary*, p. 76; *Cartulary of Missenden Abbey*, part 3, ed. J. G. Jenkins, Buckinghamshire Record Society, xii (1962), pp. 73–4 where the name Borchestal is used for Boarstall. There are two deeds here relating to Boarstall but neither appears in the cartulary.

keeping of Shotover, Stowood and Bernwood forests and was worth 60s.⁴⁴ On 2 and 3 October 1452 at courts held at Thame and Long Crendon, respectively, a minute record was made of the privileges and profits of the foresters of Shotover and Bernwood, respectively, in the court of Richard, duke of York, then Justice of the king's forests south of Trent.⁴⁵ Edmund Rede had been summoned to prove his right as keeper of these forests, presumably because some kind of challenge had been made to his position though there is no hint of this in the cartulary. Attending in person, Edmund set out the privileges and profits of the forests and his right to hold a messuage and a hide of land in Boarstall called Deerhide 'from a time of which no memory is the contrary'. Edmund referred to some of the payments from his tenants falling due on 'the horned day' though he did not recite the old story of the huntsman. Was this because it was largely his own invention and the nearest he could get to it was by indirect reference to the horn? The use of this word in this context, however, certainly suggests that there was indeed some ancient and well-established association with a horn.⁴⁶

The use of horns as a symbol of office is well documented. An inquisition in October 1433 on the death of Robert Plumpton recorded that he had owed the service of winding a horn and chasing the wolves in Sherwood Forest for an estate called Wolfhuntland, though the horn which he presumably had has not survived.⁴⁷ Tenurial horns are rare and it is particularly gratifying that the Boarstall horn is indeed extant (see Plate 10).⁴⁸ An animal horn, 1 foot 10 inches long made up of two parts riveted together in the middle, this remarkable object is decorated with two mid-fifteenth-century incised silver gilt bands with scalloped edges, one to hide the join and the other at the end. The mouthpiece is of a similar material. There is a slot for a baldric or cord on the upper side. Kept with the horn are four brass pendants decorated with fleur-de-lys, which

⁴⁴ *Boarstall Cartulary*, pp. 75–6, 168–9, 163–5, the quotation on p. 170.

⁴⁵ That Richard, duke of York was active on the king's behalf despite his disgrace following the incident at Dartford in February/March 1452 is of considerable interest. He had succeeded to the office in July 1447 but it was not until 2 July 1453 that it was granted to his rival, Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset. He was evidently active in the office in December 1452 when William de Lovell was restored to woodland which York had seized on the edge of Wychwood, another Oxfordshire forest: *CPR, 1446–52*, pp. 66, 83, 334, 413; *1452–61*, pp. 26, 88. In trying to construct York's itinerary in 1452, Johnson suggested that York was perhaps at Fotheringhay on 2 October for the birth of his youngest son, Richard of Gloucester, but it now seems that he was at work in Oxfordshire: P. Johnson, *Richard Duke of York, 1411–1460* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 119–20. I am indebted to Dr James Ross of the National Archives who confirmed that the original record does not survive and who provided copies of documents used below.

⁴⁶ *Boarstall Cartulary*, pp. 192–7, the quotation on p. 196.

⁴⁷ TNA, London, Chancery Inquisitions Post Mortem, C139/57/5.

⁴⁸ CBS, AR38/62/2. Eight tenurial horns survive. Joseph C. Bridge, 'Horns', *Architectural, Archaeological and Historic Society for the County and City of Chester and North Wales*, new series xi (1905), pp. 85–166; P. Boughton, *Catalogue of Silver in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester* (Chichester, 2000), pp. 163–7 for the Delamere horn. According to a late tradition the latter was blown on the morning of fair days to indicate that the tolls payable belonged to the earl of Chester. I am greatly indebted to Diana Dunn of the University of Chester for these references.

were probably some form of decorative link on the baldric,⁴⁹ and a fragment of brass engraved with a horn hanging from a belt with a buckle, not unlike that hanging from the king's wrist as drawn on the Boarstall map.⁵⁰ The brass plate engraved with a horn is pierced with a small hole that suggests that it formed part of a decoration once fixed to a monumental brass or tomb.⁵¹ Edmund's attachment to the horn was maintained during his life and the one surviving deed of 1459 is sealed, not with Edmund's coat of arms but with a signet of a stringed hunting horn.⁵² His last word on the subject invoked the legendary hero of Boarstall in full, for in his testament he left his heir apparent, along with all those documents, 'a great black horn harnessed with silver gilt which horn' (and here he writes almost verbatim what was given at the start of his cartulary) 'was *the first charter of the office of the forest* [my italics], of Bernwood and given by the king to a certain Nigel with a leather tunic of my ancestor long before the conquest of England and another horn harnessed with silver, pounced with letters and braunchis'.⁵³ This leaves open the distinct probability that the surviving horn belonged to Edmund and that he possibly had it made

⁴⁹ The Tutbury horn with its baldric attached by means of an armorial brass linkage can be seen in J. Cherry, 'Symbolism and Survival: Medieval Horns of Tenure', *The Antiquaries Journal* 69 (1989), plate xxi.

⁵⁰ The Victoria and Albert Museum dated the horn in 1983. There survives too a sixteenth-century signet ring with initials said to be 'ID'. C. Oman, *British Rings, 800–1914* (London, 1974), p. 51. See M. Pegge, 'Of the Horn as a Charter or Instrument of Conveyance', *Archaeologia* 3 (1775), pp. 1–20. The Society of Antiquaries had examined the horn in 1772 and believed it to be made of bison or buffalo. The illustration of it in plate 1 shows the pendants, the brass plate and the ring attached to the horn though the plate and ring can never having formed part of the ensemble. The Delamere horn is thought to have been made of bison, probably imported from eastern Germany: Boughton, *Catalogue of Silver*, p. 164.

⁵¹ This fragment is listed in *The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire*, ed. W. Slack, H. M. Stuchfield and Philip Whittemore (London, 1994), p. 8 but without naming a possible candidate for the brass. It may have been a piece of decoration from Rede's tomb though the tomb in Boarstall Church, if it be Edmund's, does not suggest that he was buried under a monumental brass. See also the *Antiquaries Journal* 89 (1867), 112, plate 19. The brass of a hunting horn in Bexley church, Kent, probably for Henry Castelleyn c.1407 closely resembles the fragment though it also encloses a shield of arms: W. D. Belcher, *Kentish Brasses*, 2 vols (1888, 1905), i. 12. I owe these references to Professor Nigel Saul of Royal Holloway College, London. In Chaddeley Corbett church (Worcs.) the early sixteenth-century brass of Thomas Forest with a fragment of the original inscription describes him as keeper of Dunclent Park. His shield of arms contains arrows and a hunting horn.

⁵² CBS, D/AF/3/2.

⁵³ *Boarstall Cartulary*, p. 289. That such objects were precious cannot be in any doubt and in 1515 Thomas Butler, earl of Ormond, left very careful instructions in his will regarding the 'lytle whyte horne of ivory garnysshed at both thendes with golde and a corse thereunto of whygte sylke barred with barres of gold and a tyret of golde theruppon the wych was myn auncestours at fyrst tym they were called to honour and hath sythen contynually remayned in the same blode for wych cause my said Lord and father comanded me upon his blessing that I shuld doo my devour to cause it to contynew styll in my blode'. TNA, Prob11/18, fol. 64v; *Complete Peerage*, x. 131–3 which adds, without any reference, that this horn was claimed to be the one out of which St Thomas of Canterbury drank.

to complement and perhaps authenticate the story which he had had drawn on his map. Bishop White Kennett recorded that at the time of writing his history in 1695 there was a scene of the presentation of the boar's head carved on a bedstead in the house, an object presumably then already of some antiquity for it to merit mention.⁵⁴ If Edmund had made this all up it appears that he had done so extremely effectively for the traditions surrounding the horn and the cartulary proved to be a long time in dying. In 1826, Mary, an illegitimate daughter of Sir John Aubrey who was then the owner of Boarstall, tried, upon her father's death, to hold on to the cartulary and the horn, but counsel for Aubrey's nephew, to whom the estates then passed, successfully argued that the cartulary and the horn were in effect the deeds of Boarstall and had to remain with the property. When the heir received the items from the executors, which included 'an old Brass Ring bearing the Impress of a Horn' – was this Sir Edmund's signet? – he signed an undertaking to 'keep and preserve the said several articles for those Persons who may succeed me as Proprietor of the said manor of Boarstall'.⁵⁵

Just as Edmund's cartulary celebrated his family and his connections, so too did his books. His testament of 1487 makes mention of twenty-four named volumes, and also contains phrases such as 'all my books of English law'.⁵⁶ His wife Katherine was to have one of his two copies of John Gower's work. To William, his grandson and heir, he bequeathed the second Gower, Upton's *De studio militari*, a book of the chronicles of England,⁵⁷ Albertanus of Brescia's *De arte tacendi et loquendi*, and a life of Alexander, along with various prayer books and the administrative documents, mentioned above, relating to the estates and their management. To his son Alan he left his 'de obsessione Troge'; and a composite volume containing the seven penitential psalms, *Dirige* and commendations. His son, Thomas, a clerk, was to receive a book of matins, a Bible, the *Medulla grammatica* (a Latin vocabulary), his book of Bonaventure, and other unspecified volumes. His executor, Richard Hall, was to have the book of Plato with beasts, birds and herbs depicted in it and a book of assizes of English law, singled out from the greater collection of law books which had been bequeathed to William. What exactly Rede's two copies of Gower comprised is not stated. William's copy also included the tract, *Three Kings of Coleyn*, but this is not now, and may never have been, in Rede's surviving copy of the *Confessio amantis*.⁵⁸ This volume is decorated with ten shields of arms which appear centred at the bottom of the folios hanging from a bracket. There are two of the Rede and Marmion arms and one each of those of FitzNigel, Haudlo, St

⁵⁴ Kennett, *Parochial Antiquities*, i. 71.

⁵⁵ CBS, D219/67/ 1, 2. Only the old brass ring has not survived.

⁵⁶ *Boarstall Cartulary*, pp. 287–91, the quotation on p. 289.

⁵⁷ BL, Cotton MS Galba E. viii is a copy of the *Brut* which belonged to Rede's great-grandson Leonard, conceivably the chronicles mentioned in the testament.

⁵⁸ For the English version of John of Hildesheim's *Historia trium regem* see *The Three Kings of Cologne*, ed. C. Horstman (EETS, o.s., lxxxv, 1886).

Amand, de la Pole, James and Cottesmore. They are nothing like as finely or carefully drawn as those in the cartulary.⁵⁹ Dr Kathleen Scott has identified two border artists in the Gower, the second of whom she suggests was probably also responsible for the decoration in the Upton manuscript.⁶⁰ Characteristically, Rede's ownership of Nicholas Upton's *De studio militari* is declared on the opening folio with an illuminated capital containing the full arms of Edmund and his wife Agnes and their ancestors, identical with those on the cartulary.⁶¹ A rather charming piece of armorial flattery by the artist for his patron was the use in the margins of the Rede arms on f. 58 against Upton's discussion of pheasants and of the James arms on f. 52 next to that of unicorns.

Of Edmund Rede's three surviving books, the one of greatest interest to historians for its richness in personal details is Christ Church, Oxford MS 98, a late thirteenth-century psalter produced in northern France at Douai or St Omer and decorated by artists whose work has been identified by Alison Stones in other manuscripts.⁶² It contains a calendar which includes feasts of local St Omer interest, to which have been added the feasts of the translation of St Dominic (24 May) and of St Dominic Confessor (5 August).⁶³ The fact that the calendar does not include the feast of St Louis (canonised in 1297) is not a guarantee that the book was made before this date, but the omission becomes increasingly unlikely as time wears on. The art historical evidence is consistent with production in the last decade of the thirteenth century. Amongst various marginal additions the earliest (and the only one not specifically related to the Rede family), records the death of Eleanor of Castile in 1290 (but indicating

⁵⁹ BL, Harley, MS 3490, fols 8, 11, 13v, 33, 54, 71, 94v, 146, 161v, 196v. The arms of St Amand are painted in a particularly unskilled manner. See Pearsall, 'The Rede (Boarstall) Gower', pp. 95–7 for a list of the coats of arms and discussion of some of the books bequeathed though he calls Rede's heir, William, his son.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁶¹ BL, Cotton MS Nero Ciii. I am much indebted to Harry Southcott who, in the preparation of this chapter, has generously acted as an unpaid and enthusiastic research assistant. I have benefited from his valuable criticisms of an earlier draft and from his ideas about the Upton manuscript. See above, p. 134, for this detailed quartering. See R. Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination* (London, 1975), pp. 79–80, though the arms are misread and incorrectly given as those of Edmund's second wife, Katherine, who is wrongly called a daughter of John Cottesmore. Dennys made the same errors in his note pasted into the manuscript in 1971.

⁶² For what follows I have drawn on the catalogue of the Christ Church manuscripts currently being prepared by Professor Ralph Hanna of Keble College, Oxford, and on A. Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts Made in France, 1260–1320* (forthcoming). Alison Stones generously allowed me to consult her entry on MS 98. I am hugely indebted to Roger Middleton of the University of Nottingham who helped throughout the preparation of this chapter with the manuscript, the hands and the calendar entries. Only Pearsall has made any recent reference in print to Rede's connection with this book: Pearsall, 'The Rede (Boarstall) Cartulary', p. 96 where it is mentioned in passing.

⁶³ According to the *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History*, ed. C. R. Cheney (London, 1970), p. 49, fn 1 the feast of St Dominic Confessor was celebrated in England on 4 August and its celebration on the following day is associated with Paris.

27 rather than 28 November).⁶⁴ In common with so many prayer books of the period, the psalter suffered in the hands of its later owners who erased the word pope where it appeared on the calendar and indeed so determined was the then owner to remove the name of Thomas Becket, which has been totally obliterated at 29 December, that he has inadvertently erased that of St Thomas the Apostle on 3 July as well.⁶⁵ Who owned the psalter in the fourteenth century is unknown but when it eventually came into the possession of the Redes, eight family events were added to the calendar.⁶⁶ Sir Edmund makes mention in his testament of 'two psalters, one with two silver gilt clasps pounced with unicorns heads' and 'my very small psalter with silver gilt clasps', all of which were to go to his grandson, William.⁶⁷ Measuring 235mm by 173mm, MS 98 is not particularly large and it may be that this is indeed the small psalter to which the will refers. At some stage it was cropped, possibly when it was rebound in the sixteenth century in brown leather, for John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1604). The spine is decorated with golden Tudor roses and Whitgift's armorial is stamped on the front cover.⁶⁸ Whitgift had a substantial personal library of over four thousand volumes and at his death the valuable manuscripts were given to Trinity College, Cambridge, with any duplicates going to Peterhouse. The more ordinary volumes remained at Lambeth for his successor Richard Bancroft who included them in his foundation of the Lambeth Palace library.⁶⁹

The entries for the Rede family all point to the ownership of Sir Edmund

⁶⁴ The entry reads 'Obitus Elianore consortis Edwardus Regis An[glie]'. For the controversies surrounding the date of Eleanor's death see D. Crook, 'The Last Days of Eleanor of Castile: The Death of a Queen in Nottinghamshire, November 1290', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* 94 (1990), 17–28. This is a unique hand – Hand A – of uncertain date but somewhat earlier than the other four hands (referred to hereafter as B, C, D and E) that are all from the fifteenth century. See below for further comment on the dating.

⁶⁵ See Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours. English People and Their Prayers, 1240–1570* (New Haven, CT, 2006), pp. 147–70 for recent discussion of the removal of popes and saints from prayer books in the Tudor period. Popes Urban (25 May), Leo (28 June), Stephen (2 August), Mark (7 October), Calixtus (14 October) and Clement (23 November) are all amended.

⁶⁶ In cataloguing the Christ Church manuscripts, Kitchen noted these entries inaccurately and none of the authors who has written about Rede has ever examined these in detail or even commented upon them though they add considerably to what is known of Rede's personal life: G. W. Kitchen, *Catalogus Codicum MSS Qui In Bibliotheca Aedis Christi apud Oxoniensis Adservantur* (1867), pp. 43–4.

⁶⁷ *Boarstall Cartulary*, p. 89. The James coat of arms being three unicorns' heads it is possible that Sir Edmund had inherited one psalter from his mother Christine.

⁶⁸ How Whitgift acquired it is unknown. The ownership of the *Brut* by Sir Edmund's great-grandson, Leonard who was holding Boarstall in 1547, might encourage one to think that in his lifetime the psalter was still in the family. Leonard's daughter Katharine married Thomas Dynham, who died in 1563. Their son, John, entered the property in 1560 and died in 1602. I am indebted to Ian Dunn, formerly of Cheshire County Council, who identified the armorial stamp and to Dr Rowan Watson of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, who confirmed the arms as those of Whitgift from another of the archbishop's books now in the Clements Collection: V&A National Art Library, pressmark CLE EE11.

⁶⁹ For Whitgift's biography see the *Oxford DNB*. His will is TNA, Prob/11/ 103, sig. 45.

who was possibly following something of a family tradition here. Among the manuscripts of the Ewelme almshouses is a fifteenth-century paper copy, made from a psalter belonging to Edmund's great-grandfather, Sir Edmund de la Pole. The latter had received it from his mother Katherine, who had recorded the birthdays of de la Pole's children by his two wives.⁷⁰ In MS 98 the earliest family event is the death of Edmund Rede the Elder on 8 October 1430, and the death of his widow Christine is recorded for 28 March 1435.⁷¹ With greater precision, the entry for 21 November records that on Sunday in the year 1434 Edmund Rede the Younger was married to his wife Agnes.⁷² Despite the difficulty of distinguishing between this writer's *quinto* and *quarto* the year must be 1434 for 21 November to be a Sunday. However, three property settlements on 8 September 13 Henry VI, 1434, treat Edmund and Agnes as a couple and in one she is explicitly called his wife. It is possible perhaps that these settlements were made in September at their betrothal. As Agnes was still a minor in 1438 it may be that she had only just reached canonical age in November 1434.⁷³ An inquisition on Christine Rede, dated 9 June 1435, records the descent of land to Agnes, 'now wife of the said Edmund', implying that it was a relatively recent event although by then they had been married for nearly seven months.⁷⁴ Agnes was one of that great brood of children depicted on the memorial brass of John Cottesmore and his wife Amice Bruley in Brightwell Baldwin church. What the relationship between Edmund and his parents-in-law was like can only be a matter of speculation. Between 1416 and 1419 transfers of property which eventually came to Edmund Rede's father were witnessed by John Cottesmore

⁷⁰ Bodl. MS Ewelme, DD. A1/4. Its survival among the Ewelme papers of the Chaucer and de la Pole families suggests that the psalter itself passed down through this junior branch of the de la Poles but whether to the James family is impossible to say. It is just possible that Sir Edmund Rede counted this psalter among the three which he owned.

⁷¹ 'Obitus Edmundi Rede A^o domini millesimo cccc^{mo} xxx^o littera dominicalis A.' The use of the dominical letters is unusual and might imply that it was a churchman who made at least some of the entries. A possible candidate is Rede's son Thomas, parson of Chinnor. 'Obitus domine Cristine Rede A^o domini millesimo cccc^{mo} xxx^{mo} quinto dominicalis B' (Hand B). The writer of this note (who also wrote that for 21 November) distinguishes poorly between the abbreviations of *quarto* and *quinto*. That *quinto* is the correct reading here is confirmed by Christine's inquisition post mortem. See below. *Boarstall Cartulary*, p. 166.

⁷² 'Isto die domenico Edmundus Rede & Agnes uxor/ eius/ fuerunt disposa/ti A^[o] domini millesimo cccc^{mo} xxx^{mo} quarto.' The text between // is written above the line with a caret (Hand B).

⁷³ *Boarstall Cartulary*, pp. 32, 49, 63. For Agnes's minority see the History of Parliament Trust, London, unpublished article on Edmund Rede for 1422–1509, section by Charles Moreton. I am extremely grateful to Dr Moreton and the History of Parliament Trust for allowing me to consult this article and to Dr Linda Clark for reading this paper in draft. There may have been as much as nine years between Edmund and Agnes.

⁷⁴ *Boarstall Cartulary*, p. 167. The three property settlements appear in the cartulary under Checkendon, Standhill and Gatehampton. The Standhill conveyance follows on from a deed dated 7 September 1434 which is certainly the correct date as Thomas Chaucer, who was one of the witnesses, died on 18 November. The year is also confirmed by the fact that the settlements all involve Christine who died on 28 March 1435.

and indeed also by Amice's father, William.⁷⁵ Cottesmore was dead by the time his son-in-law was beginning to play a part in local government though the chief justice and Edmund's father had long served together on commissions.⁷⁶ It surely says something that Cottesmore's son-in-law was chosen to help administer the judge's estates after the latter died intestate.⁷⁷ The addition of John Cottesmore's death on 30 August 1439 in the calendar of the psalter suggests that he was a valued member of the family but the entry may owe more to Agnes than her husband and is certainly written in a unique hand.⁷⁸ By Agnes, Edmund Rede had six children, of whom three are known from Edmund's testamentary arrangements. As has been seen his sons, Thomas, a clerk and Alan, were to receive books. His daughter Joan Wykeham was left a plain cup and a round necklace of gold pounced with heads of unicorns, with a pair of amber beads.⁷⁹ Edmund made no mention of his eldest son, William, who is known from a grant to father and son by the Austin Friars in Oxford in 1456 and who was alive at least until 1467 as his own son, the William who was Edmund's eventual heir and chief beneficiary, was described as twenty-two years and more in Edmund's inquisition in 1489.⁸⁰ The absence of any mention of the elder William Rede is significant. The last entry in the calendar, as shall be seen, was made for the year 1465. One can only wonder if the death of his firstborn was just too overwhelming, for the calendar records that by this date Edmund's family had quite likely already been twice diminished.

The psalter records the deaths of two children of Edmund Rede, Nicholas and Amice. It is possible but unlikely that these were the children of Edmund Rede the Elder. There is no mention of them in any other records, most importantly not in Robert James's will which, as has been seen, referred only to a granddaughter, Alice Rede.⁸¹ In all probability the daughter of the psalter was named after her grandmother Amice Bruley, a name which does not occur in the Rede pedigree earlier. The year of Nicholas's death on 21 January is somewhat problematic for it is given as 1444, though by modern reckoning this should be 1445. The use of the dominical letter D spreads further confusion, for whilst it would be correct for most of 1444 this was a leap year, so until the bissextile day (24 February) the dominical letter would have been E. By 1445, the year which ought to be intended in the entry, the dominical letter would have been C. There is no year between 1439 and 1450 when the dominical letter in January would be D.⁸² It is possible that the scribe made a mistake,

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11. For a biography of William Bruley see *House of Commons*, ii. 395.

⁷⁶ *CPR*, 1416–22, pp. 140, 458; 1422–36, pp. 221, 495, 568; 1429–36, pp. 70, 72.

⁷⁷ *CCR*, 1435–41, pp. 294–5.

⁷⁸ '*Obitus Johannis Cottismore justiciarius Aº domini millesimo cccc^{mo} xxxix littera dominicalis. D'* Hand C.

⁷⁹ *Boarstall Cartulary*, p. 290. Once again the unicorn decoration may mean that this was a James heirloom.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 223; *CIPM Henry VII*, no. 465. For the Austin Friary grant see below, p. 147.

⁸¹ See above, p. 129.

⁸² '*Obitus Nicholai filij Edmundi Rede Aº domini millesimo cccc^{mo} xliiiiº littera dominicalis. D'*

failing to allow for the fact that the letter changes at 1 January even though the year of grace does not until 25 March. The death of Amice, in the same hand, is given as 30 June 1444 with the correct dominical letter.⁸³ The deaths of two young children within a short space of time was a deep misfortune and one might wonder if family losses provided some impetus for the drawing up of the cartulary, interestingly confused in the dating clause between 1444 or 1445.⁸⁴

Chronologically the next entry in the psalter is the marriage on Thursday 29 January 1461 of Edmund Rede and his second wife, Katherine Green, daughter of Walter Green of Hayes, the widow of John Gaynesford of Crowhurst, Surrey. Curiously there is no notice in the calendar of the death of Agnes and the exact date remains unknown. Edmund did, however, leave instructions in his will for both his wives to be remembered daily for seven years in divine services to be said by three Oxford priests. Katherine had been widowed in July 1460 but there is no indication of how Katherine and Edmund came together.⁸⁵ John Gaynesford had held some estates in Oxfordshire, including the manor of Hampton Poyle in which Katherine had a jointure and this may have made her an attractive prospect for Edmund though he was more than generous to Katherine in setting up a new jointure for her in Checkendon, Stoke Marmion, Standhill and Gatehampton.⁸⁶ The process of settlement began in the spring but the manor of Gatehampton was not finally settled upon the couple jointly until July 1461, reflecting perhaps the speed with which the couple had married after Gaynesford's death. In marrying Katherine, Edmund added three step-children to his family and to judge by his bequests the two families became fairly close.⁸⁷ By his testament, George Gaynesford, was to have 'my second mare with her foal after the best, called a "stodmare"' and William, who was also a witness, was to have 'my third horse with foal after the best and two chronicles of England,

Kitchen transcribes the abbreviated name as *Ricardi*, leaving out the *h* but there can be no doubt, by comparing the *R* of Rede that the first letter of the deceased's name is an *N*.

⁸³ 'Obitus Amicie filie Edmundi Rede A^o domini millesimo cccc^{mo} xliij^o littera dominicalis. D.'

⁸⁴ See above, p. 131, for the confusion about the dating of the cartulary. There is no way of telling whether the scribe of the Checkendon section of the cartulary which has the confusion of dates is also the writer of these two entries in the psalter but the coincidence of confusion is notable.

⁸⁵ 'Isto die iouis *Edmundus* Rede armiger & *Katerina* vxor eius fuerunt disposonsat[i] apud londonum anno/ domini/ millesimo cccc^{mo} lx^{mo}.' The text between // is written above the line with caret. The year 1460 is 1461 by modern reckoning. Katherine's parentage is known from Gaynesford's brass in Crowhurst church, Surrey: *Boarstall Cartulary*, p. 291; *CPR, 1452–61*, p. 599; *House of Commons*, iii. 231–2 for a biography of Walter Green which gives Rede as Katherine's first husband.

⁸⁶ *Boarstall Cartulary*, p. 40. For details of these arrangements and the subsequent controversy which they caused between Edmund Rede and his eldest son see Moreton, 'Edmund Rede'.

⁸⁷ At his death Gaynesford left a son John by his first wife. John is not mentioned in Rede's testamentary dispositions. Besides a daughter, Elizabeth, he also had a daughter Anna who married Richard Bowell: *Boarstall Cartulary*, p. ix. Her brass in Checkendon church records her death in 1480. Edmund also left bequests to an unnamed number of godchildren of both himself and Katherine.

bound and written on paper, one called John Harding and the other Rakyell de Troye'. Elizabeth Gaynesford was left a piece of gold jewellery 'unum monile de Ihesu'⁸⁸ with a small standing mazer with a cover, bordered in silver gilt. She was married to Richard Hall⁸⁹ who, besides the books mentioned above, was to receive 'my second male foal after the best, three or four years old, at his free choice'. Richard too was a witness, the recipient of the residue of Edmund's goods, along with Katherine, an executor both of this and the will and was the person who proved both in June 1489. By the will William Gaynesford was 'for his good and trewe service to me before this tyme done and hereafter to me during my lif to be done' to have Rede's chief residence in Wallingford.⁹⁰

One final entry in the psalter stands apart from all the rest. It proudly records in bold script along the bottom of the calendar which, given its size and length, was the only place for it to be set, how, on Ascension Day 1465, Edmund was made a knight in the tower of London by the excellent prince King Edward IV (see Plate 11).⁹¹ Rede's advancement as a knight of the Bath at the age of forty-four is sometimes given as Sunday 26 May, the day of Elizabeth Woodville's coronation, but the ceremony of the Bath had in fact taken place on the preceding Thursday.⁹² On the following Saturday the queen was escorted by the new knights through Cheapside to the palace of Westminster and in the feasting which followed the ceremony the knights performed certain services, including carrying the spice plates.⁹³ It must indeed have been a memorable occasion for this entry counts among the rarer additions to the calendar pages of a medieval prayer book.⁹⁴ It surely marked the summit of Edmund's career but the record of this is so meagre that his promotion is not easily explained. His public life cannot be counted remarkable though as a royal servant, first of Henry VI and then of Edward IV, it might be argued that he had done better than some to avoid the hazards of fifteenth-century political life. The roles of sheriff and peace commissioner between 1438 and 1460 in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire hardly marked him out for advancement, nor did his service as an esquire of hall and chamber of the royal household from 1441. There is no evidence that he trained as a lawyer as his grandfather had done though his law books suggest a man of some legal adroitness.⁹⁵

⁸⁸ *Boarstall Cartulary*, p. 290.

⁸⁹ He is called Richard Hall of Swerford in the will: *ibid.*, p. 295.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 290–1, 294.

⁹¹ 'Die jous in festo assencionis domini Edmundus Rede fattus est miles in turri londoni sub excellentissimo principi domini Edwardi Regis anglie iiij^{to} A^o regni sui v^{to}.'

⁹² W. A. Shaw, *The Knights of England*, 2 vols (London, 1906), i. 134–5; *Boarstall Cartulary*, p. 231.

⁹³ G. Smith, *The Coronation of Elizabeth Wydeville Queen Consort of Edward IV on May 26th 1465* (London, 1935), pp. 7, 20, 23.

⁹⁴ See Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, pp. 45–52 where the examples of additions to the margins are of family or more devotional content save only for the list of notable battles of the Wars of the Roses which was added to Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. MS 54, fols. 2v, 3v.

⁹⁵ Rede's career has been charted in Moreton, 'Edmund Rede'.

Edmund may possibly have owed his promotion to his connections with that powerful Thames Valley network of Thomas Chaucer and, through Thomas's daughter, Alice, William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, though the latter was, of course, a distant cousin. Whilst it is true that Alice gained socially by marrying an earl, she gave Suffolk an *entrée* to Thames Valley society.⁹⁶ Thomas Chaucer acted several times as a witness and feoffee for Rede property, along with Robert James, who held two carucates of land from Chaucer in Wallingford, and John Cottesmore, and all of these predate the marriage of Alice Chaucer and de la Pole.⁹⁷ In September 1449 Edmund was one of a five-man commission, along with the duke of Suffolk, to treat for a loan for the war in France though this, fortunately for Rede, seems to have been as closely involved with Suffolk, at least publicly, as he got, and he certainly never came to be associated with the Suffolk clique despite his position in the household.⁹⁸ On the only occasion of his election to parliament, in November 1450, he did not attract the criticism that was levelled at other members of the household whose removal was demanded by the commons.⁹⁹ He had, nevertheless, received a pardon in 1446 and did so again in November 1452.¹⁰⁰ Rede's bookishness offers an obvious additional link to Chaucer's daughter, particularly via Nicholas Upton. The latter had been in the service of Alice's second husband, Thomas Montague, earl of Salisbury, who must be regarded as one of his chief patrons, and if Rede did indeed know Upton this may well have been through Alice Chaucer.¹⁰¹ Alice's influence on politics had come as a result of her engineering her only son's marriage to Edward IV's sister.¹⁰² In East Anglia the duchess had taken an interest in who was in power in the late 1450s; and in October 1460 Friar Brackley told John Paston 'the Lady of Suffolk hath sent up hyr sone and hise wyf to my Lord of York to aske grace for a shireve', naming as one of her preferences Miles Stapleton, to whom she

⁹⁶ For Alice's influence and independence see Rowena E Archer, "How Ladies ... Who Live on Their Manors Ought to Manage Their Households and Estates": Women as Landholders and Administrators in the Later Middle Ages, *Woman is a Worthy Wight. Women in English Society, c. 1200–1500*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Far Thrupp, 1992), pp. 153–6; R. A. Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI. The Exercise of Royal Authority* (London, 1981), pp. 336–7.

⁹⁷ *Boarstall Cartulary*, pp. 10, 49, 122–3, 164, 262, 266, 267, 271, 285. For Thomas Chaucer see *House of Commons, 1386–1421*, ii. 524–32.

⁹⁸ *CPR, 1446–52*, p. 297.

⁹⁹ *PROME*, xii. 162–3.

¹⁰⁰ *Boarstall Cartulary*, pp. 149, 190. The cartulary records only the pardons of 1446 and 1452. His subsequent and repeated taking out of pardons, coincidental with moments of political crisis in 1455, 1458, 1462, 1471, 1484 and 1485 surely confirm Moreton's characterisation of Rede as 'ever cautious'. For the details of the other pardons see Moreton, 'Edmund Rede'.

¹⁰¹ Walker, 'An Edition ... of Nicholas Upton's *De studio militari*', pp. 4–9; see the biography in *Oxford DNB*. Dennys, *Heraldic Imagination*, p. 80, suggests that Upton could have known Rede personally. Alice Chaucer's books are listed in her inventory in Bodl. MS Ewelme, A47 (3) and printed in John A. A. Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme. Life Devotion and Architecture in a Fifteenth-Century Almshouse* (Aldershot, 2001), p. 287.

¹⁰² Alice's negotiations for her son's marriage are documented in a series of exchanges in *Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, 6 vols (London, 1890–1915), iv. 26–7.

was related by marriage. Whether she had any say in the appointment to sheriffs of the Thames Valley is not known though Rede and Richard Harcourt were appointed to Oxfordshire and Berkshire and Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, respectively that same year. Harcourt later married Stapleton's widow, Katherine de la Pole, and in a letter in 1470 he referred to Alice as his 'owne good lady'; he was the only other Thames Valley man to be promoted to knighthood in 1465.¹⁰³ It was not, however, until 1463 that Edmund appears for certain to have been in Alice's service, receiving a fee of £1 *p.a.* as steward of Marsh Gibbon, one of the properties of the Ewelme almshouses.¹⁰⁴ The appointment of Thomas Lee, a de la Pole feoffee, rector of Ewelme from 1467 to 1499 and a former principal of St Edmund Hall, as executor of Rede's will strengthens the evidence for there being some connection between the two families though Alice was by then long dead.¹⁰⁵ Like Alice, Edmund Rede seems to have been a survivor; both made it safely into the Yorkist camp and it is entirely possible that though the record of service to her is late it is a reflection of a very old association which may be the best explanation for Edmund's knighting. If Edmund's career was uneventful before his knighting, the same was true afterwards. Exemption from office in 1467, when he was assigned an annual tun of wine for life, as in 1447, did not in fact result in his leaving office and he continued to serve on local commissions to within five years of his death.¹⁰⁶ So far as service in war was concerned, Edmund Rede was a knight in name only. There is no record either of service in the last years of Lancastrian France or in the violent episodes of the Wars of the Roses, this last no doubt a further sign of his caution. He left to his heir 'all my tunics called "iakkis" with salletis, curas, pollaxes with all the instruments pertaining to war' but it seems that these were probably in pristine condition never having been either worn or wielded in anger.¹⁰⁷

If not a man of war, Rede was certainly a man with some religious sensibilities, indeed responsibilities, that perhaps went beyond mere convention but all of which confirm the narrow horizons of his life and his general outlook. In 1438, 'on account of their singular devotion and affection', John Clifton, prior, arranged for Edmund and Agnes, Edmund's grandparents, Robert James and Katherine de la Pole, and James's second wife, Matilda Fitzellis, and his uncle, John James, whose premature death had brought the James estates to him, and the latter's wife, to be mentioned daily in the mass in the chapel of St Mary at Dorchester-on-Thames and to celebrate *placebo* and *dirige* so that the

¹⁰³ *The Paston Letters, 1422–1509*, ed. J. Gairdner, 6 vols (London, 1904), iii, 226; *Lists of Sheriffs*, p. 108; *CPR, 1461–67*, p. 13. *Stonor Letters and Papers*, i, 112–14, the quotation on p. 114. Some forty knights were created on this occasion, the numbers varying according to the sources: C. D. Ross, *Edward IV* (London, 1975), p. 95 has the details.

¹⁰⁴ J.-P. Genet, 'Économie et société rurale en Angleterre au XV^e siècle d'après les comptes de l'hôpital d'Ewelme', *Annales Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 27 (1972), 1455.

¹⁰⁵ *Boarstall Cartulary*, p. 295; *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, v, 65; Goodall, *God's House*, pp. 125, 316.

¹⁰⁶ *CPR, 1467–77*, p. 37. For details of these commissions see Moreton, 'Edmund Rede'.

¹⁰⁷ *Boarstall Cartulary*, p. 289.

beneficiaries might attain eternal life. Further, it was agreed that after Edmund's death the names of all of them should be inserted into the martyrology of the convent. Was Edmund making a public acknowledgment of the debt he owed to the James marriage and which he had celebrated in his books?¹⁰⁸ In 1449 he secured the right to nominate chaplains to Boarstall church which the prior of St Frideswide, Oxford, had held and soon after exercised the right in favour of John Kynton granting him a messuage in Boarstall called Prysthous with a close and half a virgate of land.¹⁰⁹ In the 1440s he and Agnes had two papal licences, one for a portable altar and the other to have mass celebrated before daybreak.¹¹⁰ In 1453 he granted land to the prior of Wallingford and in 1465 assigned the priory a ninety-nine year lease of his Wallingford manors.¹¹¹ In 1456 religion, inheritance, status and perhaps a little manipulation of family history were blended in his protest that he should be recognised as the founder of the Austin friary in Oxford, though it had in fact originally been founded by Sir John Haudlo. A solemn procession was organised at which Edmund was formally received as founder and the friars granted him and his son, William, chambers at the friary for life. In 1462 Edmund, 'for the health of his soul' granted the friary the advowson of St James church, Warpsgrove, and in his will he requested that of the three Oxford priests who were to pray for him and his wives, one should be from the friary; the house itself was to receive 100 marks for repairs.¹¹² In 1479 he acquired the advowson of Chinnor church and used it to promote his son Thomas.¹¹³ In his testament, arranging that 'a breviary with notes' that had once belonged to the vill of Standhill should remain the property of the vill in case of future need, one is again confronted with his attention to detail.¹¹⁴

It seems that he had a firm desire to be associated with Oxford, unsurprising if he is judged, as he surely must be, as a man of some learning and culture. His copy of the *Confessio amantis* was made in Oxford by a continental scribe, William Salomon.¹¹⁵ More significantly, he supplied timber for the building of the Divinity School, which led to the university writing on 11 March 1453 to ask for more help, this time for much needed stone, telling him that it was sure that his intention had been to complete the work 'for true praise is for him, not who begins but who completes that he has begun'.¹¹⁶ Nine days later, the university importuned Lord Lovell for help with the completion, stating that

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 221. Lipscomb, *Buckinghamshire*, i. 63.

¹⁰⁹ *Boarstall Cartulary*, pp. 184–5, 197.

¹¹⁰ *Papal Letters, 1431–47*, pp. 303, 585.

¹¹¹ *Boarstall Cartulary*, p. 278; *Cartulary of the Medieval Archives of Christ Church*, ed. N. Denholm-Young, Oxford Historical Society, xcii (Oxford, 1931), p. 145.

¹¹² *Boarstall Cartulary*, p. 223, 229, 291, 293; *VCH Oxfordshire*, ii. 88; Lipscomb, *Buckinghamshire*, i. 63.

¹¹³ *VCH, Oxfordshire*, viii. 72.

¹¹⁴ *Boarstall Cartulary*, p. 288.

¹¹⁵ Pearsall, 'The Rede (Boarstall) Gower', p. 92.

¹¹⁶ *Epistola Academicae*, ed., H. Anstey, Oxford Historical Society, xxxv (Oxford, 1898), p. 321.

they were writing to him on the information of Edmund Rede, which suggests that Edmund was prepared to lend his name to encourage others to make a contribution. It is of note too that Alice Chaucer was similarly a benefactress of the Divinity School and the wider university.¹¹⁷ As the owner of Headington quarry Edmund was well placed to help and in the 1470s he supplied Magdalen College with stone for the chapel and timber from the forest of Shotover. He was also a feoffee in the transfer of Duddington manor, Northamptonshire, to the college.¹¹⁸ There are signs in all this patronage and organisation of a sense of duty to those ecclesiastical institutions with which he had connections. Collectively they reflect too that concern for his lands, sense of his ancestors and desire to secure his position locally that has already become apparent.

Sir Edmund Rede died on 7 June 1489. He had set down in his testament elaborate and specific arrangements for his funeral, month's mind and anniversaries, detailing the costs. In his concern to make a good end, a special reward of 6s 8d and 'a small book of *Dirige* with notes covered in white leather' was to be made to the priest who should administer the last rites to him.¹¹⁹ In his will he returned to these matters to ensure that they were properly funded in the longer term. An annual service in Boarstall church was to be financed by lands in Boarstall, Adingrave and Oakley (Bucks) and in Clapcot (Berks) being set aside for seven years; the officiating priests were to be 'good and vertuose ... and noo hunters'. Unsurprisingly for a man who had so celebrated his landed acquisitions, he made meticulous and, indeed, complex arrangements for the descent of his property. After the seven years his heir was to have the Boarstall estates and pay the executors £160. Katherine was to have the lands he had purchased in Checkendon and Standhill for her lifetime but after her death his heir would have to wait ten years before he could inherit them and only if he paid 80 marks. His son Alan and his grandsons, John and Sebastian, were also to receive lands though if they were not of 'good and virtuose disposition' these were to revert to their elder brother William.¹²⁰ This laborious partition of his lands among his heirs may have owed something to the fact that his eldest son had predeceased him. It was surely not that he no longer cared about his estates but the imperative of a single settlement to one child may have been diminished. It was nothing if not even-handed and in its way it confirmed what has been seen throughout, namely that Edmund's sense of family was notably strong.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 303–4, 322 (for Lovell), 326–7, 369; *The History of the University of Oxford. The Later Middle Ages*, ed. J. Catto and R. Evans (Oxford, 1992), p. 719.

¹¹⁸ *A Register of the Presidents, Fellow, Demies ... and Other Members of Saint Mary Magdalen College in the University of Oxford From the foundation ... to the Present Time*, ed. J. R. Bloxam (7 vols, 1853–81), ii (1857), xxix, 228, 233; *CPR*, 1467–77, pp. 557–8.

¹¹⁹ *Boarstall Cartulary*, p. 287.

¹²⁰ As has already been seen, his stepson William Gaynesford was to have Wallingford. See above, p. 144. *Ibid.*, pp. 291–4, the quotation on p. 294.

The surviving artefacts – the extraordinary Boarstall horn and its legend, the magnificent cartulary with all its heraldic embellishments, many true but some perhaps false, or at least carefully manipulated, his precious books, especially his psalter that has preserved those moments of importance to him in his long life – and the recorded details of his political career reveal indeed a man of piety and chivalry, ambitious, in a limited but determined way, to secure a place for himself in his locality. A last detail about Edmund's personal possessions is the fact that his copy of the *Confessio amantis*, was bound with St Edmund of Abingdon's *Speculum religiosorum*, which its modern editor suggests was only 'chosen to fill up the first gathering'.¹²¹ It may more surely stand, however, as final witness to Sir Edmund Rede's attachment to the Thames Valley and his sense of that place in the world that he had done so much to create and preserve.

¹²¹ Edmund of Abingdon, *Speculum religiosorum and speculum ecclesie*, ed. H. P. Forshaw, *Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi*, iii (London, 1973), p. 4.

PART II

Soldiers and Soldiering

A Roman Text on War: The *Strategemata* of Frontinus in the Middle Ages

Christopher Allmand

The military literature available to the Middle Ages was dominated by two classical texts, the *Strategemata* of Frontinus, compiled late in the first century, and the *De re militari* of Vegetius, written some time in the late fourth or early fifth century. Of these, the more significant was undoubtedly the work of Vegetius, whose influence developed steadily (and not always in a narrow, military direction) as time progressed. That, however, is no reason for ignoring Frontinus, the importance of whose work Vegetius himself acknowledged in fulsome terms,¹ and which was to bequeath the medieval world a seam of *exempla* from which to mine information and ideas regarding military practice in the classical past which might be useful to later ages.

The career of Sextus Julius Frontinus (c. 35–103 AD) was one of public service, both civil and military. The holder of high office in Rome under a number of emperors, he also served in the army in Germany and in Britain, where he was governor from c. 76 to c. 78 AD. His practical experience as Rome's water commissioner was reflected in *De aquis urbis Romae*, which describes the system of aqueducts bringing water to the city, and, written some years earlier, a work on military science, now lost, to which the *Strategemata*, composed after 84 AD, provided the evidence of stratagems taken from 'utraque lingua', 'both languages', Greek as well as Latin.²

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¹ Vegetius, *De re militari* (hereafter *DRM*), II, 3. The most recent edition is that of Michael D. Reeve, *Vegetius, Epitoma rei militaris* (Oxford, 2004). See also *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science*, trans. N. P. Milner, 2nd rev. edn (Liverpool, 1996).

² *Ivli Frontini Strategemata*, ed. R. I. Ireland (Leipzig, 1990). This edition has superseded the older *Ivli Frontini Strategematon*, ed. G. Gundermann (Leipzig, 1888). Both Frontinus' works are available in English translation in a single volume: *Frontinus, The Stratagems and the Aqueducts of Rome*, trans. C. E. Bennett (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1969). Both texts in a single manuscript may be found in Paris, BnF, nouvelle acquisition latine 626. The transmission of the manuscript tradition of the works of Frontinus is described in *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L. D. Reynolds (Oxford, 1983), pp. 166–72. *The Aqueducts* is discussed by Michael Reeve (pp. 166–70), followed by a short consideration of the *Strategemata* by Reynolds (pp. 171–2).

It is this work whose fortune and significance this essay will attempt to trace. In an introductory statement, Frontinus told his readers how it came into being. He had, he explained, already written a work on military science (*res militaris*), reducing its practices to a system. However, he felt the need to provide a complementary work, which would supply examples of the teachings and recommendations to which he had given prominence in his lost work. The title was to be a Greek one, 'στρατηγημάτων' or 'Strategematon', a collection of examples of 'wisdom and foresight' to inspire commanders, and to show them that, if modelled on those offered, their own stratagems were likely to be effective. Encouraged by a desire to save the time of busy men, and at the same time underlining the utilitarian nature of the text, he was setting out a series of situations providing real-life, historical resolutions taken from the writings of past authors, among whom Caesar and Livy, in particular, stand out.

Intended, in its author's view, to complement his own analysis of ways of getting the better of opponents, Frontinus' *Strategemata* consists of some 581 short descriptions of military events or episodes, most only a few lines long. Set out under broad headings in four books, and referred to, perhaps significantly, as 'exempla' in both Oxford, Lincoln College, lat. 100³ and in Lambeth Palace, 752, or as 'Dicta et exempla ducum in bello' in Vatican Library, Pal. lat. 1571, they illustrate points made in his earlier work, so teaching, by way of historical example, why successes (and, in some cases, failures) occurred. The importance of this approach lay in the author's confidence that war was a science, which could be reduced to sets of general principles to guide and help commanders as they prepared to confront the enemy either in open battle or at a siege. It reflected a not unreasonable view that the recollection of a past event (the recalling of a stratagem involving deceit, for example) could inspire a general to emulate it in the likelihood that, successful once, it might be so again. Such an understanding of the value of studying past events, and the application of the messages which they conveyed, led men to study accounts of wars for what they regarded to be the answers to recurring military problems. In brief, history had much to teach the contemporary world. The vehicle for the transmission of that knowledge or experience was the written word which, in due course, assumed something akin to an authoritative influence upon the subject.⁴

Without an associated text, however, the impact of the *Strategemata* was greatly diminished. As Frontinus had been at pains to point out, it was not, in itself, a work of original thought but a large collection of excerpts recalling past experience, diligently drawn up, under practical headings, to bolster a work now lost. While the *Strategemata* offered evidence of Frontinus' sound military sense, of his reading of certain authors, of his ability to put together a dossier,

³ 'De exemplis rei militaris'. The work was also given titles such as *De re militari*, *De instructione bellorum*, *Liber artis militaris*, and *Rei militaris strategematon*.

⁴ See Vegetius on this subject in *DRM*, I, 8.

and of his appreciation of how descriptions of past events might be used to encourage those in similar situations in the future, these characteristics alone did not convey best-seller status. Its chance of becoming a useful compendium lay in forming an association with another work to replace the one lost. Only thus could this collection of *pièces justificatives* acquire the authority it needed to become, in any real sense, a valuable tool.

In due course, this necessary association was to occur. When, some four centuries later, Vegetius, like Frontinus a state servant but, unlike him, never a soldier, came to write his *De re militari*, he breathed new life into many of the aspects of the fighting of war to which Frontinus had already given prominence. Placing himself firmly in a long tradition of military writers, going back to the Greeks, and including Cato the Censor, Cornelius Celsus and Frontinus, Vegetius underlined themes to which Frontinus had given prominence. These included the importance of proper preparation and planning, and the emphasis to be placed upon defeating the enemy not through weight of numbers, but by outwitting him by gaining access to his plans and being ready to use deceit. Stress was also placed upon the need to maintain the morale of the fighting man, and the important role which the general had in maintaining it. In short, much of what Frontinus had written, which Vegetius was to pick up from him and others who had contributed to the literary expression of the Roman military tradition, was centred upon the need for a thoughtful and human approach to conflict, involving real leadership. The general who planned and anticipated was more likely to leave the battlefield the victor than he who failed in these respects.

Time was needed for such ideas to take root in a changing world, but it is likely that they influenced the emperor Maurice when he compiled his *Strategikon* late in the sixth or early in the seventh century. It is probable, too, that readers in the West eventually came to regard the *Strategemata* as a text which could be partnered with the *De re militari* of Vegetius. If the *Strategemata* was a reflection of what Frontinus had taught in his lost work, then it is likely that the two writers and their texts had much in common in their approach to war. With the principles set out by Vegetius, men could turn to Frontinus for the evidence, drawn from the historians, reflecting human experience (which made the evidence all the more credible) in support of Vegetian teaching. Moreover, the respect given to one text descended from the ancient world was likely to be increased if its proposals were associated with and supported by another from the same era. Together they offered the distilled wisdom of the ancient world on military matters. In the eyes of many medieval readers, the works of Frontinus and Vegetius were complementary, each benefiting from its association with the other.

Of 120 or so more or less complete manuscripts of the *Strategemata* (the oldest and best being London, BL, Harley 2666, probably copied in eastern France about 840), about one third were to be linked physically to the *De re militari*. Evidence suggests that, by early in the second millennium, men were already associating one with the other. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, I, 101 shows how the two texts had already been brought together as early as the ninth

century. Later, in both Oxford, Lincoln College, lat. 100⁵ and Escorial, O. iii. 9, one text followed the other without a break, while in Lambeth Palace, 752, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 3. 1, Vatican Library, Urb. lat. 1221 and Vat. lat. 7227, and Paris, BnF, lat. 7243, both texts were copied by the same scribe. In its particular way, each manuscript suggests how the two works were seen as united by their content in the minds of the scribe and/or his patron.

Whether single-text or linked to the *De re militari*, copies of the *Strategemata* increased considerably in the fourteenth century; and even more markedly in the fifteenth century, which witnessed the copying of some two-thirds of extant manuscripts. A consideration of origins indicates that, as in the case of the *De re militari*, such copies came predominantly from Italy; the evidence is particularly striking when one considers the number of manuscripts containing the works of both Vegetius and Frontinus copied in Italy at this time. Artistic and other evidence indicates that a number emanated from the court of the Kingdom of Naples, where interest in military texts was encouraged during the reign of King Alfonso V in the middle years of the fifteenth century.

It would be useful to know more about those who owned copies of the *Strategemata*. We know of a small number of names, including those of eminent churchmen; however, Federigo da Montefeltro duke of Urbino, the *condottiere*, Antonio, count of Marsciano, and Mathias Corvinus, king of Hungary, are among the few military personnel known to have owned a copy.⁶ What seems evident is that copies were largely owned by men who were not, in any real sense of the term, military men. Granted the date of the work's flowering, it is likely that its popularity depended upon the broader growth of interest in things Roman (and Greek) rather than in military affairs alone. Of its very nature, the *Strategemata* opened up for its readers many opportunities to learn something of the nature of classical letters and history, and was popular for that reason.

What approaches to the fighting of war did Frontinus and Vegetius share? On a fundamental principle they were in general agreement: conflicts should not be resolved by force alone, but by subtlety and the exercise of the mind.⁷ War was certainly not an activity to be rushed into or taken lightly, but should be pondered and reflected upon in advance of any meeting between armies. Just

⁵ Probably copied at Malmesbury Abbey, and corrected in the hand of William of Malmesbury.

⁶ Vatican Library, Urb. lat. 1221 (for Montefeltro); M. Mallett, 'Some Notes on a Fifteenth-Century *Condottiere* and His Library: Count Antonio da Marsciano', *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance, Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. C. H. Clough (Manchester and New York, 1976), p. 210 (for Marsciano); Krakow, Bibl. Czartoryskich, 1514 I (for Mathias). According to Galeoto, king Mathias would refer to the works of Frontinus and Vegetius when discussing Roman military practice: 'Tunc rex Mathias hilari vultu inquit ... Artes enim bellicae machinamentaue et tormentorum vis magna tunc claruerunt, ut in Frontino Vegetioque aliisque plurimis luce clarius inspicitur' (Galeotus Martius Narnensis, *De egregie, sapienter, iocose dicti ac factis regis Mathiae ad ducem Johannem ejus filium liber*, ed. L. Juhász (Leipzig, 1934), cap. X, 9. I thank Janos Bak and Benedek Láng for this reference.)

⁷ 'Prudentia magis imperatoris timenda erit quam potencia' (marginalia in Vatican Library, Reg. lat. 812, fol. 115v).

as the general must take particular care to keep his plans concealed from the enemy, so, too, should he take active steps to discover the enemy's intentions, and act accordingly.⁸ Spies feature in both texts, and their use was often noted by medieval readers of both texts. Frontinus commented that envoys were sometimes spies in disguise.⁹ The use of espionage could be justified at a further, deeper level, fundamental to an understanding of Frontinus' text as well as that of Vegetius. The securing of information, preferably without the enemy's knowledge, conferred an immediate benefit upon the person acquiring that information, enabling him to look ahead and plan in advance. For instance, Frontinus noted the advantage to be gained by the general who dictated the time and place of battle; this was a prime example of the seizing of initiative of which Vegetius would later express approval.¹⁰ Again, the emphasis placed on the ambush by Frontinus was seized upon by Vegetius,¹¹ as was the use of the surprise attack advocated by both writers to gain a physical and, not least, a moral advantage or initiative, boosting the confidence of one side while undermining that of the other.¹² The taking advantage of opportunity (*occasio*) would be a recurring theme in Vegetius' work,¹³ and probably had an influence upon how parts of the *Strategemata* were appreciated by readers in later ages.

The significance of morale in time of conflict formed a recurring theme in the *Strategemata*, one to be recognised and developed by Vegetius, who would emphasise that the successful general should neither ignore nor forget human factors in war. Since ambushes and surprise attacks created fear and anxiety among those against whom they were directed, the use of deception, strongly advocated by Frontinus, and later by Vegetius, was also intended to play upon human reactions to uncertain and dangerous situations. With the specific intention of targeting morale, Frontinus advocated the use of deceit to increase the fears of a besieged garrison or population, and so force a surrender. Likewise, it never did for those besieged to reveal their weaknesses, such as lack of food, water, manpower or weapons, to those attacking them, for fear of the moral or practical advantage it might give away. Knowledge of this kind should be concealed to convey the impression of an abundance of what was actually in short supply.¹⁴

Frontinus devoted considerable space to the matter of discipline, the Roman military virtue so greatly admired by men in the Middle Ages.¹⁵ This subject

⁸ *Strat[egemata]*, I, i and ii; *DRM*, III, 6, 9, 10, 22.

⁹ In the Middle Ages, ambassadors were sometimes treated with great suspicion, their official functions being regarded as cover for less honourable activities (J. R. Alban and C. T. Allmand, 'Spies and Spying in the Fourteenth Century', *War, Literature and Politics in the late Middle Ages*, ed. C. T. Allmand (Liverpool, 1976), pp. 76–7).

¹⁰ *Strat.* II, i and ii; *DRM*, III, 13.

¹¹ *Strat.* I, vi; II, v; *DRM*, III, 8, 10, 22, 25.

¹² *Strat.* III, I; *DRM*, III, 6, 26.

¹³ *DRM*, III, 6, 8, 10, 26.

¹⁴ *Strat.* I, vii; III, xv.

¹⁵ *Strat.* IV, i and ii.

was to be seen in the context of the soldier as a human being, affected by battle, subject to both fear and over-confidence. In this situation, discipline should be the instrument used to counter panic, both physical and moral. It was necessary to deal firmly with disgruntled or mutinying soldiers, as they could have an adverse effect upon discipline in the ranks.¹⁶ For much the same reason an unbridled enthusiasm for battle should be checked, particularly, as Vegetius would write, among the new recruits of little experience: ‘inexpertis enim dulcis est pugna’.¹⁷ In other circumstances, however, it would be necessary to encourage enthusiasm for battle, perhaps to counter the fears of soldiers worried by adverse omens.¹⁸ Equally, however, it had to be remembered that the opposing army, too, was made up of men who suffered from emotions fuelled by fear and the excitement of conflict. Frontinus emphasised what could be gained by creating panic among them, perhaps by means of a trap or other unexpected attack.¹⁹ He warned, too, against trying to prevent those desperately trying to save their skins in the moment of defeat from escaping. In such situations, he argued, in a message not lost on Vegetius, as men fight to the death, having nothing to lose but their lives, they often seek to take as many of their opponents as possible with them.²⁰ It was in the moment of victory that a battle could be lost.

Both the *Strategemata* and the *De re militari* approached the problems of how best to secure victory through the eyes of the general. In both works, his role was seen as crucial. Frontinus’ general was at the centre of operations, planning strategies and devising stratagems. It was he who was responsible for maintaining the necessary discipline and order required to make victory possible; he who issued orders; he whose task it was to raise and maintain the morale of his soldiers as they prepared to do battle. Like his soldiers, the general was a man of flesh and blood, but one who understood the strengths and weaknesses of others; for this, as episodes in the *Strategemata* make clear, he won their respect. Above all, he was a man who thought a situation through. Citing Cicero, a reader of one Neapolitan manuscript wrote late in the fifteenth century: ‘Neque enim viribus aut velocitatibus aut celeritate corporis res magne geruntur, sed consilio et auctoritate.’²¹ It was the triumph of mind over body.

What the *Strategemata* and the *De re militari* shared went beyond the points just mentioned. Significant issues raised by Frontinus in Book I of the *Strategemata* are to be found, clearly reflected, in Vegetius’ work. Considering the situation leading up to battle, both writers stressed the importance of foreknowledge and foresight. The need to be ready and sufficiently adaptable, through training, to take advantage of situations as they developed was a message common to both texts, as was the spirit of enterprise which, encouraged by the general’s

¹⁶ *Strat.* I, ix; *DRM*, III, 4.

¹⁷ *DRM*, III, 12.

¹⁸ *Strat.* I, xi and xii; *DRM*, III, 9.

¹⁹ *Strat.* II, iv; III, ix.

²⁰ *Strat.* II, vi; IV, vii; *DRM*, III, 21.

²¹ Vatican Library, Reg. lat. 812, fol. 115v.

eloquence, created enthusiasm for battle. In Book II, the emphasis placed upon controlling the conditions of battle to suit oneself, in effect fighting on one's own terms, and upon the use of surprise to create panic or unease among the enemy (underlining yet again the great importance of morale in war), was also given prominence by Vegetius, as was advice on the delicate matter of how to carry out a successful retreat.²² When dealing with sieges in Book III, Frontinus had emphasised the need to compel a besieged garrison to surrender without recourse to a destructive attack, a message also taken up later by Vegetius. War won with the minimum cost of life or effort was a war deservedly won.

*

What can be learned from the manuscripts and, in particular, from their marginalia, about the thoughts and responses of readers regarding the content of the *Strategemata*? Neither a handbook on war nor a work of discussion on the subject, but a collection of useful but non-essential material drawn up to support the arguments presented in a text now lost, and so impossible to examine or appreciate, the *Strategemata* was a difficult work to which to react. Thus, while Vegetius' *De re militari* was a text to whose ideas many readers could and did respond, as they might in conversation, with marginal comments, it was less easy to react in the same way to a brief episode, brought together with others, in support or illustration of a view or judgement which could no longer be critically examined. The evidence of Vatican Library, Borg. lat. 411 makes the point well: the part of the manuscript containing Frontinus has few comments, while that including Vegetius is generously endowed with them.

Few pre-thirteenth-century manuscripts bear evidence upon which we can rely, but from those copied from that time onwards we may gain an impression (no more than that) of what parts of the *Strategemata* created the most interest among readers willing to write on the folios of their manuscripts. From such evidence it is clear that deception, broadly understood and interpreted, was regarded as an important instrument of war. The need to conceal plans which lay behind the story regarding Metellus Pius, who, when asked what he was planning for the coming day, replied that if his tunic could tell, he would burn it,²³ was clearly understood by a number of readers, as was the need to obtain information of the enemy's intentions, thereby enabling the general to act with foreknowledge and flexibility, and to avoid the dangers of a trap.²⁴ Equally, it was necessary to take active steps to conceal an army's weaknesses from both the enemy (in particular) and from one's own side, so that no advantage, practical or moral, might accrue to the enemy.²⁵ All this constitutes evidence of medieval readers' willingness to appreciate the value of the ruse in the achievement of a military end.

²² *DRM*, III, 22.

²³ *Strat.* I, i, 12.

²⁴ *Strat.* I, i and ii.

²⁵ *Strat.* I, vii; III, xv.

Readers of Book II, concerned with the battle itself, were principally interested in three chapters. Episodes marked in chapter 1 reflect keen appreciation of the benefit to be gained from being able to decide the moment at which a battle should begin, perhaps by catching the enemy unprepared or unawares, this being part of the process of seizing the initiative and using it to advantage. Likewise, the same effect – and more – might be achieved through the use of the ambush, encouraged in a lengthy chapter which created considerable interest among many readers, not least because of the role to be played by concealment, already noted in Book I, which it emphasised.²⁶ The need to maintain good morale through firm action by the general was also noted.²⁷ The text underlined that determination should be regarded as a quality to be demonstrated in plenty by those engaged in battle.

If manuscripts of the *Strategemata* have their own tale to tell about the perceived importance of certain chapters or episodes, so, too, do collections of excerpts, a genre popular in the Middle Ages. Among the early creators of this form was Sedulius Scottus, whose ninth-century *Collectaneum miscellaneum*, later copied, included excerpts from the works of both Frontinus and Vegetius.²⁸ While other collections are known only in single copies, others still are found, widely dispersed geographically, in multiple copies, which reflect interest in their contents.²⁹ In no case are we told, nor is it possible to guess, what inspired the selection of particular episodes. Was the choice made by a military person or someone with at least some knowledge of or interest in military affairs or developments? Or was he not qualified to read the significance (for his own day) of what Frontinus had proposed centuries earlier, making his choice according to other factors, perhaps literary or historical? Yet, however the choices were made, the fact remains that the evidence of the marginalia broadly agrees with that of the collections of excerpts regarding the relative significance of different sections of the *Strategemata*. This suggests that the basic recommendations made by Frontinus had been accepted by the majority of readers, whether military or not, centuries after his time.

How far was the text seen as having relevance beyond its own time, as many readers considered Vegetius' work to have?³⁰ The appropriateness of the *Strategemata* to later days was underlined by one manuscript in which a reader commented that in the year 1476 King Ferdinand had acted in Spain just as Marcus Porcius Cato, 'the Censor', had done centuries earlier in heading off a revolt.³¹ It is evident, too, that some readers saw, in this text, a way of entering

²⁶ *Strat.* II, v.

²⁷ *Strat.* II, viii.

²⁸ Kues, St Nikolaus-Hospital, 52. See *Sedulii Scotti, Collectaneum miscellaneum*, ed. D. Simpson, Corpus Christianorum, continuatio medievalis 67 (Turnhout, 1988), p. 390.

²⁹ e.g., Vatican Library, Pal. lat. 1571; Erfurt, Stadt- und Regionalbibliothek, 4° 393; Foligno, Bibl. L. Jacobilli, 468 (C. VI. 13). See also E. Pellegrin, *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane* (Paris, 1975–), III, 229.

³⁰ 'Attualizzazione' may be the best word to describe it.

³¹ Vatican Library, Chigi, H VII 246, fol. 3.

into the life of the past. The history of Rome, as the presence of Eutropius' work bound with that of Frontinus strongly suggests, was a subject of abiding interest.³² Many of the marginalia indicate the recognition by readers of the names of famous historical figures (Alexander, Hannibal, Caesar and others), or of the authors of the episodes collected by Frontinus.³³ Other readers were interested in unfamiliar words and terms of the language of the past, occasionally illustrated with a small drawing in the margin.³⁴ While primarily intended as a means of informing readers about past military affairs, the wider human experience reflected in the *Strategemata* could not be ignored. We should not be surprised, therefore, to find among the owners of manuscripts members of the clergy and, in particular, of the mendicant orders, who will have liked to possess a source of episodes emphasising such moral virtues as courage, honesty and perseverance, which could be turned to good purpose in their sermons.³⁵

One of those who read Frontinus and left traces of his thoughts and reactions to posterity was Francesco Petrarch, who owned a composite text, which included the works of both Frontinus and Vegetius.³⁶ It becomes evident that his interest in reading Frontinus was mainly to identify those, notably Livy and Pliny, from whose works, which he duly recognised, the episodes in the *Strategemata* had been selected. That, rather than the moral or military lesson to be learnt, appears to have been Petrarch's chief interest in the text. It was as the episode taken from Valerius Maximus that he noted the story about Metellus Pius cited above. His comments upon particular practices advocated by Frontinus were few. Nevertheless, he appreciated the 'sagacitas' of Scipio in using spies to discover the size of an enemy fortification before attacking it, and he noted the wisdom of Caesar's policy, when leading an army of veterans, always to oppose in battle an enemy whose army was known to consist only of raw recruits. To these episodes, however, Petrarch had little to add. He had learned much more from his reading of Vegetius' *De re militari*.³⁷

³² The combination of the *Strategemata* and the *Breviarum* of the fourth-century writer, Eutropius, in Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, I, 101, is found again in Oxford, Lincoln College, lat. 100 (along with Vegetius, all three in the same hand), in Paris, BnF, lat. 7240, probably copied in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, and in London, BL, Harley 2729. Paris, BnF, lat. 5802 contains the text of Frontinus with works by Suetonius, Florus, Eutropius and Caesar, all historians. See Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, p. 171.

³³ See Cambridge, Trinity College, O. 3. 28.

³⁴ e.g., Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 3. 1; Valladolid, Univ., 384; Vatican Library, Chigi H VII 246, fol. 39 (for the drawing).

³⁵ The *Strategemata* could be found in the libraries of the Austin Friars in York, and of the Carmelites and Dominicans in London in the late Middle Ages. An indication of how this text was regarded is seen in the fact that the Austin Friars classified it under 'Philosophia' (*The Friars' Libraries*, ed. K. W. Humphreys (London, 1990), pp. 72, 186, 203). Its resemblance to the 'Summa' form cannot be ignored. Two manuscripts, Paris, BnF, lat. 7389, and Prague, National Library, 1643 (VIII. H. 25) have tables, presumably to facilitate rapid reference and use.

³⁶ Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 2193.

³⁷ See C. Tristano, 'Le postille del Petrarca nel Vaticano lat. 2193 (Apuleio, Frontino, Vegezio, Palladio)', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 17 (1974), 365–468, especially 441–4.

It has been suggested that when Oxford, Lincoln College, lat. 100 was copied at Malmesbury, under the direction of the great chronicler, William, the exemplar may have been obtained from Canterbury.³⁸ We know that John of Salisbury, who once lived and worked at Canterbury, made use of the works of both Vegetius and Frontinus in writing his political treatise, the *Policraticus*, completed in 1159. When, in Book VI, Salisbury discussed the contribution of legitimate, organised force to the well-being of society, he referred many times to the *De re militari* in support of his argument. In his view force, controlled by the ruler, was a means to an important end, and those who exercised it properly for the common good were worthy of praise and respect.

Having cited Vegetius, however, Salisbury, on more than sixty occasions, quoted examples taken from the *Strategemata*,³⁹ referring to Frontinus by name on several of them. What, we may ask, did he find in that text to support his argument? A glance at the episodes cited shows that almost all were taken from the fourth book of the *Strategemata*, being regarded by Frontinus as 'illustrations rather of military science in general than of stratagems', even, indeed, as 'supplementary material'.⁴⁰ It was these which Salisbury distributed, unevenly, into nine separate chapters of the *Policraticus*, the majority of them in Book VI.

It is significant that, in keeping with the character of the work he was writing, Salisbury was less intent upon illustrating stratagems than upon underlining some of military science's general principles. From 'De disciplina', he emphasised the importance of order and control within the army, while those listed under 'De effectu disciplinae' confirmed the importance of discipline in time of war. Important, too, and clearly linked to discipline, were the episodes selected from the section 'De continentia' concerned with the restraint and moderation which should be a mark of those serving in the army. Both episodes included by Frontinus in the short section 'De iustitia' were included by Salisbury, as were a number of those brought together under 'De constantia', on determination to achieve victory, even against the odds. The chapter 'De affectu et moderatione' yielded a story regarding Alexander the Great's humane attitude towards, and clear regard for, his soldiers, while Salisbury's choice of episodes from Frontinus' concluding chapter 'De variis consiliis' again shows the importance he attached to attitudes of moderation in military affairs.⁴¹

Even a cursory glance at this list of themes compels the reader to recognise how much it had in common with the principles of waging war (the *res militaris*) established by Vegetius. It is significant that Salisbury praised Vegetius for treating the art of military affairs 'elegantly and diligently', adding 'although he only briefly

³⁸ J. Martin, 'John of Salisbury's Manuscripts of Frontinus and Gellius', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40 (1977), 4–5, 17.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 21, table 1.

⁴⁰ *Strat.* IV, proem.

⁴¹ The titles in this paragraph are those of the chapter headings (I–VII) of Book IV of the *Strategemata*.

touches on examples'.⁴² It was in recognition of that fact that Salisbury, while using the *De re militari* to provide him with fundamental principles regarding the use of military power as a force for stability in society, felt compelled to draw upon the *Strategemata* to illustrate those principles. We have here clear literary evidence, taken from the time of the twelfth-century revival of interest in classical culture, of the link between the texts of Frontinus and Vegetius as seen by a major thinker and writer of the period, who appreciated what each text had to offer him. A curious reversal of roles thus occurred: Frontinus, to whose work Vegetius had once expressed his indebtedness, was being accorded the second position in a new duo of military texts.

Yet the rising status of the *Strategemata* may be judged by the number of works, political as well as more strictly military, in which it appeared as a companion to others. In the second quarter of the fourteenth century, for instance, a unique composite volume, probably north Italian and intended to promote the crusade, was created from the texts of Frontinus and Vegetius, to which were added the *Terrae sanctae recuperatio* of the Franciscan, Fidenzio da Padova, and an allegorical text on the war of the spirit, *De re bellica spirituali* of Bartolomeo da Urbino.⁴³ This format, consisting of a number of works pivoting around a central theme (war), was becoming normal, even fashionable.

It is evident that, by the second half of the fifteenth century, the format had become increasingly popular. Paris, Mazarine, 3732, is an example of it. It consists of two pairs of works, one the *Strategemata* and the *De re militari*, copied by the same hand probably in the early fifteenth century, the other including the translation of Aelian's *De instruendis aciebus*, made from the Greek by Theodore Gaza at the behest of Alfonso of Naples in the middle years of the century, and the short *De re militari* of 'Modestus', both the work of another scribe.⁴⁴ The evidence of this collection, assembled to meet the growing fashion, strongly suggests that the future of the *Strategemata* would develop as one classical authority among others brought together and housed under a single roof. The same thinking probably lay in the creation, in 1435, of a collection of seven works, five (all with the word 'Bellum' in their titles) either by or involving Julius Caesar (whose popularity as a writer of history had been on the rise since the early thirteenth century), the others being the texts of Frontinus and Vegetius, once again clearly copied as a pair.⁴⁵ The process would reach its logical conclusion with the bringing together of the texts of Vegetius, Frontinus, 'Modestus' and Aelian in an edition printed by Eucharius Silber in Rome in 1487, and reprinted a number of times in the next few years. The first step towards making available the collected works of the 'Veteres scriptores de re militari' in the age of printing had been taken.

⁴² *Policraticus*, VI, 19. I have used the translation of C. J. Nederman (Cambridge, 1990), p. 124.

⁴³ Paris, BnF, lat. 7242.

⁴⁴ Wrocław, Bibl. Uniwersytecka, R.10, an Italian manuscript, consists of the works of Aelian, Vegetius and Frontinus.

⁴⁵ Paris, BnF, lat. 6106.

It may have been one of these editions which came into the hands of Machiavelli and influenced the way he approached both military and, ultimately, political decision-making. Frontinus had not only presented examples from the past; he had done so in such a way as to emphasise 'different circumstances under which opposite courses of action [might be] employed'. His aim was to set the general thinking by offering not a single solution to a problem but, rather, a number of possibilities, leaving it to him to make the choice according to circumstances which could never be fully predicted. From this stemmed the need for the general to be well informed, and for the emphasis placed upon espionage to be translated into reality. Reliable knowledge lay behind all decisions resulting in successful conclusions. Nor was that knowledge to be curtailed by moral factors. The likelihood, or not, of it leading to victory was the only principle by which it should be judged.⁴⁶

The contribution of the *Strategemata* to medieval, particularly late medieval, thinking about war may also be judged by consideration of a further factor: translation. There survive to this day manuscripts of vernacular versions in five languages, three (Castilian, Catalan and Aragonese) from Spain, and one each from France and Italy.⁴⁷ Why, one may ask, translate the *Strategemata*? To this question, a number of answers may be suggested. By the time that Pedro IV, 'the Ceremonious', of Aragon commissioned the Catalan translation from Jaume Domènec early in 1369 (1370), the *De re militari* of Vegetius had already been translated into French, Italian and Catalan. In the light of the close association of these two works, where Vegetius led, was it not reasonable that Frontinus should follow? Moreover, the royal patron was regularly involved in war, so that a text, in particular a classical text on the subject, would not go amiss, particularly in the light of a secular readership now becoming both broader and numerically more significant. There was, it has been argued, a desire to make more readily available texts concerned with both technical matters and war. Since it described *la ciència de la cavalleria*, the *Strategemata* supplied both, in particular the second, of these needs. As the marginalia of the Latin texts indicate, the secular readership favoured works of a historical and moral character; even short excerpts of that genre satisfied a need. Such 'exemplary' literature, already popular among the clergy, was gaining followers among secular readers, too.⁴⁸

Some years later, probably about 1425, the work was translated into French by Jean de Rouvroy, for the benefit of the young king, Charles VII. The fact that

⁴⁶ N. Wood, 'Frontinus as a Possible Source for Machiavelli's Method', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 28 (1967), 243–8.

⁴⁷ Madrid, BN, 9253, 9608 and 10204 (Castilian); 6293 (Catalan); 10198 (Aragonese): Paris, BnF, fr. 1233–35, 24257; Geneva, Bibl. Publique et Universitaire, fr. 171; Den Haag, Konink. Bibl., 73 J 22; Turin, Arch. di Stato, Jb VI 21 (French); see also references in nn. 50, 51 and 56 below; Rome, Accademia dei Lincei e Corsiniana, 43 E 41 (Ross. 188) (Italian).

⁴⁸ L. Badia, 'Frontí i Vegeci, Mestres de Cavalleria en Català als Segles XIV i XV', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 39 (1983–84), 191–215.

royalty, and warring royalty, in two kingdoms inspired the translations suggests that Frontinus was thought to have written things useful enough for his text to be made available to those responsible for organising the armies of the aspiring monarchies.⁴⁹ Nor should we fail to notice the significance of the presence of ‘aucuns notables extraitz du livre de Vegece qu’il fist pour l’enseignement des princes et des gentilz homes en la science des armes et de chevalerie’ which follow, written by the same hand and in the same format, in at least one manuscript. Significantly, even in translation, the link with Vegetius was not lost.⁵⁰

The French translation, surviving today in more than a dozen manuscripts, is particularly interesting. Introduced in the translator’s preface as the ‘livre des cautelles et subtilitez servans au fait des armes et de chevalerie’, the text was placed in the context envisaged for it, that of presenting *beaux faitz* for emulation. While thus appearing to give it greater moral than practical value, the translator emphasised the text’s ability to teach what was useful (*bien convenable*) for those, *princes et grans seigneurs*, responsible for leading men to war. In a passage strongly reminiscent of Vegetius’ *De re militari* in which he underlined the essence of the work, Rouvroy emphasised that planning was more effective than numbers, and that small forces often overcame larger ones. Finding it hard to translate some passages *de mot à mot*, he announced his intention of adopting the practice of an early translator, St Jerome, who, when in difficulty, had preferred to give the reader simply the sense of the original.⁵¹ Furthermore, he added examples to those provided by Frontinus. In so doing, by intruding himself into the text, Rouvroy was doing more than might be strictly expected of him as a translator, by underlining how far the episodes chosen by Frontinus, augmented by his own, could be useful to those exercising command in his own day (perhaps in the war being waged against the English?). For him, at least, the *Strategemata* was a work with contemporary relevance.

A consideration of the illustrative material found in manuscripts of the work enables us to appreciate more fully how it was regarded and understood, particularly in the last two centuries of the Middle Ages, the period when manuscripts were sometimes enhanced with the addition of illustrative matter. What were the intentions of patrons or artists in adding this to the text? It has been pointed out that the illustrations are, generally speaking, ‘non-technical’ in nature;⁵² they do not add that kind of dimension to the written word, although

⁴⁹ Jean Gerson recommended that the dauphin’s reading should include the works of Frontinus, Vegetius and, significantly, Valerius Maximus. (*Jean Gerson, Oeuvres complètes. II. L’oeuvre épistolaire* (Paris, 1960), p. 213).

⁵⁰ London, BL, Add. MS 12028, fols 173–185v. There are some eighty-seven excerpts in this collection. See also Add. MS 18179.

⁵¹ Several manuscripts of the French translation (e.g., London, BL, Add. MS 12028, and Paris, Arsenal, 2693), include a glossary explaining unfamiliar or technical terms.

⁵² P. Porter, ‘The Ways of War in Medieval Manuscript Illumination: Tracing and Assessing the Evidence’, *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France*, ed. M. Strickland (Stamford, 1998), p. 104.

cannon and town walls with gun ports are depicted. What, then, could illustration do to the text? It might embellish it visually, making it more attractive to the eye. More importantly, however, it could emphasise the significance of part of the text, either by developing or by summarising particular points visually. Illumination, therefore, was a way of enhancing the text and, perhaps, part of its message, by drawing the attention of the reader to something which the patron or artist felt to be in need of particular emphasis. The subject had to be dealt with delicately. Was a scene from Greek or Roman history (and the *Strategemata* teemed with these) to be depicted as part of the 'past' or of the 'present'? This meant asking how soldiers should be presented: what should they be wearing, what arms should they be carrying, what sort of fortifications could be depicted? By and large, scenes were shown in the 'modern' idiom. Although Frontinus' text was essentially Roman, it could not be regarded simply as an historic one; it had to have meaning and relevance to its 'modern' reader.

Such a process, 'making the past present' by creating 'visual translation',⁵³ emphasised both the continuity and the relevance of a variety of military practices described by Frontinus. It also helped to underline the perceived importance of parts of his message by amplifying them through illustration, hence enhancing their authority. Nine leaves of a text of the *Strategemata*, written and illuminated in Italy in the late fourteenth century, show how this could be done. All that survives⁵⁴ of a once sizeable manuscript, it includes large coloured drawings below the text on every folio. Vigorous in style, these relate to certain episodes in the *Strategemata*, II, iii, iv, and v. They are to be considered with care, since they are not simply descriptions of scenes, but often reflect the moral of the episode which they illustrate, such as creating panic among the enemy or setting up ambushes to discomfort him.⁵⁵ In the last, it was the purpose of the illustration to convey the results of various forms of deceit, of which the dramatic outcome of the ambush was one. It is only by putting the text and the picture together that the reader can properly appreciate how closely the two are related, and how they were intended to enhance each other.

Other manuscripts convey other messages. One such,⁵⁶ with fifty or more illuminations, places considerable emphasis on deception, ruses and ambushes. The copy of the French translation which was probably the one presented to Charles VII, shows, among others, a full folio scene of an emperor riding a

⁵³ I have appropriated the terms from A. D. Hedeman, 'Making the Past Present. Visual Translation in Jean Lebègue's Twin Manuscripts of Sallust', *Patrons, Artists and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris circa 1400*, ed. G. Croenen and P. Ainsworth (Louvain, 2006), pp. 173–96.

⁵⁴ London, BL, Add. MS 44985. See E. G. Millar, 'Leaves from an Illuminated Manuscript of Frontinus', *The British Museum Quarterly* 12 (1937–38), 8–9, and plate 9; *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare*, ed. Strickland, plate 25.

⁵⁵ *Strat.* II, iv and v.

⁵⁶ Brussels, Bibl. royale Albert Ier, 10475. See F. Lyna, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique* (Brussels, 1989), III (2), pp. 417–18.

white horse (a symbol of sovereignty) to meet a delegation coming towards him from besieged fortifications. Is the story depicted as simple as it looks? Do the illuminations carry an additional, contemporary message? Is this not the successful king, Charles VII, leader of a united society (represented by 'SPQR' on banners) engaged in the process of unification of the country under his legitimate rule, here seen accepting the return of wayward populations who had hitherto acknowledged the *de facto* reality of (perhaps) English rule? Are we not intended to witness the role envisaged for the army, led by the king (as foreseen by Vegetius) in the fulfilment of the process of uniting French society after years of division? In this case, the main message, conveyed in the illustrative material, is surely a political one. Following on Vegetius' coat-tails, Frontinus' ideas were coming to be seen as having other than simply military implications.

Finally, a scene in another manuscript⁵⁷ shows a knight in armour sitting on a bench, reading a book. Incongruous, one is tempted to say! But the reader soon recognises that it represents a general learning from a text such as the *Strategemata*. Here he is seen, immersing himself in a work of the Greco-Roman tradition which conveys the benefits of military experience through the written word. Frontinus and, after him, Vegetius both emphasised the importance of that tradition. By the end of the Middle Ages, collections such as those of the 'Veteres scriptores de re militari' had demonstrated that it was alive and well.

From its conception, the *Strategemata* was a secondary but not necessarily a second-rate text. We know why its creator brought it into being: to support what we may only suppose he had written in his main work, sadly lost. In it Frontinus appears as a man who was not prepared to dictate to generals. His work appealed because, while working within a certain framework, he offered not one but sometimes several practical courses of action for consideration by the general, either as he sat quietly on his bench, reading, or as he faced the enemy in front of him.

Essentially a collection of episodes with a right to stand on its own, the *Strategemata* was a work which had much to teach regarding the experiences of military leaders and their armies at war, however distant the past described in the episodes themselves might be. None the less, it required association with another, more theoretical, work to allow its particular qualities to become fully apparent. Both as a statement of certain principles to be observed in time of conflict, and as a guide to the general facing particular situations which might occur at any time or place, it possessed positive value, particularly if read alongside the *De re militari* of Vegetius, the work which, in a real sense, it came to complement. In this respect, the number of manuscripts containing the works of both Frontinus and Vegetius, many copied (as we have noticed) by a single scribe as if to underline their mutual dependence, is telling evidence of the interest in, and the perceived value of, this 'linked' text. The logical development

⁵⁷ Paris, BnF, fr. 1234, fol. 3v.

was the printing of even larger collections, embracing yet other authors, which occurred in the last years of the fifteenth century.⁵⁸ The influence of Frontinus, and the other authors who made up the body of ‘*veteres scriptores de re militari*’, was very much alive, and would continue to be felt for many years to come.

⁵⁸ The Στρατηγικὸς of Onasander, written half a century before the *Strategemata*, and translated into Latin by Nicolaus Sagundinus, was added to the next edition of Silber’s collection of ‘*veteres scriptores*’, printed in Rome in 1494. See above, p. 163.

The Victualling of Castles

Michael Prestwich

When Edward I spent the winter of 1294–95 in the crowded confines of Conwy castle, there was a crisis. The wine ran out, all save one small cask, and that was reserved for the king's own use. Sensibly, Edward ordered that its contents be distributed among his men, a gesture which surely did much for morale.¹ Castles needed much more for defence than keeps, gatehouses and strong walls. Well-equipped garrisons were required, but if they were to be effective, they needed food and drink. 'Lytel is worth the strengthe of the walles of a castel, how wel that hit by garnysshed of al deffensable thynges, what lacke a faulte of vytaille is there yf hit be besieged.'² Caxton's translation of Christine de Pizan was very much to the point. The evidence of what castle garrisons had to eat provides one, admittedly narrow, window into the reality of service in war in the Middle Ages, a reality which Maurice Keen has done so much to illuminate. The topic is not one that has received much attention from the historians of castles, for whom the military aspects of their subject are becoming increasingly unpopular, as they emphasise the symbolism of power, rather than the reality.³ The question of food supply, however, should be a significant element in any analysis of the role of the medieval castle. For a fortification to play an effective military role, it needed to be able to hold out against blockade. A castle without sufficient stores, no matter how massive its walls or how powerful its gatehouse, was hopelessly vulnerable.

In normal conditions the provision of food for castles presented no particular problems. Manning levels were usually low, and demands therefore not heavy. Most castles never underwent a siege, and arrangements to provide adequate supplies for wartime conditions were simply not required. Where a castle served

¹ *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. H. Rothwell (Camden series lxxxix, 1957), p. 252.

² *The Book of Fayttes of Armes and of Chyualry translated and printed by William Caxton from the French original of Christine de Pisan*, ed. A. T. P. Byles (EETS, original series 189, 1932), p. 137.

³ R. A. Brown, *English Castles* (London, 1954), pp. 157–8, devotes an excellent page and a half to the topic, and N. J. G. Pounds, *The Medieval Castle in England and Wales* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 123–5, has a slightly longer section. For a recent discussion of revisionist views of castles, see C. Platt, 'Revisionism in Castle Studies: A Caution', *Medieval Archaeology* 51 (2007), 83–102.

as a major residence, the issues were those that faced any noble household, and diet would have been no different within a castle than without.⁴ Very many castles were manorial centres, and so had land that either produced much of what was needed, or brought in rents that could be used to purchase food. At Knaresborough in the early fourteenth century there were some 370 acres in demesne, mostly farmed out.⁵ The operations of the manorial economy linked to a castle could provide ample supplies. At Thomas of Lancaster's castle of Kenilworth in 1314, there were substantial quantities of grain supplied from the estates, and in addition 64 stones of cheese and 28 gallons of butter from the dairy.⁶ Gardens, dovecotes, fishponds and moats, together with chases and parks, provided local sources of food. At Wigmore in 1324 the lands attached to the castle produced more than was needed, and sales of produce from the garden yielded £1 9s 11½d, and from the dovecot 2s 6d. The fishing produced £2. The hunting must have been good, for there were sixty fallow deer carcasses in the larder.⁷

Constables of castles might be able to exploit the local populace. In Magna Carta they, along with other officials, were ordered not to take prises; grain or other goods had to be paid for immediately.⁸ However, to judge by the Hundred Rolls in the 1270s, exploitation on such lines was not a major problem. At Scarborough, the constable was said to have taken pigs from the townspeople, by the expedient of scattering corn by the castle walls, and then driving the animals into the castle. This was highly exceptional.⁹ Some castles had useful rights attached to them, which entitled the garrison to acquire drink. At Dynefwr the townspeople complained in Edward II's reign about an alleged custom whereby the constable could take seven gallons from every brew of ale in the town, though the constable himself argued that his right was to take 8 gallons for 6d.¹⁰ At Corfe, according to a late fourteenth century inquisition, the right was to buy 12 gallons of ale for 3d.¹¹

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The provision of supplies to castles when war threatened was a wholly different matter from the normal purchases in peacetime. Even when a castle had estates

⁴ See C. M. Woolgar, *The Great Household* (New Haven, CT, and London, 1999), pp. 136–65. For a very useful collection of diet accounts, see *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, ed. C. M. Woolgar (Oxford, 1992), pp. 107–430.

⁵ TNA, SC6/1085/1. At Bristol by the late thirteenth century the barton, or manor attached to the castle, provided cash rather than supplies of grain and other foodstuffs. See *Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle*, ed. M. Sharp (Bristol Record Society Record Series 34, 1982), p. lxi.

⁶ TNA, DL 29/1/3, mm. 12d, 13. Nearly all of the butter was sold; it would not have kept long in store.

⁷ TNA, E 163/4/48.

⁸ *Select Charters*, ed. W. Stubbs, 9th edn (Oxford, 1913), p. 296.

⁹ H. M. Cam, *The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls* (London, 1930), p. 132.

¹⁰ *CIMisc.*, ii, no. 343.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, iv, no. 147.

that were ample for normal circumstances, matters might be very different in wartime conditions. The second decade of the fourteenth century, when the crown garrisoned many castles in the north, was a particularly difficult period. Scottish raids combined with famine and murrain made times exceptionally hard. The prior of Carlisle complained that the sheriff of Westmorland had taken grain to provide for Appleby and Brougham, and the prior of Nostell objected similarly to the loss of tithe grain taken by the constables of Bamburgh, Alnwick and Norham. Barnard Castle in County Durham was well positioned and provided for in terms of its lands, but at this time basic foodstuffs had to be supplied from the royal victualling officers at Newcastle.¹²

There were also considerable problems in Edward I's reign, in ensuring adequate food supplies for the great castles built in Wales, and for the English-held castles in Scotland, for there was little opportunity to obtain provisions locally. Castles such as Conwy and Caernarfon had no estates attached to them. Limited local arrangements were of course made, as at Harlech in the early fourteenth century, where an immigrant Englishman, John le Colier, established himself as the castle's most important supplier, even promising to provide 2,000 cheeses should they be required.¹³ In Scotland, in time of truce, it was expected that the keepers of English-held castles should be free to buy and sell victuals as they wished.¹⁴ Edward I tried to provide Roxburgh with local resources, by taking the burgh of Old Roxburgh to support the castle, but this was hardly sufficient for the needs of a substantial garrison, which might number over 250.¹⁵ In 1300 the constable of Dumfries spent almost £17 on buying provisions locally.¹⁶ The difficulty of relying on local supplies was demonstrated by the case of Evota of Stirling, who was driven out of the town by the Scots, as she had supplied the English castle garrison with food.¹⁷

It was therefore necessary to bring in supplies from a distance. Edward's Welsh castles were carefully sited so that provisions could be brought in by sea, with docks constructed for the ships. This might involve a considerable engineering effort: at Rhuddlan, the river Clywd was diverted for this purpose. The importance of naval supply was amply demonstrated early in 1295, when during the Welsh rebellion food was running very short at Harlech and Criccieth, and disaster was averted when ships from Ireland brought in desperately needed grain and other goods.¹⁸ In Scotland, supply by sea was only part of the answer.

¹² C. McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces. Scotland, England and Ireland, 1306–1328* (East Linton, 1997), p. 144; D. Austin, *Acts of Perception: A Study of Barnard Castle in Teesdale* (Durham, 2007), i. 112.

¹³ *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll 1292–3*, ed. K. Williams-Jones (Cardiff, 1976), pp. cvi–vii.

¹⁴ C. A. Coulson, *Castles in Medieval Society* (Oxford, 2003), p. 152.

¹⁵ *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ed. J. Bain and others (Edinburgh, 1881–1986), iii, no. 347. *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae*, ed. J. Topham *et al.* (London, 1787), p. 150, shows that in 1300 at its peak the garrison totalled 264 men.

¹⁶ *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 153.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, iv, no. 1800.

¹⁸ *Book of Prests of the King's Wardrobe for 1294–5*, ed. E. B. Fryde (Oxford, 1962), p. xxxv.

Provisions were brought by ship to distribution centres at Berwick and Carlisle, and thence on to the castles by land. Where possible, shipping was used, but this was not as easy as in Wales, for the castles were not sited with this in mind. There was also more danger of hostile action; the *God's Ship* of Hartlepool had to be escorted by two oared barges when it took supplies up the Forth to Stirling in 1299.¹⁹

The earliest detailed evidence of the government's concern to ensure that its castles were properly provided with victuals comes from the Pipe Roll of 1172–73, when Henry II was faced with the rebellion of the Young King and his associates. In a considerable number of cases the commodities provided by sheriffs to castles are listed in round numbers. The sheriff of Gloucestershire, for example, supplied Gloucester castle with 120 measures of wheat, 80 bacon pigs, 20 measures of beans, 200 cheeses, salt, iron and four handmills. Salisbury received 125 measures of wheat, 60 of barley, 20 of beans, 20 bacon pigs and 400 cheeses. Dover was especially well victualled; the list there began with 400 measures of wheat and 300 bacon pigs.²⁰ In the next year at Colchester, old supplies were sold off for £8, and new ones were acquired, including an impressive 360 measures of wheat, along with other commodities; there were, for example, 71 bacon pigs.²¹ The victualling operations were surely centrally planned, for the figures, dominated as they are by round numbers, strongly suggest that the sheriffs were responding to requests sent out by royal writ.

Similar methods continued to be used much later. For example, in January 1312, instructions went out for the victualling of a large number of castles. In many cases no quantities were specified, but full details were given for seven castles, including Dover and the Tower. Odiham was to receive 40 quarters of wheat, 80 quarters of malt, two tuns of wine, two barrels of honey, 10 quarters of salt, 10 beef carcasses, 30 bacon pigs and 400 stockfish. Hadleigh in Essex, with a smaller garrison, was allocated 20 quarters of wheat, 40 quarters of malt, 2 tuns of wine, 6 quarters of salt, 6 beef carcasses, 20 bacon pigs, 300 stockfish and two measures of herrings. The planning appears very careful, and orders such as these look like the product of sensible approximation, with the quantities needed set out in round numbers without any careful calculation of the actual requirements of the garrisons. Remarkably, particularly in view of the precision of the orders, the 1312 writs included Bedford as one of the castles to be victualled. The castle had been destroyed some ninety years previously.²²

On other occasions, there seems no obvious rationale to the supplies that were provided. In 1297, when the castle at Newcastle was put into a state of

¹⁹ *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 271.

²⁰ *Pipe Roll 19 Henry II* (Pipe Roll Society, 1895), pp. 23, 82, 97. The measure, or *summa*, was probably the equivalent of the quarter. *Ibid.*, p. 173, shows that quarters were used at Nottingham, Bolsover and the Peak. I have translated the medieval *baco* as 'bacon pig'; it probably consisted of a whole carcase, not just a side.

²¹ *Pipe Roll 20 Henry II* (Pipe Roll Society, 1896), p. 74.

²² *CCR, 1307–13*, p. 402.

defence, the sheriff of Northumberland assembled 56 quarters of wheat, 62 quarters of rye, 7 quarters of barley, 10 quarters of wheat flour, 41½ quarters of oats, 26 quarters of mixed malt, 11½ quarters of oat malt, 5 quarters of milled oats, 28 quarters of salt, 46 oxen, 35 bullocks, 24 stirks, 10 skinned ox carcasses with entrails and one without, 168 dogfish and 400 gallons of ale. These quantities look somewhat random. One possible explanation is that the sheriff was working to a budget, for all this cost just over £50, but it does not appear as if he was working to specific orders about quantities.²³

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There is some evidence to show that victualling might be based on more than crude guesswork as to how much food was needed. There were standard expectations of how much people, and also horses, ate. Calculations could then be based on these assumptions. Accounts for the castles on the Clare estates in south Wales for 1262–63, when they were in royal hands after the death of Earl Richard of Gloucester, provide one demonstration. The garrison at Llantrisant consisted of forty-two men, with eleven horses. Their weekly requirement was worked out as 2 quarters and 3 bushels of wheat for bread, 1½ quarters of wheat for malt, 3 quarters of oats for malt, and 4 quarters 6½ bushels of oats for the horses. £1 was allowed for the purchase of food, presumably meat or fish, to go with the bread. This equates to roughly 9 bushels a week for bread for twenty men, double that quantity for brewing, with the horses receiving half a bushel of oats a day each. Calculations for the other castles in the account (Neath and Llangynwyd) were on the same basis.²⁴

Surviving estimates for the victualling needs of some of the English-held castles in Scotland under Edward I show very similar anticipated levels of consumption. These documents set out the principles more clearly than in the case of the Clare castles. Twenty men were expected to consume 1 quarter of wheat a week, or, according to an alternative method, 1 bushel a day. Beans were also required, and there was also meat at the rate of oneeightieth of a carcase a day, or an ample quantity of herrings and stockfish. These are very large amounts of food. One calculation is that the calorific value of the diet indicated by these estimates would have been between about 3,800 and 4,500 kilocalories a day, almost double what a man requires in the present day. Of course, there are problems with such a calculation. Cereal crops have changed significantly, and their food value may have altered. Medieval cattle were much smaller than in modern times, and fish probably larger on average.²⁵

²³ A. J. Lilburn, 'The Pipe Rolls of Edward I. Calendar of Northumberland Pipe Rolls 1286–1298', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 41 (1963), 116.

²⁴ R. F. Walker and C. J. Spurgeon, 'The Custody of the De Clare Castles in Glamorgan and Gwent, 1262–1263', *Studia Celtica* 37 (2003), 51–5. The ration for the horses at Llangynwyd was relatively low, at about one-third of a bushel a day; it may be that the scribe put two quarters when three was intended.

²⁵ M. C. Prestwich, 'Victualling Estimates for English Garrisons in Scotland in the Early Fourteenth Century', *EHR* 82 (1967), 536–43. In this article, I assumed that the weight of a quarter

The ample quantities of food that it was estimated men needed were to be washed down not with water, which was usually unsafe, but with impressive amounts of alcoholic drink, ale or wine. The calculation was that 2 quarters of malt were needed to make the ale that twenty men would drink in a week. The estimates do not specify the amount of ale produced from a given quantity of malt. Medieval ale brewing used much more cereal than is the case with beer today, and although the grain will have differed from modern varieties, this suggests that the ale was both strong and nutritious.²⁶ At Dumfries in 1301 a quarter of malt was expected to yield no more than about 45 gallons, but a level of just 60 gallons from a quarter of malt is indicated by the accounts of Ralph Dalton, who was providing for the queen's household in 1300. On that basis consumption of ale would have approached a gallon a day each. This is not implausible. Even the sisters of the hospital of St Leonard's, York, claimed an entitlement of 7 gallons a week each, though the poor in the infirmary had only half that allowance.²⁷ A gallon a day equates to over 1,500 litres a year. In contrast, the heaviest twenty-first century consumption of beer takes place in the Czech Republic, and stands at 156.9 litres a year on a per capita basis.²⁸

One of the estimates assumed that the main drink was wine. The basis of the calculation was that one man would drink a tun of wine a year. This would have equated, roughly, to an impressive 3 litres, or four bottles, a day, with 1½ litres of ale in addition. Wine could, of course, vary in quality and strength. A barrel of red wine was bought at York in 1325–26 for Barnard Castle, to mellow and give colour to the weak wine that was in store there.²⁹ Assuming that the reality of available ale and wine even approached the levels of the estimates, levels of drunkenness must have been high.

Ale and wine will have provided significant nourishment. Taking the drink

of grain was 'unlikely to have been less than 384 lbs avoirdupois'. B. M. S. Campbell, J. A. Galloway, D. Keen and M. Murphy, *A Medieval Capital and its Grain Supply: Agrarian Production and Distribution in the London Region c. 1300* (Historical Geography Research Series 30, 1993), p. 41, show that 424 lbs (53 lbs per bushel) is a better figure. However, their calculation of the calorific value is very close to the level I gave, for on pp. 191–2 they argue for an extraction rate in 1300 of 85%.

²⁶ J. M. Bennett, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World, 1300–1600* (Oxford, 1996), p. 85.

²⁷ *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 109; *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ii, no. 1256; *CIMisc.*, ii, no. 718. J. A. Galloway, 'Driven by Drink? Ale Consumption and the Agrarian Economy of the London Region, c. 1300–1400', *Food and Eating in Medieval Europe*, ed. M. Carlin and J. T. Rosenthal (London, 1998), p. 91, suggests that most late medieval brewing ranged from 50 to 75 gallons to the quarter. A very low figure of 36 gallons to the quarter is given in the wardrobe book for 1301, BL Add. MS 7966a, fol. 54; in contrast, the accounts of Katherine de Norwich for 1336–37 show that it was possible to brew 84 gallons from a quarter of malt: *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, p. 177.

²⁸ See www.swivel.com/data_sets/spreadsheet/1004232 (viewed December 2007). The figure for the United Kingdom is a mere 99 litres per year. A gallon of beer a day was the standard ration in the British navy during the Napoleonic wars.

²⁹ Austin, *Acts of Perception*, i. 112.

into account, the total calorific intake of these medieval soldiers rises to between 5,300 and 5,900 kilocalories a day. These are remarkable levels, but the figures are on a par with other evidence. In her work on Westminster Abbey, Barbara Harvey provided a detailed study of the monks' diet. At the end of the medieval period they were an extremely well-fed group, for on a normal day a monk would have had over 6,000 kilocalories available to him.³⁰

One possible solution to the problem of these very high levels of consumption is to assume that at least some of the food and drink went to servants and others. In the case of the well-fed monks at Westminster, it is suggested that the poor may have benefited from what they left uneaten. The estimate for Edinburgh castle, however, makes it quite clear that in addition to the sixty-eight cavalrymen, 100 foot and twenty-nine clerks, there were 128 grooms and servants included in the calculations, and it is difficult to argue that the rations were in practice intended for more people than those listed.³¹ It may well be that much was inedible, or wasted, but all the indications are that the men would have expected to be more than amply fed. It might also be the case that the rigours of life entailed high levels of physical labour, but while this could explain a high energy diet for peasants in the fields, it is not so easy to argue that members of castle garrisons spent their days working hard.

In addition to the demands of the men for food and drink, there were the needs of the horses to be met. A warhorse, a destrier, was allowed half a bushel of oats each night, and other horses half as much each.³² As with the men, these figures are high; one nineteenth-century calculation put the requirement for a non-farm horse at 75 bushels of oats a year, whereas the early fourteenth-century destrier was getting about 180.³³ The British army ration for horses in the First World War was 10 lbs, or just over a sixth of a bushel, a day; slightly earlier, a recommended level for a large draught-horse was 18 lbs daily.³⁴ The estimates were not, however, exaggerating the greed of medieval horses. The level of consumption of oats is demonstrated by, for example, accounts for Rochester castle in 1264. There, 164 horses ate 10 quarters 2 bushels a day, which works

³⁰ B. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100–1540. The Monastic Experience* (Oxford, 1993), p. 70. Calculations by P. Contamine, *Guerre, état et société à la fin du moyen âge* (Paris, 1972), p. 652, show a maximum of 4,360 kilocalories for the diet of soldiers in the late fifteenth century.

³¹ Prestwich, 'Victualling Estimates', p. 542.

³² *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 138, shows that these same quantities of rations were used for the horses kept at Beaumaris in 1300. *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ii, no. 1256, shows that six warhorses at Dumfries in 1301 were also allowed half a bushel a day.

³³ M. C. Urquhart, *Gross National Product, Canada, 1870–1926. The Derivation of the Estimates* (Kingston, Ontario, 1993), p. 57.

³⁴ J. Singleton, 'Britain's Military Use of Horses, 1914–18', *Past and Present* 139 (1993), 198; T. Webster and W. Parkes, *An Encyclopaedia of Domestic Economy* (New York, 1855), p. 1115. I have assumed that there were 64 lbs to the bushel, following the figure for wheat given in *De antiquis legibus liber*, ed. T. Stapleton (Camden Society, London, 1846), p. 247.

out at half a bushel each.³⁵ Accounts for the king's stables for 1283–84 show that the horses, a mix of chargers and others, received about three-quarters of a bushel a day, in addition to unspecified quantities of hay.³⁶ One explanation is that if, as seems likely, the oats were not crushed or rolled, this would have reduced their food value, for some of the cereal would pass through the horse unchewed.³⁷ The effect on the horses of eating so much oats would have been to make them fat and frisky, and to have given their coats a good shine.

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In order to ensure that castles could survive the rigours of a siege, there was a principle that there should be a 'dead store' in a castle, a reserve of food supplies that was not to be used save in emergencies. By destroying the dead store, as Robert Bruce did when he took Dumfries castle following the slaying of John Comyn in 1306, a castle was rendered effectively indefensible.³⁸ Agreements with constables might emphasise the importance of the dead store. When, at the end of the thirteenth century, Richard Hastang entered into a contract to keep Jedburgh castle, he was specifically instructed to keep the store of victuals without any diminution for the period of his tenure. His brother Robert was not to make use of the dead store at Roxburgh, save in case of real urgency.³⁹ In 1372 the constables of some of John of Gaunt's castles in Wales were not allowed to make use of the stores, so ensuring that they were preserved intact.⁴⁰

The quantities of food supplies that were retained in the dead store varied very greatly from castle to castle, and it does not look as if estimates of consumption were used to determine what was required. In the mid-thirteenth century there were impressive figures at Dover, with 225 quarters of wheat, 425 quarters of barley, 75 quarters of oats, and 125 tuns of wine, sufficient for a lengthy siege.⁴¹ These were exceptional quantities, reflecting the importance of Dover. In most cases, the amounts of food retained in store were much more limited. At the earl of Lincoln's castle at Denbigh in 1305, at the end of the accounting year the stores consisted of 24 quarters 2 bushels of wheat, 6 quarters of malted barley, 101 quarters 6 bushels of malted oats, 44 tuns of wine, 33 oxen, 27 ox carcasses, 24 bacon pigs, and 352 stockfish.⁴² The considerable amount of wine

³⁵ TNA, E 101/3/3. A little earlier in the same account, fifty-seven horses are shown to have consumed 3 quarters and 4½ bushels of oats a day, which also works out at half a bushel a day.

³⁶ TNA, E 101/97/3. Such figures suggest that B. S. Bachrach, 'The Military Administration of the Norman Conquest', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 8 (1985), 12, 14, underestimated the food requirements of William I's horses, if not their excretory capabilities.

³⁷ J. C. Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Agriculture* (London, 1825), part 3, p. 942. Modern advice is that up to 2 kg of oats (about a seventh of a bushel) a day is appropriate for a large horse: see www.hoofcareunltd.com/Wholeoats.htm (viewed December 2007).

³⁸ *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, iv. 396.

³⁹ TNA, E 101/7/10; *Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland, 1286–1306*, ed. J. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1870), ii. 316.

⁴⁰ *John of Gaunt's Register*, no. 1797.

⁴¹ CPR, 1247–58, pp. 399–400.

⁴² TNA, DL 29/1/2, m. 2.

and malt is surprising. At Bamburgh in 1311–12 the stores contained just 34 quarters of wheat, 14½ quarters of malt, 4½ quarters of barley, and 14 quarters of oats.⁴³ Earl Warenne's Yorkshire castle of Sandal was similarly poorly supplied in 1317. There were in the dead store 17 quarters of wheat, just over 9 quarters of rye, 27½ quarters of mixed grain, and 5 quarters of peas, with 7½ quarters of oats. In addition, there were two beef carcasses, and two tuns of wine that were about to go putrid.⁴⁴ At Scarborough in 1321–22 there were good quantities of supplies, with 40 quarters of wheat, 40 quarters of beans, 28 quarters of salt, and six tuns of wine with a further six kept in the town. This, however, was at a time of rebellion, and the crown had made efforts to secure the castle, which had a garrison of twenty men placed in it.⁴⁵

Inventories made in 1325–26 showed that the great castles in north Wales were reasonably well supplied; orders had gone out in 1323 to double the quantities of victuals they held. At Conwy there were 80 quarters of wheat, a tun of red wine, 336 gallons of honey, 20 carcasses of beef, 10 bacon pigs, and 20 quarters of salt. It was noted that additional supplies of wine, salt and fish were needed. Beaumaris and Caernarfon had similar stocks. There was no malt or grain for brewing; ale did not keep for long, and it made more sense to keep wine in the dead store.⁴⁶

Keeping emergency stores in good condition cannot, however, have been easy. There was a danger that food would simply stay there until it rotted, unless proper arrangements were made for its replacement on a regular basis. At Dover in 1298 officials inspecting the dead store found no fewer than 27 tuns of putrid wine.⁴⁷ Although the state of stores in the north Welsh castles had been very satisfactory in the 1320s, an inquisition into their state in 1340 revealed how quickly things could deteriorate. By then, there was little food of any use kept there. At Conwy, 11¼ carcasses of beef, acquired in 1333 were, given their age, not surprisingly found to be of little value. There were 21½ quarters of wheat, dating from 1337, which were described as 'feable'. Nine tuns of wine with which Beaumaris had been stocked in 1337 were, with one exception, worthless. At Caernarfon, grain acquired in 1337 was in very bad condition, and that from the following year only a little better. Wine from 1336 and 1337 was of no use. Some of the grain at Harlech dated back, remarkably, to 1329.⁴⁸

The system of dead store could work very well. The siege at Rochester in 1264 lasted a mere ten days, and there was little difficulty in keeping the garrison well fed. The accounts show that as the castle was blockaded, nothing was spent on buying food; everything that was needed was taken from store. As the siege took place during Lent, meat was not eaten, but there was ample fish. On the first day

⁴³ TNA, SC 6/950/2.

⁴⁴ TNA, SC 6/1145/21.

⁴⁵ TNA, E 101/16/2.

⁴⁶ CCR, 1323–27, p. 6; TNA, E 101/17/11.

⁴⁷ CCR, 1296–1302, p. 162.

⁴⁸ 'Original Documents', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 68 (1913), Supplement, 28–31.

of the siege there was cod, mackerel, whiting and salmon for dinner. When it ended, there was herring, cod, haddock and eel to eat. By Easter Sunday, when the garrison consumed no fewer than 1,400 eggs, it was over.⁴⁹

A lengthy blockade was a very different matter, as stores were steadily reduced day by day. At Stirling in the summer of 1298 the garrison consisted of about ninety people. The castle was supplied with 67½ quarters of flour, 46 quarters of wheat, 51½ quarters of beans, 81 quarters of barley, 143½ quarters of malt, 190 quarters of oats, with 18 quarters of salt. There were 100 large cattle, and 217 sheep. In addition, there was a box of almonds. With roughly twice as much malt and barley as wheat and flour, the proportions suggest that there had been careful calculation of what was required.⁵⁰ These supplies should have lasted for about six months at the normal rate of consumption, and a good deal longer at reduced rations. Life, even under siege, was perhaps not too hard at the outset. Certainly John Sampson, the constable, was not lacking in material comforts. In addition to his horses, armour, three swords, misericord and daggers, he had an expensive bed, two robes, cloth, mazers and 'many of the utensils appropriate to a gentleman'.⁵¹ In 1299 the Scots besieged the castle. Late in that year supplies were bought for Stirling, and sent north from Newcastle in the *Godale* of Beverley. There were quantities of fish, with stockfish, ling and herring, and in addition there were 104 cheeses, 6,000 onions, 30 stones of tallow, a barrel of honey, wax, cumin, saffron, pepper and mustard seed. There were also four large bronze bowls and a hundred dishes, together with plates, goblets and saucers. Striped cloth for the archers' tunics was included in the shipment, and even furred hoods for the constable, chaplain and clerks. Strangely, the cargo did not include any basic cereals such as wheat, oats or barley.⁵² The goods were unloaded in December at Berwick, to be taken on to Stirling. If they did reach the castle (it is not clear whether or not they did), the garrison must have been sadly disappointed at the lack of badly needed basic foodstuffs. The men were reduced to desperate straits by the Scottish siege. They were even reduced to eating the horses, including the constable's mount, which was worth £13 7s 9d, and another of his animals valued at £8. Surrender followed in the first weeks of 1300.⁵³

Horses were eaten only as a last resort; there seems to have been a taboo on doing this in England that did not apply elsewhere in Europe.⁵⁴ Another occasion when a garrison was reduced to cooking horseflesh came in the years of famine, 1315 and 1316, when Berwick was under immense pressure from the

⁴⁹ TNA, E 101 3/3.

⁵⁰ *Documents*, ed. Stephenson, ii. 299–300.

⁵¹ *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ii, no. 1949.

⁵² *Liber Quotidianus*, pp. 143–4. It seems very possible that these supplies never reached Stirling, which surrendered early in 1300. See F. Watson, *Under the Hammer. Edward I and Scotland 1286–1306* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 92–3.

⁵³ *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ii, no. 1949.

⁵⁴ See for example B. Arnold, *Power and Property in Medieval Germany: Economic and Social Change c. 900–1300* (Oxford, 2004), p. 72.

Scots. When ships arrived with victuals, the Scots succeeded in capturing them. A vivid complaint was that when horses were killed, the men-at-arms boiled the meat and took what they wanted, leaving the ordinary soldiers with whatever was left. So desperate with hunger were the men under Maurice de Berkeley's command that some of them made a sortie, contrary to orders. Many were lost when James Douglas ambushed their column as it was returning to Berwick.⁵⁵ One of the garrison's understandable responses to the lack of food was to accuse Ranulf de Benton, the king's victualling officer at Berwick, of corruption. He and his clerks had allegedly sold off some of the supplies, replacing them with poorer quality goods. They were said to have used false measures, so that they kept for themselves a fifth of what should have been issued to the troops. Forty quarters of wheat had been received at Berwick, and 40 quarters issued, but as a result of incorrect measuring 11 quarters still remained. Much needed foodstuffs had been sent south to Newcastle and sold. When an enquiry took place in Berwick, Benton was too terrified to speak in his own defence, though later he was able to submit a good explanation of what had happened to the exchequer. He agreed that he had, for example, sent grain to Newcastle, but this was to have it ground, as there were not enough mills in Berwick.⁵⁶ Despite the problems that they faced, the garrison did not surrender in 1316, though no doubt memories of the suffering were at least in part behind the decision of the traitor Peter of Spalding to let the Scots enter Berwick in 1318.

*

Sufficient food not only had to be provided, but it also needed to be cooked. The kitchens, bakehouses and brewhouses had to be large enough to cope with the needs of a substantial garrison, or of a large visiting household, even if only on an occasional basis. It is not always easy to match the documentary evidence on castles with the surviving physical remains, but in the case of the kitchens and their ancillary buildings, the two match up. There is relatively little written evidence to show how big kitchens were expected to be. King John gave instructions for those at Marlborough and Ludgershall, where there were to be ovens large enough to roast two or three oxen, but such an order was exceptional.⁵⁷ A very substantial kitchen was that planned at Bamburgh castle in 1384 and specified in an indenture; it was to be 40 feet long and 28 feet wide. Three fireplaces and two ovens provided ample cooking facilities. A pantry, buttery, dresser and larder offered storage and serving facilities. In addition there was to be a brewhouse and a bakehouse. An indenture of 1378 with John Lewyn for building at Roxburgh specified that in the southern tower there was to be a vaulted larder and a vaulted kitchen, with three chimneys. Unfortunately, no indication of the size of these was given. However, another

⁵⁵ *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, iii, nos 470, 477, 496.

⁵⁶ *Northern Petitions*, ed. C. M. Fraser (Surtees Society, 1981), pp. 59–61.

⁵⁷ R. A. Brown, H. M. Colvin and A. J. Taylor, *The History of the King's Works, I, The Middle Ages* (London, 1963), p. 80.

indenture of the same year, also with Lewyn, for work at Carlisle castle, stated that there was to be a kitchen with two fireplaces, in a tower measuring 32 feet by 20. A third agreement, also from 1378, gave the measurements of the kitchen tower at Bolton in Weynsleydale as 10 ells by 8, or about 37 feet by 30.⁵⁸ These were external measurements; the kitchens themselves would have been smaller. Inventories rarely record kitchen equipment in detail, but at Berwick in 1298 the kitchen contained one great cauldron, a couple of brass pots, two small andirons and a gridiron. There was just one oven, with three bakehouses in addition.⁵⁹ Brewing required large vats; at Bamburgh in 1312 there were two new brewing vessels, one for 140 gallons, and the other with a capacity of 80 gallons, along with some old and useless ones.⁶⁰

The archaeological or architectural record of castle kitchens is very varied, and surprisingly limited, but it demonstrates that considerable attention was paid to the need to provide food and drink. It was, however, exceptional for arrangements for food storage, preparation and serving to be as carefully thought out as in the late fourteenth-century palatial donjon or keep at Warkworth in Northumberland.⁶¹ In general, bakehouses and kitchens, with their ovens and fireplaces, were not particularly substantial, and on many sites there is little extensive physical evidence surviving.⁶² One reason is that the buildings were frequently of timber. This presented obvious dangers; at Pickering in Yorkshire, for example, the bakehouse burned down in Edward II's reign.⁶³ The evidence of stone kitchens shows that there was great variety in form and size. Some were very large; the late twelfth-century kitchen at Middleham in Yorkshire was 85 feet long, and 20 wide. At Conwy, the kitchen in the inner ward, which served the royal suite, was 30 feet long; there was a much larger kitchen, largely of timber, in the outer ward. At Caernarfon in 1294, when the Welsh took the half-built castle, an elaborate stone kitchen, some 70 feet long, was under construction. It features two deep semi-circular seatings for cauldrons set over fireplaces, with arrangements for water to be piped through. This kitchen would have been large enough to serve a substantial garrison. Though it is possible that it was completed as a half-timbered structure, it is more likely that it was never finished or put into use; there are no signs of scorching or smoke on the masonry. Even where a kitchen was situated within a tower, so limiting its size, considerable elaboration was possible. At Caerfili, for example, a D-shaped tower, of late thirteenth-century date, provided a brewhouse on the ground

⁵⁸ M. J. B. Hislop, *John Lewyn of Durham. A Medieval Mason in Practice* (British Archaeological Reports, British Series 438, 2007), 76–8; L. F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540, A Documentary History* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 455–6, 458, 465.

⁵⁹ *Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland*, ii. 323.

⁶⁰ TNA, SC 6/950/2.

⁶¹ P. Brears, *Cooking and Dining in Medieval England* (Totnes, 2008), pp. 47, 50–1, provides an analysis. The building was clearly designed for domestic, not military, use.

⁶² J. R. Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications* (Leicester, 1990), pp. 138–50.

⁶³ TNA, DL 29/1/3.

floor, and a kitchen on the first floor, with fireplace and boiling furnace.⁶⁴ This was a 'privy kitchen'; there would have been another much larger kitchen for use when the castle was fully occupied.

Most of the evidence suggests that what was produced in these castle kitchens was an uninspiring and monotonous diet, dominated by bread, pottage and ale, enlivened to some extent by meat and fish, often in dried form. Excavations at castle sites confirm the documentary evidence that beef, mutton and pork were the main types of meat. Venison was also eaten. Chicken, goose and pigeon were the most common birds in the diet, while a wide range of types of fish featured. At Barnard Castle, unusually, pig remains were the most common, followed by those of deer, with cattle in third place.⁶⁵ At Guildford, sheep and goat bones were more numerous than those of cattle and pigs. However, during the reign of Henry III, when the king visited the castle regularly, there are indications of a more élite diet. Pigs were roasted whole; the proportion of mutton declined. There was an increase in the consumption of venison and wild birds; interestingly, the deer remains show that a ritual division of the carcasses took place. The hunters, for example, left the pelvis for the crows, and did not bring it back to the castle. Fourteen types of fish have been identified. Much of the cod and haddock was dried and salted, but the presence of remains of fresh marine fish, and of sturgeon, are suggestive of an upper-class diet.⁶⁶ Deposits from the mid-thirteenth century onwards of large quantities of shell show that oysters were eaten on a significant scale.⁶⁷

There is documentary evidence to show that some luxury items might be available to add flavour to the diet. Almonds, cinnamon and pepper featured among the provisions at Norham castle in 1212.⁶⁸ In addition to the normal foodstuffs, the 1264 Rochester account lists almonds, figs, rice, dates and unspecified spices. These were presumably reserved for the constable, Roger Leyburn, together with Earl Warenne and William de Braose who were also present in the castle, and their knights.⁶⁹ At Edinburgh in 1301 onions, garlic, pepper, saffron and cumin were available to improve the flavour of the food.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ Brears, *Cooking and Dining*, pp. 188, 196; A. J. Taylor, *Caernarvon Castle and Town Walls* (London, 1953), p. 28.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 178–80; Austin, *Acts of Perception*, ii. 589–609 gives a detailed account of the animal remains discovered in the course of excavation.

⁶⁶ R. Poulton and others, *A Medieval Royal Complex at Guildford. Excavations at the Castle and Palace* (Guildford, 2005), pp. 116–32, 145. The division of deer carcasses is also discussed by N. J. Sykes, 'The Impact of the Normans on Hunting', *Food in Medieval England. Diet and Nutrition*, ed. C. M. Woolgar, D. Sergeantson and T. Waldron (Oxford, 2006), pp. 170–4. There is little indication of freshwater fish at Guildford, but for scientific evidence suggesting the importance of such fish in the medieval diet, see G. Müldner and M. P. Richards, 'Fast or Feast: Reconstructing Diet in Later Medieval England by Stable Isotope Analysis', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 32 (2005), 39–48.

⁶⁷ http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/adsdata/guildford_sas_2005.

⁶⁸ *Pipe Roll, 14 John*, ed. P. M. Barnes (Pipe Roll Society, 1955), p. 74.

⁶⁹ TNA, E 101/3/3.

⁷⁰ Prestwich, 'Victualling Estimates', 537.

It was not possible to meet all tastes, of course. One of Edward I's officials, probably John Droxford, keeper of the wardrobe, was particularly anxious to eat porpoise, Nantes lampreys and large eels during Lent, commodities which were evidently not available in Scotland.⁷¹

The problems involved in securing proper food supplies for castles were inevitably very different in almost every case. The requirements of castles in war, or when used as centres from which to occupy territory, were very different from those of castles which, in terms of their use, were little more than country houses. The system of dead store, reserves for use in case of siege, was sensibly worked out, but hard to maintain over long periods. Estimating likely consumption was not necessarily a hit-and-miss affair; there were known standards that could be used to work out how much food garrisons and their horses required. These, however, were not always used. Despite the horrors of knights being forced to eat their own horses, as at Stirling in 1299 and Berwick in 1316, and the stories of starving men compelled to surrender, the overall indications are that the undoubted tedium of service in castle garrisons was alleviated by a remarkably ample diet, although one that lacked much variety. In good times not only was there a great deal of food, but there was also more than enough to drink. The tedium of long days spent in a castle was surely made more tolerable for members of a garrison by their being drunk for most of the time.

⁷¹ *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ii, no. 1458. Droxford's tastes seem very strange. It is surprising that porpoise was regarded as a delicacy. In the seventeenth century it was described as being 'of a very hard digestion, noisome to the stomach, and of a very grosse, excrementall and naughty juyce'. See R. Sabin, R. Bendrey and I. Riddler, 'Twelfth Century Porpoise Remains from Dover and Canterbury', *Archaeological Journal* 156 (1999), 369.

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Plate 1. Warrant signed by Henry VI for the granting of arms to Roger Keys and his brother, Thomas, 19 May 1449 (TNA C 81/1454 no.15).

Plate 2. Two warrants, both dated 1 January 1449 and signed by Henry VI, for the granting of arms to Eton College (above) and King's College, Cambridge (below), which were stitched on to the charter roll (behind) so that the arms could be accurately copied on to the roll (TNA C 53/190 m.43).

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Plate 3. Letters patent of Henry VI's grant of arms to
Eton College, Berkshire, 1 January 1449 (Eton College
ECR 39/82).

Plate 4. Copy of Henry VI's grant of arms to Bernard Angevin, 11 March
1445, on the Gascon Roll (TNA C 61/133B).



Plate 5. Trotton Church (Sussex): Paintings of standing figures on the north wall of the nave, c. 1370–90.



Plate 6. Trotton Church (Sussex): Paintings on the south wall of the nave, showing Thomas, Lord Camoys and his son and daughter-in-law, c. 1402–10.



Plate 7. Trotton Church (Sussex): Tomb chest with brasses of Thomas, Lord Camoys (d. 1421) and his second wife, Elizabeth. The date of death is incorrectly given on the inscription.



Plate 8. Winterbourne Church (Glos.): Painting of Sir Thomas de Bradeston at prayer on the arch jamb of the east wall of St Michael's chapel, c. 1330–40.

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Plate 9. Opening text of the Boarstall section of the Boarstall Cartulary.

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Plate 10. The Boarstall Horn.

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Plate 11. Calendar Page for May from the Rede Psalter, Christ Church MS 98.

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Plate 12. John Balliol stripped of his regalia (Sir Robert Forman of Luthrie's *Armorial*
c. 1562).

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Plate 13. Reverse of the large Seal of Scone Abbey, mid-thirteenth century.

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Plate 14. Inverted and broken arms of William Marisco (Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*), 1250–3.

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Plate 15. Thomas of Lancaster with St George, Douce Hours, c.1325–50.

Bertrand du Guesclin, the Truce of Bruges and Campaigns in Périgord (1376)

Michael Jones

In his epic *chanson* on the life of Bertrand du Guesclin, the Picard *trouvère* Cuvelier relates in great detail the French reconquest of Poitou from the English in 1372–73. In this the Constable took a leading part, culminating in his victory at the battle of Chizé in late March 1373. Strangely, Cuvelier then omits all mention of events in the next few years.¹ His long poem (completed by c. 1385) of almost 25,000 lines continues with a short account of the campaign that Louis, duke of Anjou, and Bertrand fought in Guyenne in 1377. Cuvelier then brings his work to a surprisingly abrupt conclusion with an equally partial account of the expedition that led up to the Constable's death at the siege of Châteauneuf de Randon in July 1380. Modern historians are aware that other significant campaigns in which Du Guesclin had an important role are also absent from the *chanson*; for example, those in Normandy and Brittany in 1378–79.

Cuvelier's modern editor speculates, surely correctly, that his motivation in bringing his poem to an end in this fashion was to avoid possible political embarrassment; otherwise he would have to explain his hero's ambivalent actions in 1379 when Bertrand failed to prevent the return of the exiled pro-English duke, John IV, to his duchy of Brittany.² One very evident consequence is that numerous generations of later biographers, who have recounted the Constable's life simply by paraphrasing Cuvelier, with little effort to discover additional material, have often produced similarly distorted and very inadequate narratives of the Constable's last years. Georges Minois, for example, writing of the years 1375 and 1376, states categorically: 'Deux années de paix pendant lesquelles nous perdons la trace du connétable. Du Guesclin disparaît des chroniques et des documents officiels.'³

¹ Jean-Claude Faucon, ed., *La Chanson de Bertrand du Guesclin de Cuvelier*, 3 vols (Toulouse, 1990), i, lines 24073 ff. I am very grateful to Dr Guilhem Pépin for reading a draft of this paper and making several useful suggestions, to Dr Elizabeth Jones for stylistic points, and to Don Shewan for drawing the map; remaining errors are of course my own.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 146–7, 151.

³ Georges Minois, *Du Guesclin* (Paris, 1993), pp. 424–5, cf. the most recent English biography, Richard Vernier, *The Flower of Chivalry. Bertrand du Guesclin and the Hundred Years*

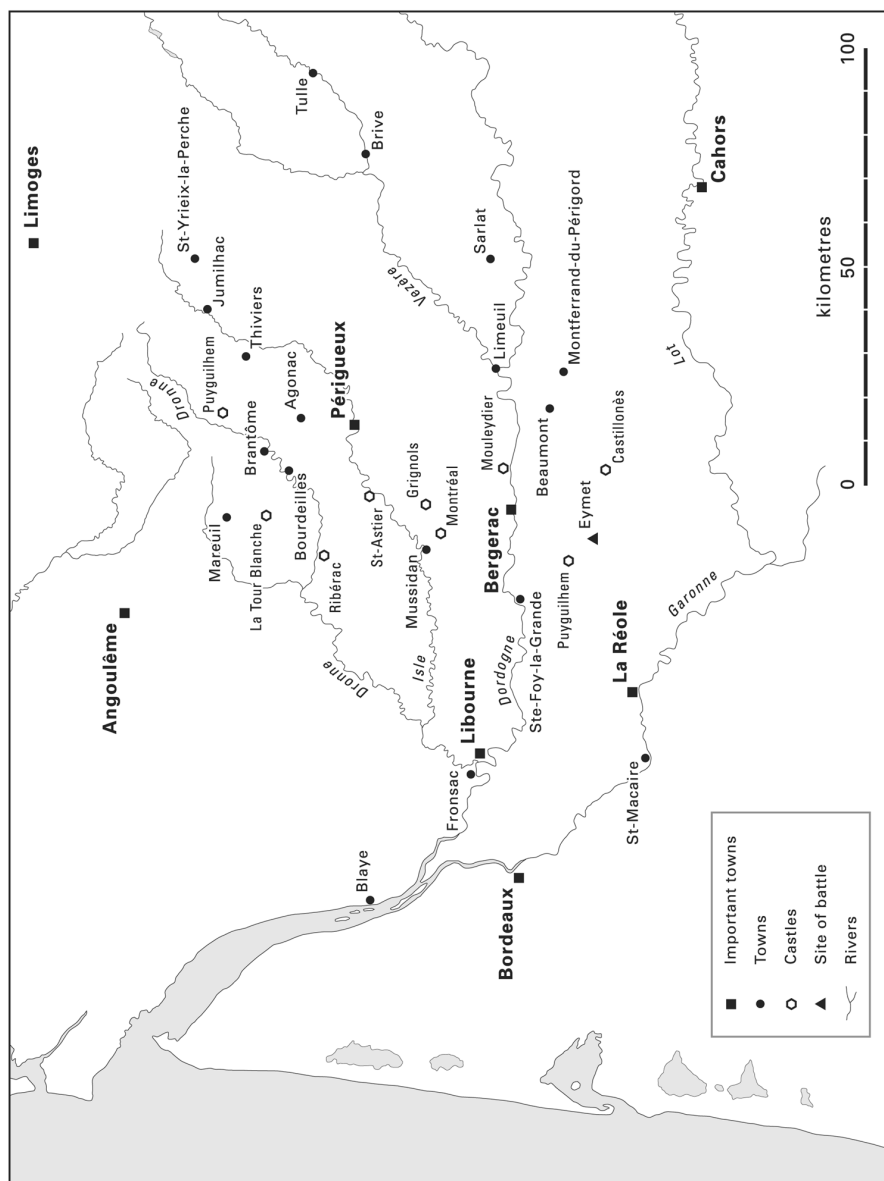


Figure 3. The marches of Guyenne and Périgord in 1376

Even for those showing more initiative, other pitfalls await in arriving at a balanced or accurate version of events in which the Constable took part after 1373. The reconquest of Poitou was followed by the Breton campaign in the summer of that year; in it the Constable seized most towns and castles which had previously been in the allegiance of John IV. One of the principal chronicle accounts for these events is that of the notoriously unreliable Jean Cabaret d'Orville. Around 1430 he wrote his life of Louis II, duke of Bourbon (d. 1410), one of the other commanders of the invading French army, but relied too uncritically on the fading memory of Jean de Châteaumorand, one of Bourbon's chamberlains.⁴ For this particular Breton campaign, the most prolific and artful of contemporary authors, Jean Froissart, also provides a typically colourful account.⁵ In his defence, it can be admitted that his narrative on this occasion is not devoid of serious historical content as it is essentially corroborated by more impartial administrative records.⁶ It is seldom wise to dismiss Froissart out of hand even at his most imaginative. However, his witness for the Constable's actions in those years and campaigns for which Cuvelier is silent is much more problematic. He apparently conflates two separate campaigns in the Pyrenean foothills which were led by the duke of Anjou in 1373 and 1374. This was compounded by mixing up the actions of Olivier, the Constable's brother, with those of Bertrand himself, who was only present in Gascony for the expedition to Bigorre in 1374.⁷ Froissart also attributes to the Constable a much more prominent role in the famous siege of the English garrison under Thomas Caterington at St-Sauveur in the Cotentin in 1374–75 than other evidence warrants.⁸ Further conflation occurs with regard to his version of military events in the Dordogne valley in 1376 and 1377 where the Anglo-Gascon administration and its local supporters were sorely pressed as French forces fought their way ever closer towards Bordeaux, whittling away the greater Guyenne that had been created by the treaty of Brétigny-Calais (1360).⁹

For modern scholars of medieval warfare, especially those like Maurice Keen who have been concerned with the theory and application of the Laws of War,

War (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 2003), p. 177, 'The chronicles shed very little light on Bertrand's activities during the next two years.'

⁴ Jean Cabaret d'Orville, *La Chronique du bon duc Loys de Bourbon*, ed. A.-M. Chazaud (Paris, 1876).

⁵ Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Siméon Luce *et al.*, 15 vols (Paris, 1869–1975), viii. lxxii ff.

⁶ Michael Jones, ed., *Letters, Orders and Musters of Bertrand du Guesclin, 1357–1380* (Woodbridge, 2004) (hereafter cited as *Letters*), nos 552, 555–61, 563–70.

⁷ The sequence of events in Guyenne-Gascony in 1373–74 were first seriously examined in Dom J. Devic and Dom J. Vaissete, *Histoire générale du Languedoc*, new edn. by E. Rosach, A. Molinier *et al.*, 16 vols (Toulouse, 1874–1904, reprinted Osnabrück, 1973), ix. 833–44, x. 1503–9; cf. also Froissart, *Chroniques*, viii. cv ff.

⁸ Léopold Delisle, *Histoire du château et des sires de Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte* (Valognes, 1867) and le Marquis Terrier de Loray, *Jean de Vienne, amiral de France 1341–1396* (Paris, 1877) provide the main details; J. G. Bellamy, 'Sir John Annesley and the Chandos Inheritance', *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* 10 (1966), 94–104 for Caterington's ultimate fate.

⁹ Cf. below p. 195.

there are a number of intriguing questions that can be posed for understanding the Constable's role in these years. How did he react to the negotiations for an Anglo-French peace? How did general and local truces affect his behaviour? How did the Constable occupy himself and his men while balancing military imperatives with the diplomatic interests of his master, Charles V of France?

This short essay will suggest a few responses to these questions. It will do so by focusing on one campaign in particular, ignored by most of Du Guesclin's biographers, medieval and modern alike: that fought in Périgord early in 1376 when that province like the rest of France was nominally subject to the general truce negotiated at Bruges in 1375.¹⁰ Some archival evidence for this campaign allows a closer view of the Constable's *modus operandi* than is usually the case since he can be traced in the field from day to day. Within the general context, his personal role and the pressures to which he was subjected by his political masters and others who believed that his presence would help resolve their own local problems form a main theme in what follows.¹¹

The course of the negotiations which led to proclamation of a general Anglo-French truce on 27 June 1375 was first clearly set out by Édouard Perroy in his edition of the *Liber abreuiatus*. This is a collection of the main documents handled by two papal nuncios overseeing the peace talks for which Pope Gregory XI had been pressing since the beginning of his pontificate in 1370.¹² After several years of very desultory diplomatic contact during which the war had also generally gone badly for the English, thanks to the nuncios' efforts the talks gathered momentum in late 1374. However, after discussion of claims and counter-claims about who was responsible for renewed hostilities in 1369 during the first serious exchanges at Bruges between the major delegates (John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster for England, and Philip, duke of Burgundy, for France) in March 1375, it quickly became clear that resolution of the fundamental issues that had divided the protagonists since conflict between England and France began in 1337 was unlikely. The unavoidable stumbling block as ever was the question of sovereignty of the lands held by the English in France. So the delegates fell back 'on less ambitious if more complicated schemes such as the partition of Aquitaine' as a potential means of bringing peace; but even here irreconcilable differences soon emerged.¹³ Nevertheless, there was pressure to avoid a total

¹⁰ Arlette Higounet-Nadal, *Périgueux aux XIVe et XVe siècles. Étude de démographie historique* (Bordeaux, 1978), pp. 150–1 briefly outlines events.

¹¹ There is no room here to explore in depth the Constable's personal affairs such as the ransom of John Hastings, earl of Pembroke, and the related sale of his Spanish lands during these years, also partly influenced by what happened at Bruges (cf. *Letters*, nos 562, 629, 633–5, 642–6, 648–9, 664).

¹² Edouard Perroy, ed., 'The Anglo-French Negotiations at Bruges 1374–1377', *Camden Miscellany* xix (1952); George Holmes, *The Good Parliament* (Oxford, 1975) provides the fullest modern treatment of Anglo-French diplomacy in its wider European context in these years, while Roland Delachenal's magisterial *Histoire de Charles V*, 5 vols (Paris, 1909–31) remains a mine of information.

¹³ Perroy, 'Anglo-French Negotiations', p. xvii.

breakdown in negotiations and the opprobrium that would follow from both papal entreaties and the weight of public opinion in favour of peace. By late May 1375 the idea of a general truce emerged as a face-saving compromise that would buy time for further reflection by both sides.

This truce was drafted on 26 May, ratified by both major parties for themselves and their allies on 27 June, and was to run for a year until 30 June 1376. To oversee implementation and to deal with any infringements conservators were appointed, as had become usual since the 1350s whenever cessation of Anglo-French hostilities was mooted.¹⁴ The full list of those representing Edward III in all the main active theatres of war – the Calais Pale, Picardy and Normandy, Brittany and Guyenne – is known, but only a few of the names of their French counterparts.¹⁵ Among the former, Sir Thomas Felton, seneschal of Guyenne, was appointed to all the regional panels commissioned to supervise the truces along the long frontiers of Guyenne from Saintonge, Poitou and the Angoumois in the north, to Bigorre and Bayonne in the south. Each panel usually consisted of two or three names from both sides, normally those of leading local nobles or administrators of proven military capacity who were to meet at specified locations to hear claims about infractions. Felton's fellow Anglo-Gascon conservators for the frontier with Périgord, that most relevant to what follows, were the lords of Montferrand and Mussidan, both staunch supporters of Edward III.¹⁶ Mussidan, who held the important castle of Blaye controlling the Gironde estuary, was also a major landholder in the Isle valley, twenty-five kilometres north of Bergerac and thirty kilometres south-west of Périgueux, an area critical to the operations of the Constable in early 1376. Some garrisons over whom complaints were to be made, like that of Bourdeilles, were under Mussidan's own command, an indication of how personal and public interests clashed at this level.¹⁷

Something of their work as conservators can be followed in a region which had been bitterly divided since Henry, earl of Lancaster, had taken Bergerac in 1345 but failed to follow this up with the capture of Périgueux.¹⁸ Communications

¹⁴ Kenneth Fowler, 'Truces', *The Hundred Years War*, ed. Kenneth Fowler (London, 1971), pp. 190 ff.

¹⁵ Perroy, 'Anglo-French Negotiations', pp. 23–4, XXIX.

¹⁶ Aymeric IV de Gontaut-Biron, lord of Montferrand-du-Périgord, and Ramon de Montaut, lord of Mussidan and Blaye (cf. E. Labrousse, *Le Livre de Vie. Les seigneurs et les capitaines du Périgord Blanc au XIV^e siècle* (Bordeaux and Paris, 1891), pp. 337–47, a reference kindly supplied by Guilhem Pépin).

¹⁷ In 1375 Edward III conferred the castellany of Bourdeilles (Dordogne) on Mussidan in perpetuity, and he in turn on 3 June 1375 accorded a truce of a year to the inhabitants of Périgueux, less than twenty kilometres to the south-east (BnF, Collection Périgord 47 fols 130–2 and 49 f. 149).

¹⁸ K. A. Fowler, *The King's Lieutenant. Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster, 1310–1361* (London, 1969), pp. 54–60 and Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War*, vol. 1, *Trial by Battle* (London, 1990), pp. 455–70 for the 1345 campaign. The Black Prince had invested John of Gaunt with Bergerac on 8 October 1370 (J. Delpit, *Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre* (Paris, 1847), no. CCXIX) and Gaunt appointed Héliot Buade as

in August 1375 between the seneschal of Guyenne and towns in the Dordogne valley like Fronsac, Libourne and Bergerac reveal that neither the general truce declared at Bruges nor local agreements (*patis*) with individual captains made earlier were being well-respected. A letter to one such captain from Bergerac's archives dating to this period, for example, records insecurity in the countryside around the town as well as further afield. A small boat (*gabarre*) containing wine to be sold to raise money for a *pati* which the townsmen owed, had recently been seized at Libourne despite a safe-conduct. The men of Puyguilhem were robbing *les povres gens* who should have been covered by the *pati*, stealing their cattle and other livestock left in the fields. The men of Montreyal, Gayac and Montferrand were similarly tyrannising *nostre povre gent* for which the council implored the captain's help in restoring order.¹⁹ Conditions did not improve; in early October Bergerac felt obliged to agree a new *pati*, which was to run until 1 August 1376, with Segui de Mons, possibly the man to whom the earlier letters had been written.²⁰ Thus far there was little evidence that the general conservators had had much impact locally. However, on 9 November the town received letters from Thomas Felton informing the councillors that he had just held discussions with the main French conservators at St-Macaire. He asked them to send representatives to a further meeting to be held with them at Caudrot, near La Réole (captured by Louis of Anjou and the Constable in September 1374), where it was hoped that their grievances would be resolved.²¹

This meeting was held towards the end of the month. It was attended not only by representatives of urban communities under Anglo-Gascon rule, but also by envoys from at least one important town under French rule, whose cooperation would be essential if local violence on the borders of Guyenne and Périgord was to be seriously tackled. This was Périgueux, lying some forty-five kilometres to the north-east of Bergerac, which had seized the opportunities offered by resumption of war in 1369 to return to the Valois cause, reversing the terms of Brétigny-Calais that had delivered it into Edward III's hands. It had submitted to Charles V's brother and lieutenant in Guyenne and Languedoc, Louis, duke of Anjou, in 1370.²² In so doing it resumed the position it had enjoyed prior to 1360 as the leading defender of French royal interests in the region. Indeed its contacts with Paris had been surprisingly frequent and close even before the Hundred Years War started.²³ But now it too, like Bergerac, was

keeper of the castle on 15 January 1371 (*ibid.*, no. CCXXV; *John of Gaunt's Register 1372–76*, ed. S. Armitage-Smith, 2 vols (Camden Society 3rd series xx–xxi, London, 1911), i. 4–5 no. 6).

¹⁹ BnF, Coll. Périgord 48 fol. 60r, eighteenth-century copy from the *Livre des Jurades* with the marginal date '1375', and the suggestion that it was written to the captain of Fronsac or Libourne. But as Bergerac had clearly arranged a *pati* with their correspondent this seems improbable as it, Libourne and Fronsac were all under Anglo-Gascon rule.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 60v.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Fowler, 'Truces', p. 195, has no evidence for the conservators in this sector until June 1376.

²² A[rchives] D[épartementales de la] Dordogne, E Dépôt, Ville de Périgueux, AA 9 for Anjou's letters confirming the town's privileges and Charles V's ratification, 1370.

²³ Cf. Arlette Higounet-Nadal, 'Le journal des dépenses d'un notaire de Périgueux en mission à

surrounded by many small hostile garrisons whose raids were so boldly pressed despite truces, *patis* and *souffrances de guerre* that many citizens refused to leave the safety offered by the town walls to farm their lands or sell their wares. This was inevitably causing economic hardship which was accompanied by a reversal since 1367 of the population recovery that had begun during the early years of English suzerainty.²⁴ More specifically, evidence from the town accounts shows that in November 1375 the mayor and consuls were asked to send an envoy to Caudrot to seek compensation for damages recently inflicted.²⁵ Further letters of 15 December to the seneschal of Bordeaux (i.e. Thomas Felton) reveal that the main threat was coming from a very active Anglo-Gascon garrison at Brantôme. Some twenty-seven kilometres to the north of Périgueux, low-lying in the Dronne valley and protected by extensive natural and artificial water-defences, convenient suburban monastic buildings had been turned into a temporary redoubt giving the garrison added protection.²⁶

By then the mayor and consuls had decided that even stronger action was required to protect the town from all the dangers it faced, despite the best efforts of the conservators locally to implement the truce of Bruges. Two of their number, Hélié de Blanquet and Guilhem de Botas, were sent to Paris towards the end of December to request armed aid from Charles V. His response must have exceeded all their expectations: to reward the town's loyalty, which he flatteringly compared to that of Paris, he promised to send the Constable with a considerable force. Letters from Blanquet and Botas, dated at Paris on 3 January 1376, reporting this news to the mayor and consuls, also reveal some of the conditions on which the Constable agreed to serve.²⁷

The envoys recounted that they had been magnificently received by Charles V. Then in full council, he agreed to send the Constable with 700 men-at-arms and 300 crossbowmen to deal with enemy forces in Périgord. Intervening personally in the discussion, Bertrand told the envoys, with rather surprisingly impartiality, that his intention was to 'drive (or throw, *geter*) out all the English and Bretons from Périgord and lead them into Aragon to make war on the king of Aragon'. This plan of action was clearly reminiscent of his earlier expeditions to Spain in 1365–66 and 1368–69 in support of Henry of Trastámara, claimant to the throne of Castile, when many members of the free companies accompanied him. Had the royal council discussed this tactic once more to reduce the number of foot-loose troops on both sides in the south-west who were making implementation

Paris (janvier–septembre 1337)', *Annales du Midi* 76² (1964), 379–402.

²⁴ Higounet-Nadal, *Périgueux*, p. 148.

²⁵ AD Dordogne, E Dépôt, Ville de Périgueux, CC 67, accounts 1375–76, fol. 15r. Michel Hardy, *Inventaire sommaire des Archives communales antérieures à 1790, Ville de Périgueux* (Périgueux, 1897), pp. 85–7 provides extensive extracts, but without foliation and the omission of most dates; the original register is cited henceforward simply as CC 67.

²⁶ CC 67 fol. 16r: 'loquel requeriam que fezes tener las trevas e nos fezes repparar las raubessis que nos avian fach los Angles de Brantolme, e avian aussit [= occis, killed] Johan de Beleier, e avian rambat tot ple de marchans d'esta villa.'

²⁷ CC 67 fol. 15v = *Letters*, no. 673; there is also a copy in BnF, Coll. Périgord 49 fol. 147r.

of the truce so difficult? It had certainly been used in the previous year when the general truce was first agreed, and Enguerrand de Coucy was despatched to Alsace with a force including some Bretons who had earlier been in Gascony and Languedoc, so it may well have been entertained again in 1376.²⁸ More puzzling, Blanquet and Botas reported that the king had learnt from the duke of Anjou that the lords of Lesparre, Rauzan and Mussidan, amongst the most active local noble supporters of the Anglo-Gascon regime, had recently been taken at sea by the Spanish. The delegates at Bruges later in the month certainly knew that Florimont de Lesparre had recently been captured.²⁹ But there is no other evidence for Rauzan and Mussidan suffering a comparable fate before they were taken at Eymet in September 1377.³⁰ More to the point, the Constable, aware that his arrival in Périgord with a substantial force could be construed as a serious breach of the general truce, told Blanquet and Botas that he would personally inform the duke of Lancaster that, in his opinion, this had already been broken in order to protect himself against any later reproach, a concern for legal niceties for which he is seldom given much credit.³¹

Not surprisingly, news from Paris of the forthcoming campaign in Périgord caused alarm at Bruges where the delegates were still struggling to find a way of implementing a much longer cessation of Anglo-French hostilities. Talks had been resumed in late December 1375, and by January the delegates were seriously considering the possibility of a forty-year truce since a resolution of the sovereignty issue was patently beyond them. They were also clearly informed on the many serious infractions of the general truces in 'Périgord, Saintonge, Quercy, the Limousin, Auvergne and other parts (*pays*) of Guyenne' by pro-English forces who had taken 'many towns, castles and fortresses from the king [of France] or those who were of his party'. They feared, quite correctly in the event, that the arrival of the Constable and his men would only escalate the violence. So both delegations agreed that 'notable people' should be immediately despatched to restore peace and order, supervise return of the captured fortresses and deliver prisoners taken in breach of the truce. Lastly, but

²⁸ Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V*, iv, 580–4 for Coucy's expedition; for Owain Lawgoch's participation in it see A. D. Carr, *Owain of Wales: The End of the House of Gwynedd* (Cardiff, 1991), pp. 46–9.

²⁹ Perroy, 'Anglo-French Negotiations', p. 36. At n. 4, Perroy states that Lesparre was captured at the battle of La Rochelle in 1372, but no convincing proof is adduced. In 1374–75 he was a conservator for the Agenais. However, Perroy's comment 'The circumstances of his new captivity seem unknown' holds; Edward III was still trying to get reparation for his capture after September 1376 (Perroy, 'Anglo-French Negotiations', p. 79).

³⁰ Below, p. 195. In August 1376, Rauzan and Mussidan, along with the lords of Poyanne, Duras, Curton and Labarde, were certainly free and in London, where they agreed to purchase a prisoner, the lord of Poys, from Edward III (Nicole de Peña, ed., *Documents sur la maison de Durfort (XIe–XVe siècle)*, 2 vols (Bordeaux, 1977), ii, no. 1275).

³¹ *Letters*, no. 673: 'Ledit Connetable no volut cependant pas entrer en guerre sans avertis le duc de Lenclastre que la Treve estoit ete rompue a fin de n'avoir rien a se reprocher.' For a previous truce between the Constable and Lancaster for the frontiers of Guyenne in 1374, see nos 605 and 610.

most pressing, they urged Charles V to postpone for two months assembly of the army the Constable was collecting to give time for their proposed remedial actions to become effective.³² But their appeal was in vain. Bertrand had already despatched lieutenants to discuss with the mayor and consuls of Périgueux the logistics of his expedition by the time the diplomats at Bruges made their representations to Charles V.

On 10 January 1376, two of Bertrand's closest aides, Thibaut du Pont and Alain de la Houssaye (both had served with him in Spain), were received by the councillors with gifts of wine for them and oats for their horses.³³ They had clearly been sent to get the latest military intelligence to enable planning of the campaign to proceed. Meanwhile in Paris on 11 January Charles V, who was growing increasingly disenchanted by the lack of diplomatic progress at Bruges, ordered an additional 320 men-at-arms to be added to the 200 the Constable had already apparently enrolled for his campaign in Périgord.³⁴ Leaving the capital shortly afterwards he made his way first to Poitiers, where he received further letters from the consuls of Périgueux about enemy movements around Ribérac, some thirty-two kilometres to the west, a lordship owned by Regnaut, lord of Pons, now in French service.³⁵ Simultaneously the consuls were also in communication with their nominal lord, the count of Périgord, and other local nobles who would soon join the Constable's army.³⁶ By the beginning of February some of his men mustered at Limoges, including Alain de la Houssaye, reunited with his forty lances.³⁷ Other troops gathered at Poitiers where on 14 February the Constable's brother, Olivier, headed a company of 100 men-at-arms, while thirty-four other companies of very miscellaneous sizes, totalling around 520 men-at-arms in all, and including many of the Constable's most loyal soldiers, mustered over the next few days.³⁸ In the interim, the increasingly nervous consuls of Périgueux sent yet further messengers to keep him abreast of local developments. In return, he reassured them he would 'supply good remedy', particularly in the case of Ribérac, where by 3 February the castle as well as the town had fallen to the English.³⁹

Some small companies reached Périgueux in advance of the Constable's main forces. The Breton esquire, Olivier Duaut, for instance, was specifically ordered before his arrival to protect the town against their enemies at Brantôme with a small troop of twenty men-at-arms who remained on guard for a week

³² Perroy, 'Anglo-French Negotiations', pp. xvii–xviii, 26–36, XXXI and XXXII.

³³ CC 67 fol. 9v.

³⁴ *Letters*, no. 676 after eighteenth-century extracts from the lost accounts of Jacques Renart, treasurer of wars, 1 Dec. 1375–1 Jan. 1377.

³⁵ CC 67 fol. 16v; *Letters*, nos 486 and 668 for Pons serving under the Constable.

³⁶ CC 67 fol. 16r–v, for couriers sent to the count of Périgord, the lord of Commarque and captains at St-Jean-de-Côle, Roncessilh and Limoges 'que volguessan donar secors al castel de Ribeyrac quar lhi Angles avian pris la villa'.

³⁷ *Letters*, no. 707 note.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, nos 678–9.

³⁹ CC 67 fol. 16v, 18 February 1376: 'e y metria bon remedi'.

from 19 February.⁴⁰ Olivier's brother, Yvon, and Bernard de Grésignac, *viguier* of Toulouse, also came directly from the Constable 'to discover what aid we would give him' since Bertrand was also simultaneously being urged to go to Saintonge. There, they alleged, the authorities were prepared to give him 'a great sum of money'; clearly this was a stratagem to exact more concessions from the vulnerable Périgourdin.⁴¹ To prevent Bertrand being lured away at the last moment, the council agreed to levy a *fouage* of 1 franc per hearth towards his expenses as well as to provide the Constable with victuals and other necessary supplies.⁴²

To their evident relief, he arrived personally in the city on 26 February, with his household advisers, including his treasurer, butler and secretaries, and a select entourage of captains including his brother, Olivier, Alain de Beaumont, the *viguier* of Toulouse, the lords of Mareuil and Commarque, and three Genoese Masters of Crossbowmen, Luigi Doria and Luigi and Giovanni Grimaut.⁴³ They had apparently left Jumilhac, over sixty kilometres to the north-east, the previous day.⁴⁴ It is unlikely that all the Constable's troops arrived with him on this occasion; there is, for example, little evidence that large numbers were billeted in the town at this stage though a few clearly were. Nevertheless copious quantities of wine and oats were provided again for the leaders, together with torches both to light the lodgings where the Constable and his assistants were staying and to enable them to find their way round the narrow streets of the town once early winter dusk fell.⁴⁵

Other contingents of the Constable's army were detailed off to garrison neighbouring towns and castles in Périgord or to begin laying siege to the many isolated strongholds that were the main cause of insecurity in the region. The town accounts of Périgueux for this period reveal a constant flow of messengers in every direction, carrying letters to and from the Constable, the mayor and consuls and others as every bit of intelligence and rumour was gathered or distributed to friendly parties. This pattern would continue as long as the Constable was present in the province.⁴⁶ They also reveal a busy round of talks and other preparations while the Constable was present. The mayor and consuls were themselves also provided with torches so that they could go to close the town gates in the evening after the return of men-at-arms from patrolling

⁴⁰ CC 67 fol. 10r: 'qui era vengut a nostra requesta en esta villa, am gens d'armes, per nos guardar quar lhi Angles de Brantolme nos corian chaque jorn entroque a las portas, ella nuech que nos volian eschalar'; the town gave him a further 50 francs on 27 February (*ibid.*, fol. 27v).

⁴¹ CC 67 fol. 36r: 'lo qual moss[enh]or le Conestables, avans que vengues, nos trames Hyon de Duaut e lo Viguier de Toloza per saber de que lhi volrian a yudar, quar en Sentonge lo volian tirar a lour e donar gran re de finanssa.'

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ CC 67 fol. 7r.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 17r; cf. *Letters*, nos 683–5.

⁴⁵ CC 67 fols 10r–11v.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, fols 15r–18v contain extensive details for 'voyages' between February and April 1376.

the countryside, and they went several times to the Constable's lodgings for discussions.⁴⁷

He did not spend long enjoying the town's hospitality. Siege had already been laid to La Tour Blanche, a small hill-top fortress some twenty-five kilometres west of Brantôme. Although the Constable was himself becoming familiar with the use of gunpowder artillery (a great bombard had speeded the reduction of La Réole in 1374),⁴⁸ the campaign in Périgord in 1376 was waged primarily with traditional siege-weapons. Most were built locally in Périgueux and transported as required; stone-throwers (*perriers*), for instance, were made for the siege of La Tour Blanche.⁴⁹ But it did not resist long; surprise investment of the place rather than the massing of heavy weaponry seems to have been sufficient in this instance to overawe the garrison. By 2 March it had agreed to surrender on 9 March, giving eight hostages as a guarantee of good faith.⁵⁰ These were delivered for safekeeping to the Consulate at Périgueux, to which Bertrand also returned for a further round of discussions with the mayor and consuls, despatch of letters to the king and yet more talks. On 7 March, for instance, he met the mayor and council from Limoges who had come to Périgueux to see him in person;⁵¹ some of his forces were probably still based there. He then went back to accept the surrender of La Tour Blanche on 9 March, following this up with a swift feint southwards into the Dordogne valley. He was at Mouleydier, ten kilometres east of Bergerac, on 12 March. Here he similarly met little resistance and soon reoccupied the castle.

He justified his actions to the mayor and consuls of Bergerac on the grounds that the garrison at Mouleydier had broken the truces, but adopted a conciliatory manner by inviting them to parley with him. He also offered safe-conducts to any merchants who would revictual the castle at Mouleydier.⁵² None appears to have done so and not having enough troops or resources with him to lay siege to Bergerac, presumably because of the speed of his arrival from La Tour Blanche, he then withdrew over forty kilometres eastwards up the Dordogne towards Limeuil.⁵³ Lying around fifty kilometres to the south-south-east of Périgueux, Limeuil was a small but significant hub for communications at the point where the Vézère joins the Dordogne. What drew him there is not clear from surviving evidence. But it again displays with exemplary clarity one of his principal characteristics as a commander, his speed of movement, a speed

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 11v.

⁴⁸ *Letters*, no. 623.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 686.

⁵⁰ CC 67 fol. 37v.

⁵¹ *Letters*, no. 688.

⁵² *Ibid.*, no. 693.

⁵³ Périgueux was asked to take care of an injured soldier, Jean de Neufville, whilst the Constable went to Mouleydier and Limeuil (*Letters*, no. 692); the Constable clearly left a small garrison at Limeuil since one of his esquires was sent there with a message to Jacques Clerc, a long-standing aide, on 29 March (*Letters*, no. 695).

which often unnerved and disconcerted his enemies as later admirers like Jean Gerson commented.⁵⁴

Just over a week later he executed another sudden sortie, since messengers from Périgueux were sent to find him at St-Yrieix, over sixty kilometres to the north-east.⁵⁵ Yet within days he was back laying siege to Brantôme, a key objective of his whole campaign in Périgord. Much of his previous frenetic activity can probably be interpreted as ground-clearing, picking off small pockets of resistance, freeing up lines of communication, while necessary preparations for the more serious siege that was envisaged at Brantôme were made. Once again the Périgueux town accounts provide many precise details on the arms, siege weapons and other supplies furnished by the town and their transport, chiefly by bullock-carts, to the chosen destination.⁵⁶ Among items specifically made at the town's expense at this time was a new tent for the Constable who spent a few days in it at Brantôme directing affairs.⁵⁷ But once again, after hostages had been given and a date (26 April) fixed for the surrender of the town unless relieved, the Constable himself was able to move on quickly.⁵⁸ This time it was out of the current theatre to Angoulême, over sixty kilometres to the north-west, where on 18 April not only did he receive yet further letters from the mayor and consuls of Périgueux expressing continuing concerns over Brantôme, but also one from his brother, Olivier.⁵⁹ He had been billeted with his men at Agonac, roughly equidistant between Périgueux and Brantôme. Further messages from both these correspondents were sent to Bertrand on 20 April. One of the town's messengers took a letter from the Constable that had arrived in Périgueux on 23 April, to those who had been left to continue the siege at Brantôme.⁶⁰ But, as was his usual practice when important military objectives were on the point of capitulating, the Constable himself returned from Angoulême to Périgord in time to be present personally for the end of the siege.⁶¹

On the day appointed for its delivery, 26 April, the Constable asked for a further 500 francs from Périgueux to ensure there were no last-minute hitches over the surrender. He was back in the town itself on 28 April to seal pledges for repayment of this and other sums which he had borrowed from the municipality, a papal collector and private citizens over the past few weeks.⁶² It was to require years of persistence and much litigation after the Constable's death (1380) for

⁵⁴ Cf. H. Denifle and E. Châtelain, eds, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 4 vols (Paris, 1889–97), iv, no. 1819, linking him in this regard with Julius Caesar.

⁵⁵ *Letters*, no. 694.

⁵⁶ CC 67 fols 24v, 38r–40v for Périgueux's principal expenses for the siege at Brantôme.

⁵⁷ *Letters*, no. 697.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 696. The hostages were guarded at Périgueux by fifteen men for twenty-two days from 5 April at a cost of 11 francs each.

⁵⁹ *Letters*, no. 700.

⁶⁰ CC 67 fol. 18r; the Constable sent letters to Thiviers and Agonac on 24 April (*Letters*, no. 701).

⁶¹ Cf. his presence at Thouars on 30 November 1372 and Cognac on 1 June 1375, and his possible presence at St-Sauveur-le-Vicomte on 3 July 1375 (*Letters*, nos 518, 654 and 659).

⁶² *Letters*, nos 702–5.

the townsmen to recover even a proportion of these sums. An opening salvo was the despatch on 13 May back to Paris of the envoys Blanquet and Botas, who had first announced Bertrand's arrival in Périgord, to ask the king's advice on what they should do 'since the Constable had left without making proper arrangements'.⁶³ By then Bertrand was once more far away, though some of his men remained in the province. Guillaume Gando, whom the consuls had deputed on 28 April to accompany him as he returned to northern France, in the hope that he would come back with the money owed, did not return to Périgueux until late July from a long journey that had taken him via Tulle and Bourges 'into France and Brittany', all to no avail.⁶⁴

Although there is fragmentary evidence that Bertrand returned fleetingly yet again to Périgord in August 1376 to besiege Bergerac, this does not appear to have been seriously pressed. However, the consuls of Périgueux again seized the opportunity to ask for their money and then tried to take possession of various arms he left behind to recoup in kind some of their losses.⁶⁵ The Constable's next major campaign in the region was in August and September of the following year, with Anjou, Marshal Sancerre and Owain Lawgoch, when siege was laid to Bourdeilles and to Bergerac once again. Sir Thomas Felton was defeated at Eymet, other important Gascon prisoners were taken and the French advanced to within a few miles of Bordeaux, a campaign that has been better served by contemporary chroniclers than that of early 1376.⁶⁶

Had the Constable's intervention seriously advanced the French cause then? This is doubtful: in negotiations at Bruges in March 1376 for an extension of the general truce until 1 April 1377, new conservators were named. On the French side these included Gauchier de Passac, seneschal of the Limousin, Jacques de Montmor, governor of La Rochelle, and Bernard de Grésignac, *viguier* of Toulouse, of whom at least two were to go to Périgord by 24 June to meet with their Anglo-Gascon counterparts, Thomas Felton, the Soudic de la Trau and William Elmham, seneschal of Bayonne, who were to be based at Bergerac.⁶⁷ Instructions were issued to the Constable to desist from sieges in Guyenne during the truce (a dead letter as we have seen; two of the French conservators, Passac and Grésignac had even been his lieutenants in early 1376).⁶⁸ Rival enemy garrisons continued to exact *patis* and *souffrances de guerre*, and town councils like those of Bergerac and Périgueux, which unlike so many others facing similar difficulties have left extensive records, were still coping with exactly the same problems that they had before the Constable's brief campaign.

⁶³ CC 67 fol. 19r: 'quar lo Conestables s'en era anat e no avia laychat negun govern al pays'.

⁶⁴ *Letters*, no. 704.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 711. The fears of the mayor and consuls of Bergerac in the weeks before this siege are clear in their requests to the seneschal of Guyenne to send reinforcements (below, n. 72).

⁶⁶ Cf. *Letters*, nos 734–5, 737–9; Carr, *Owen of Wales*, pp. 51–3.

⁶⁷ Perroy, 'Anglo-French Negotiations', pp. 37, 39, XXXIV, XXXVIII (12). Strictly speaking, Elmham, who had been governor and provost of Bayonne when it was besieged by Henry of Trastámara in 1374, was now seneschal of the Landes (which included Bayonne).

⁶⁸ Perroy, 'Anglo-French Negotiations', p. 42, XXXIX.

The proposed meeting of conservators in June 1376 apparently fell through; whether that rearranged for 30 September was any more successful is not known.⁶⁹ In the interim, another competent French military leader, Marshal Louis de Sancerre, long familiar with the Constable's methods, had arrived to stiffen local resolve in Périgord. Like Bertrand, he enjoyed some success in eliminating enemy strongholds and making an example of renegade nobles. Most notably he seized St-Astier, some twenty kilometres to the west in the Isle valley in November 1376, a long-standing thorn in the side of the men of Périgueux, and captured the lord of Grignols and many of his men. These were later put to death on the Marshal's personal orders after the townsmen had expressed doubts over whether they were prisoners of war or simply rebels.⁷⁰ Conversely, Anglo-Gascon forces also enjoyed some successes once the Constable had departed in April 1376. In May they had seized Castellones, twenty-six kilometres south of Bergerac, and in July Bernardières fell to them,⁷¹ and the English captains Huchon Felton, Thomas Venables and Andrew Handax reinforced the garrison at Bergerac in time to thwart renewed French attacks.⁷² In effect, despite the general truce and the Constable's own intervention, the usual state of insecurity prevailed on this particular frontier with neither side holding a decisive advantage.

Routine as much of this military action had been, it underlines how Bertrand du Guesclin's main contribution to the continuing success of French arms in the years 1373–76 did not come so much from major campaigns waged or battles won, but from innumerable small-scale sorties and sieges such as those in Périgord in early 1376. Eliminating isolated enemy garrisons, bolstering local defensive efforts, galvanising subordinates by his morale boosting and iconic presence, were the main methods he employed. Blessed with immense physical powers of endurance, inured to the hardships of camp-life, the consummate professional soldier of his generation, he pushed himself and his men to extremes. Sometimes leading a few thousand men-at-arms, 3,000 or 4,000 at most, but more frequently marching swiftly from one area to another with a much smaller number of troops, armies made up of hundreds rather than thousands of men,

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 44–6, XLV.

⁷⁰ CC 67 fols 5r, 12r, 13r–v, 19r, 27v and 28v provide the main details on Sancerre and his men in and around Périgueux from August to November 1376; he was assisted by Alain de Beaumont and Thibaut du Pont and others who had presumably been left behind in garrisons by the Constable.

⁷¹ *Letters*, no. 706. Périgueux sent crossbow bolts (*viretons*) for use at Fleix and scaling-ladders to Bourdeilles on 4 July 1376, while some of the town's militia and more ladders were sent to Ste-Foy-la-Grande on 31 August (CC 67 fol. 19r).

⁷² BnF, Coll. Périgord 48 fol. 61v, report of a meeting of Bergerac town council on 27 June 1376, agreeing *inter alia* to pay for men-at-arms 'et apres on deputa a Castellones pour cet objet e Huchon Felthon, Thomas Venables et Andreu Andap, Capitani de Castilhones dicheren que els eran de bon voler venir a la garda de la Villa am tant que la Vila los furnis de 2 ou 3000 l'. They had arrived by 5 July when further discussions over financial terms were held (*ibid.*, fol. 62r). For Venables and Handax in Guyenne, see Philip Morgan, *War and Society in Medieval Cheshire 1277–1403* (Manchester, 1987), pp. 159 and 167.

on occasion with only his own personal company of 100 men-at-arms or even just a few chosen companions, his role as Constable was often largely that of a military executive. After discussions with local civilian and military leaders, objectives were chosen, plans laid, supplies and equipment ordered. Then after a short stay to begin implementing the campaign, the Constable would be called to another, often far distant, locale to repeat the process of trouble-shooting. In carrying out his duties in this fashion, he was aided by a nucleus of faithful captains. A very high proportion of them were Bretons like himself, immensely experienced and seasoned soldiers. Many indeed had shared his adventures in Spain or had even longer-standing links going back to the days of the Breton civil war (1341–65) when he had first made his reputation as a guerilla leader. Naturally they included many who were closely related to him by family ties.⁷³ So whilst most contemporary chronicles are reticent or misleading about what the Constable was doing during the Bruges truces of 1375–76, the evidence set out above illuminates, precisely and with vivid detail, how he operated in the field, and what were the specific strengths and weaknesses of his contribution to the French war effort in these years.

⁷³ It is not possible to analyse the total membership of his companies in 1375–76 as it is in 1370–71 (*Letters*, pp. 342–68, Appendix I) but many subordinate captains serving under him in 1376 are the same as in 1370–71.

Soldiers' Wives in the Hundred Years War

Anne Curry

In January 2006 the *Daily Telegraph* reported the sale in New York of an eighteenth-century gold box, embossed with the arms of the city, which had been presented along with the freedom of the city to Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief of the British Army in North America in 1773.¹ At that point, the report continued, Gage was 'deeply in love with his American wife' – Margaret Kemble from New Brunswick – who had given him eleven children.² Two years later, Gage was a 'broken man ... estranged from Margaret for ever after she put the land of her birth before her husband and handed his military secrets to Paul Revere'. Gage had planned to send 800 men to Concord with the aim of seizing two revolutionary leaders, Samuel Adams and John Hancock, and destroying the weapons which they had been building up at Lexington and Concord. But, being forewarned, Revere famously rode to advise them of Gage's plan. The rest, as they say, is history.

Gage immediately suspected his wife since, other than his fellow officer, she was the only person he had told of his plans. He banished her to England, and although he also returned home six months later, the couple never spoke again. Margaret Gage later 'confided to a close friend that her feelings were those spoken by Lady Blanche in Shakespeare's *King John*':

The sun's overcast with blood; fair day adieu!
Which is the side that I must go withal?
I am with both ...
Whoever wins, on that side shall I lose.³

¹ *Daily Telegraph*, Friday 20 January 2006, p. 17. Report by Harry Mount in New York. The box passed through the Gage family until it was sold towards the end of the nineteenth century through an antique dealer to Lord Rosebery, British prime minister. The document of the mayor of New York granting the freedom of the city remains in the possession of the Gage family at Firlie Place in Sussex.

² Margaret (1734–1824) was the granddaughter of a mayor of New York and daughter of a New Jersey businessman and councillor who had been at school with Gage at Westminster. The couple had married in 1858. D. H. Fisher, *Paul Revere's Ride* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 95–6.

³ Fisher, *Paul Revere's Ride*, p. 96, from *Calendar of the Home Office Papers of the Reign of George III, 1773–1775*, ed. R. A. Roberts (London, 1899). The quotation is from *King John*, Act III Scene i.

As the *Daily Telegraph* reporter put it, behind the sale of this box 'lies one of the saddest love stories of the American Revolution'. Similar stories could be told for other international wars. The Hundred Years War is no exception. To cite but one variation on the theme: in 1429, as the English in Normandy stepped up their level of security in the wake of the successes of Joan of Arc, the local wife of the English porter and gaoler of the castle of Verneuil fell in love with one of the French prisoners in her husband's care.⁴ With the aid of the chambermaid of a friend who had been similarly smitten by another prisoner, she helped them escape. Both women tried to follow their lovers but were captured by the English authorities.

The chambermaid was executed on the grounds that she was *la principale faiseresse*. This tendency to place blame on a servant is not unprecedented. In the *exempla* for female behaviour presented by the Knight of La Tour Landry, a work composed in French in the 1370s but subsequently translated into Middle English, we find the story of a maid who was bribed by the gift of a hood into arranging for a knight to have access to her lady.⁵ She persuades her lady into accepting the knight's blandishments. The act of adultery is betrayed to the husband by, typically, a male servant of the household, and the husband immediately has his wife cast into prison. When in due course the wife explains that the maid put her up to it, the husband turns his anger against the girl. By her disloyalty to master and mistress she was guilty of treason – indeed this was the law – and so the husband ordered beheading, so that the neck and the hood which had bought the maid's services should be cut together.

The wife of the gaoler of Verneuil castle was, like her literary counterpart, put in prison but she was subsequently pardoned, hence the record which we have within the *lettres de remission* granted during the English occupation.⁶ Would that we knew whether she and her husband ever spoke again. We might conclude that she was merely foolish, a victim of her own passion, but from a modern perspective, we quite like our medieval women to have minds of their own. That is a large part of the appeal of Joan of Arc (not a soldier's wife,

⁴ Paris, Archives Nationales JJ 174/262, printed in *Actes de la Chancellerie d'Henri VI concernant la Normandie sous la domination anglaise*, ed. P. Le Cacheux (Rouen and Paris, 1907–8), ii, item CXCI.

⁵ *The Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry*, ed. T. Wright (EETS, original series 33, London, 1868), pp. 72–3. The author concludes, 'Now maye ye see how good is to take wyth him good companye, and in his service good and trewe servauntes that be not blamed of no man lyvyng. For the said demoyssell – the maid – was not wyse. And therefore good is to take wyse servauntes and not fooles'. The writer acknowledges that women frequently called upon their female servants to give them advice: all the more reason, then, to ensure that wise servants were employed, otherwise foolish advice would be given.

⁶ This type of source, essentially pardons, has proved a very fertile hunting ground for historians. See, in particular, C. Gauvard, '*De grace especial*: crime, état et société en France à la fin du moyen âge' (Paris, 1991); A. Curry, 'Sex and the Soldier in Lancastrian Normandy', *Reading Medieval Studies* 14 (1988), 17–45; M. Evans, 'Brigandage and Resistance in Lancastrian Normandy. A Study of the Remission Evidence', *Reading Medieval Studies* 18 (1992), 103–33.

of course, and hostile to her male companions seeking sexual solace).⁷ We are similarly impressed when a woman from the 'Stokkes' area of London led a deputation of women to the parliament of 1427 to present letters to the duke of Gloucester and the other temporal and spiritual lords present. As the St Albans chronicler John Amundesham tells us

The tenor of these letters was to reproach the duke of Gloucester on account of his refusal to rescue his wife, Jacqueline of Hainault, from her effective imprisonment by the duke of Burgundy. Rather, as his love for her had gone cold, he was inclined to leave her in captivity, and he was holding himself for another in adultery, and quite publicly, to the ruin of himself, of the realm and of the strength of the institution of marriage.⁸

Impressed as we might be, this was unusual behaviour on the part of women and therefore worthy of report,⁹ rather like the mention by the Bourgeois of Paris, of another Hainaulter, Margot, a female player of the *jeu de paume*, active in Paris around the same time (1426–27),

She was fairly young, about 28 or 30 ... and was the best tennis player anyone had ever seen. She played both forehand and backhand very strongly, very cleverly and cunningly, as well as any man. There were few men she could not beat, except the very strongest players.¹⁰

In this context it is interesting to note how Amundesham considered it necessary to mention that his protesting women were respectfully attired (*reverenter ornatis*) as though that gave their presence a greater legitimacy in a parliamentary context where otherwise female appearance was not known. Similarly, the Bourgeois gives the aura of respectability to 'La Fausse Pucelle', Claude, who hailed from Lorraine and who fought in the pope's army but who

⁷ Her page told the Trial of Rehabilitation that Joan 'would not allow women with the army', and on more than one occasion chased mistresses off with her sword (M. Warner, *Joan of Arc. The Image of Female Heroism* (London, 1981), p. 233).

⁸ *Annales Monasterii S. Albani a Johanne Amundesham Monacho*, vol. 1, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Series, London, 1870), p. 20. We know that the duchess of Gloucester had sent letters to the city asking for them to intercede on her behalf, and that the mayor and alderman had themselves lobbied to this end (*Calendar of London Letter Books, K*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (London, 1911), p. 68, printed in A. R. Myers, 'Parliamentary Petitions in the Fifteenth Century', *EHR* 52 (1937), 386). See also *PROME*, x (1422–31), ed. A. Curry (Woodbridge, 2005), introduction and appendix to the parliament of 1427. For Lydgate's poem of the same juncture criticising Gloucester's approaching marriage to Eleanor Cobham, see E. P. Hammond, 'Lydgate and the Duchess of Gloucester', *Anglia* 27 (1904).

⁹ Note, however, that according to the Bourgeois of Paris, three women came to intercede on behalf of Joan of Arc in September 1430 (*A Parisian Journal 1405–1449*, ed. J. Shirley (Oxford, 1968), p. 234). Another example of female solidarity is provided by the Bourgeois where he tells of women of noble and citizen rank who approached the duchess of Bedford just before she set off with her husband for the council of Arras in 1435 asking her to 'take the kingdom's peace' under her own protection (*ibid.*, pp. 294–5).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

conformed to gender stereotype by marrying a knight and bearing two sons.¹¹ 'La Vraie Pucelle', of course, did not have opportunity, or perhaps inclination, to do the same.¹²

Thomas Gage, of course, could have chosen to follow his wife's example. Both could have defected to the embryonic United States. That would have been quite a story to report, as were the examples which happened at the expulsion of the English from Normandy in 1449–50, a subject on which Maurice Keen has contributed much wisdom.¹³ John Edward, captain of La Roche Guyon, was married to a French woman who had *belles terres*. At his wife's behest he surrendered his fortress and became French (*se fist français*) on the understanding that he could keep his wife's lands.¹⁴ Richard Merbury, captain of Gisors, acted similarly. One of the French negotiators for the surrender of the place was related to his French wife. Surrender was thereby negotiated whereby two of Merbury's children who had previously been taken prisoner would be released, and his wife would keep her lands. In return Merbury agreed to accept French allegiance.¹⁵

These examples were included in the French narratives of the reconquest of Normandy for several reasons. The most obvious is because they happened. But they also served a purpose as politically charged incidents which added further lustre to recent French successes. The reconquest was, for the French, a decisive moment in their recovery from the depths of despair following the treaty of Troyes which had seen a French king accept an Englishman as his heir. The English had now sunk so low that their soldiers could be persuaded by their wives to change allegiance. This was quite a coup. Throughout the Middle Ages we can see the distaste of male writers in the face of female influence over men. A real man, and more especially, a real knight, did not need his wife's prompting, and the advice of a wife was not always wise. As the Knight of La Tour Landry observed, 'Also a man aught not so mooche to encline to his wiff but that he shulde take hede whedir it wer perell to do her counsel or not.'¹⁶

In marriage wives were expected to follow their husband's political allegiances and opinions. This was most obvious in the case of royal marriages where the

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 337–8.

¹² As an aside, what would have happened, what could have happened, if Joan of Arc had not been captured? She was too low in status to marry a knight or to enter a nunnery. Her authority, so dependent upon her youth and virginity, would surely have been diminished by middle-aged spread.

¹³ M. Keen, 'The End of the Hundred Years War: Lancastrian France and Lancastrian England', *England and her Neighbours 1066–1453. Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais*, ed. Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale (London, 1989), pp. 297–311; M. Keen and M. Daniel, 'English Diplomacy and the Sack of Fougères in 1449', *History* 59 (1974), 375–91.

¹⁴ 'Le Recouvrement de Normandie par Berry, heraut du roy', *Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy MCCCXLIX–MCCCCL*, ed. J. Stevenson (Rolls Series, London, 1863), p. 277.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

¹⁶ *Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry*, p. 60.

new bride was forced to forego the fellow countrymen who had accompanied her.¹⁷ It has also been suggested that, in the case of the protest of the London women in 1427, they were being used as a way of reinforcing their husbands' stance on foreign policy. The impression that women followed the lead of their husbands is also given by the Bourgeois of Paris in his account of the civil war between Armagnac and Burgundian, yet he also indicates how significant female participation was and how it had its own distinctive characteristics. Over 4,000 women, he claims, all wearing Armagnac sashes (*bandées*) attended the bonfire rallies in Paris in late June 1414 to celebrate the attack on the Burgundian city of Soissons.¹⁸ Just before the Burgundian capture of Paris in May 1418, the Bourgeois tells us of a pogrom against men and women who were not *bandées* (i.e. not showing support for the Armagnac regime):

The women they were going to drown. They had already forcibly requisitioned cloth from the merchants and others in Paris without payment, saying that it was needed to make tents and pavilions for the King. Really it was to make sacks in which to drown the women.¹⁹

When the Burgundians took Paris on 29 May, their male supporters in the city sought out Armagnacs to kill whilst women and children used tongues as a weapon against their enemies, cursing them as 'filthy traitors'. The violence continued over the following weeks with women as well as men meeting their deaths. On 22 August the officially condoned, if not conducted, execution of Armagnac women is specifically recorded. When Soissons was recovered by the Burgundians, much the same scenario is described, only this time – a marvellous indication of how rumours were embellished – the Armagnac women were accused of sewing the bags which had been intended to be used to drown their pro-Burgundian counterparts four years earlier.²⁰

If we turn again to the English loss of Normandy in 1449–50, the cases of John Edward and Richard Merbury are the exception to the rule, another reason why the French narratives of the reconquest mentioned them specifically. Most of the wives of the soldiers in Normandy came back with their husbands to England. At the surrender of Bayeux, for instance, the French commanders, 'pour lonneur de gentillesse', lent the departing defenders some of their horses to carry the ladies and other gentlewomen as the English made for Cherbourg in order to take ship to England. The chronicler adds that they also

¹⁷ See, for example, the case of Catherine de Valois. According to Walsingham, on the very day after the wedding at Troyes, Henry V assigned to her household worthy Englishmen 'nec remansit in eius obsequio quisquam Gallicus exceptis tribus mulierculis generosis et duabus ancillis quae famularentur magistrae suae'. (*Historia Anglicana*, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Series, London, 1863–64), ii. 335). Henry was not bound by the treaty of Troyes, as he was for her parents, to maintain a purely French household.

¹⁸ *Parisian Journal*, p. 88.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 114, 122.

lent carts to convey the women of the said English who went with their husbands, a thing pitiful to behold. For there set out from the said city of Bayeux three to four hundred women, without counting the children of whom there were a great number. Some of the women carried the smallest children in their arms, the middle sized on their backs and the bigger ones they led by the hand. It was a very miserable sight. And so the said English and their wives made their way to Cherbourg.²¹

A few pages later we are told of the surrender of Caen where Edmund Beaufort duke of Somerset, the English commander, was with his wife, Eleanor Beauchamp, and children along with 3,000 English. The terms of the composition included an agreement that the duke and his own wife and children, as well as all the English who wished to depart should be able to do so with their wives, children, horses, armour, and moveable goods.²² Only recently had the duchess experienced the surrender of Rouen, where similar terms had been allowed to the duke, *madame sa femme*, and their children.²³ Such terms were standard practice in the fifteenth century: we see Henry V similarly allowing the women in conquered places to leave.²⁴ In the conquest of Normandy, local men were also allowed to take out safe-conducts which covered their wives as well as themselves.²⁵ Once the duchy was completely in English hands the wives of those who refused to swear fealty to Henry were ordered to join their husbands within eight days on pain of imprisonment.²⁶ In effect, therefore, they were not being allowed to stay in Normandy if their husbands decided to support the Dauphin, another example of the expectation that a woman would follow her husband's lead.

When the tide turned it was the English who suffered similarly, wives as much as husbands. In 1452 the English who had been resident in Maine until its surrender to the French in 1448 presented a petition to Henry VI about the losses they had suffered in his service. Some of them had lost out twice since they had retreated to Normandy but then, when the duchy also fell, 'lost all that remained to them of their moveable goods, upon which they, their wives and their children depended for their lives'. They now sought compensation so that they could support themselves as well as their families.²⁷ A similar situation arose at the loss of Gascony in 1453 when we find soldiers and their wives

²¹ *Narratives*, p. 342.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 354.

²³ *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry VI, King of England*, ed. J. Stevenson (Rolls Series, London, 1861–64), vol. ii, part ii. 611.

²⁴ *Rotuli Normanniae in turre Londinensi asservati Johanne et Henrico Quinto Angliae regibus*, ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1835), p. 287 (surrender of Caen, 9 September 1417).

²⁵ *Foedera*, vol. IV, part iii. 47 (12 April 1418).

²⁶ 'Calendar of the Norman Rolls', *Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, xlii (London, 1881), p. 435.

²⁷ *Letters and Papers*, vol. ii, part ii. 598–603, translated in C. T. Allmand, *Society at War. The Experience of England and France during the Hundred Years War* (Edinburgh, 1973; new edn, Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 174–6.

expelled from Bordeaux and coming to England. The expectation, indeed the social norm, was for women to follow their husbands. Therefore they followed them to the home country when the overseas possessions were lost.

But had they crossed with them from England in the first place? This is not something which chroniclers mention when telling us about the expeditionary armies which had conquered and defended northern France in the fifteenth century, nor indeed their predecessors of the fourteenth century. Women were expected to keep well away from action zones. This is also revealed by the fine of 20 *livres tournois* imposed on the countess of Salisbury in 1423 when she refused to retire into one of the fortified places held by the English in response to an order that noble ladies should so do whilst the French were threatening to besiege Avranches.²⁸ Yet John of Gaunt had deliberately taken his wife Constanza, daughter of Pedro the Cruel, on his campaign in Castile in 1386 since she had an important political role to play. The Religieux of Saint-Denis claimed that Constanza was pregnant when she went to Spain. Although this is difficult to substantiate, it is possible that Gaunt hoped to have a son born on Spanish soil since this would reinforce the claim to the Castilian crown through Constanza.²⁹ It may have been a desire to sire an heir as soon as possible which led to Katherine de Valois being housed by her husband at the siege of Melun in a little house specially constructed for her and at which she was serenaded every morning and evening by his minstrels.³⁰ An alternative view is that Henry waited until they were on home soil so that the heir to the double monarchy could be conceived and born in England. These wives had an important political role to play in warfare.

It is unlikely, however, that soldiers engaged in the chevauchée-style campaigns of the fourteenth century, or those involved in the initial conquests of Henry V, were normally accompanied by wives or concubines. Even so, there was no explicit ban on this happening until the ordinances issued by Henry VIII for his first French expedition in 1513:

also that no man bring with him any manner of woman over the sea, upon pain for forfeiture of their goods to the marshal and their bodies to be imprisoned there to remain at the king's will.³¹

Military ordinances of the fifteenth century concentrated on keeping women at bay. An undated set of ordinances, but which probably belong to the 'coronation expedition' of 1430, include the following clause:

²⁸ BL, Additional Charter 3572, dated 21 [...] 1423.

²⁹ A. Goodman, *John of Gaunt. The Exercise of Princely Power in the Fourteenth-Century Europe* (London, 1992), p. 126.

³⁰ J. H. Wylie and W. T. Waugh, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth* (Cambridge, 1914–29), iii. 212.

³¹ *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, ed. P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin (London, 1964), i. 113.

Item that no woman be walking in the host sekyng prisoners and yff eny suche be founde she shalle be chastised in such manner that other shalbe abashed to come in such wyse.³²

The wording suggests that the ban was aimed at the wives and other women-folk of the captured enemy. This may reflect a fear that such women might be employed as spies: ample evidence exists to show that women were employed in this capacity by both the English and the French. Late in 1435, for instance, the lieutenant of English-held Evreux sent two women to Chartres, Gallardon and Senonches 'to seek out certain men of the area who were prisoners' in order to gain information on the army under Dunois.³³ Thirteen years earlier, the town council of Mantes had sent 'la femme Blondel' along with Robert Saxe to spy out enemy actions between Nogent and Chartres.³⁴

Other ordinances attempted to keep soldiers away from the temptations of the flesh whilst not banning sexual activity altogether. Henry V, for instance, had commanded:

that these open and comon strompettes be suffred in no maner wyse to abyde wyth in oure hooste and specially at the siege of townes castelles and fortresses but then they be removed to gyther a leeghe at the least from the hooste.³⁵

A similar order was subsequently issued by the earl of Salisbury, probably in connection with the conquest of Maine in the mid-1420s:

For women that usyn bordell the which logge in the oste. Also that no maner man have ne hold any comon woman within his loggyng upon peyn of losyng a monthese wages.³⁶

³² BL, Additional Manuscript 33,191, clause xxxii. For discussion see M. Keen, 'Richard II's Ordinances of War of 1385', *Rulers and Ruled in Later Medieval England. Essays Presented to Gerald Harriss*, ed. R. E. Archer and S. Walker (London, 1995), p. 34 n. 8.

³³ Paris, BnF, manuscrit français 26060/2710 (December 1435–January 1436): 'pour querir certains gens de pais prisonniers pour savoir regarder et espier quelle assemblee faisoit le batard d'Orléans.' They were well paid, at 5 *sous tournois* per day, and brought back useful information on enemy intentions.

³⁴ Archives Communales de Mantes CC 22 (1422–23), fol. 38. For use of female spies by those resisting English authority in Normandy, see R. Jouet, *La résistance à l'occupation anglaise en Basse Normandie (1418–1450)* (Cahiers des Annales de Normandie 5, Caen, 1959), p. 86.

³⁵ *The Essential Portions of Nicholas Upton's 'De Studio Militari' before 1446*, translated by John Blount, *Fellow of All Souls*, c. 1500, ed. F. P. Barnard (Oxford, 1931), pp. 47–8. For the problems of dating these ordinances see A. Curry, 'The Military Ordinances of Henry V: Texts and Contexts', *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles c. 1150–1500. Essays in Honour of Michael Prestwich*, ed. C. Given-Wilson, A. Kettle and L. Scales (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 214–49.

³⁶ The earliest, mid-fifteenth-century, copy is to be found in BL Lansdowne 285 fol. 149. Unfortunately sixteenth-century copies misread Salisbury for Shrewsbury, with the result that these ordinances have continued to be misattributed. See Curry, 'Military Ordinances', p. 216.

We could be pedantic and interpret this last order as saying that lawfully married wives were allowed, but prostitutes not. This was certainly the case in the armies of Elizabeth I:

And for that it often happeneth that by permitting of many vagrant idle women in an armie, sundry disorders and horrible abuses are committed. Therefore it is ordeined that no man shal carrie into the field, or deteine with him in the place of his garrison, any woman whatsoever, other than such as be knowen to be his lawful wife, or such other women to tendre the sicke and to serve for launders, as shall be though meete by the Marshall, upon paine of whipping and banishment.³⁷

In the reign of Henry V, however, we can see that at least two knights about to depart on campaign in 1416 (Sir William Claxton of Horden, and Sir William Bulmer of Wilton) made arrangements for their wives to lodge at the house in Dinsdale of their fellow north-country knight, Sir Thomas Surtees. That the husbands expected to be away for at least twelve months is reflected by the fact that the deal was made for that length of time. And a deal it certainly was: the wives would lodge with their maids at Surtees' house at a charge of 10 marks each.³⁸ That other soldiers' wives stayed in England is revealed by the necessary role they played in estate administration. Manorial rents, for instance, were paid to Lady Stonor whilst Sir Thomas was in France in 1419.³⁹ The duty of the wife in maintaining family interests in the husband's absence was a theme pursued by Christine de Pisan in her *Trésor de la Cité des Dames*. Whilst the husband was away, the 'good lady' was urged to keep her dress and lifestyle simple, and to pray for him in processions and oblations. At his return, she was to greet him with great joy and honour. A military context is emphasised:

To all his company she will give a joyous welcome and she will eagerly want to her about the best of his men, the most noble and the most valiant. She will want to know how they are, and very gladly will she hear their adventures recounted. She will receive them with great honour and give them fine gifts. She will also want to know how those who had had the care of his body did their duty and how they treated him.⁴⁰

³⁷ C. G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army* (Oxford, 1946), p. 146. See also a report of 1589 by Sir Henry Cocke, which speaks of the arrest of 'a counterfete soldier, which travelled with a harlot namyng her to be his wife, afirminge the same with very greate othes' (BL Lansdowne 62/26 fols 58–59v, cited in L. Boynton, 'The Tudor Provost-Marshall', *EHR* 77 (1962), 449).

³⁸ A. J. Pollard, *North-eastern England during the Wars of the Roses. Lay Society, War and Politics, 1450–1500* (Oxford, 1990), p. 211, citing R. Surtees, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham* (Durham, 1816–40), iii. 231.

³⁹ *Stonor Letters and Papers 1290–1413*, ed. C. L. Kingsford (Camden Society 3rd series xxxix, London, 1919), introduction, p. xx.

⁴⁰ Christine de Pisan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, ed. and trans. S. Lawson (London, 1985), pp. 64–5. For a letter of John Multon to his wife before embarking on a campaign to Prussia in 1367, see Magdalen College, Oxford, Muniments: Multon 71a.

We can be certain, however, that in both the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, once the English became established in their conquests in France, soldiers were keen to bring in their wives. Chroniclers note that in September 1347, for instance, after the final surrender of Calais, ten ships crossed from England with horses and victuals, as well as women coming to join their husbands in the encampments (although the ships were captured by the captain of Boulogne and pirates).⁴¹ During the siege of Rouen in October 1418 Thomasina, wife of William Drue, was given a safe-conduct to bring provisions, a reminder that wives might have a practical role in military contexts.⁴² After the treaty of Troyes, English military leaders in France regularly had their wives and families with them. Beatrice, illegitimate daughter of João I of Portugal, had not accompanied her first husband, Thomas, earl of Arundel, to France on the campaign of 1415 but did cross with her second husband, John, earl of Huntingdon, when he took up office as royal lieutenant in Guienne in 1439. She died at Bordeaux on 23 October 1439, and her body was brought back for burial at Arundel alongside her first husband. She had experienced war-widowhood for seventeen years; Earl Thomas died only two weeks after being invalided home from the siege of Harfleur.⁴³

As we have already seen, the wife of Edmund Beaufort was present with him during his tenure of the lieutenant-generalship at the end of the English occupation of Normandy. We can also prove her present during his earlier stint of service in 1440, when he was involved in the campaign to recover Harfleur, since we have record that he wrote to his wife, who was in Rouen, with news that the French were in the field in great strength.⁴⁴ Cecily Neville was present with her husband, Richard, duke of York, during his second lieutenancy in Normandy. According to Dominic Mancini, she admitted that she had an adulterous relationship whilst in Rouen, the result of which was the future Edward IV. Michael Jones has suggested that the duke was indeed absent on campaign at Pontoise at the crucial moment of July and August 1441 when Edward must have been conceived, and that there were rumours that the duchess had an affair with an archer called Blaybourne.⁴⁵

York's predecessor as lieutenant-general, Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, had also been accompanied by his wife, Isabel. After his death at Rouen on 30 April 1439, letters were taken from the Norman capital to Honfleur where the countess was believed to be, possibly because she was preparing to return with his body to England. The pursuivant could not find her and was told she

⁴¹ J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Trial by Battle* (London, 1990), p. 584, citing the chronicles of Henry Knighton and Giles le Muisit.

⁴² 'Calendar of the Norman Rolls', *Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, xli (London, 1880), p. 717.

⁴³ *Complete Peerage*, V, p. 208.

⁴⁴ BnF manuscrit français 26067/4090 (17 July 1440).

⁴⁵ M. K. Jones, *Psychology of a Battle: Bosworth 1485* (Stroud, 2002), pp. 79–83. We can assume that Sir Richard Woodville met his future bride, Jacquetta of Luxembourg, second wife of John duke of Bedford, when serving in France.

had gone to Caen, so made for there instead.⁴⁶ Isabel's presence in Normandy during previous periods of her husband's military service is well evidenced. In 1427, for instance, the couple were both present at the baptism in the chapel of Caen castle of the posthumous son of Richard Afford, who had been killed at the siege of Pontorson, where the earl had been in command.⁴⁷ The countess was regularly by her husband's side whilst he was captain of Rouen during Henry VI's stay in France (1430–32). This is revealed by the household account book of Earl Richard for the year beginning 15 March 1431 which lists presences at meals.⁴⁸ We can also see that their daughter, Margaret, wife of John, Lord Talbot, spent much time with her parents whilst her husband languished in French custody for four years following his capture at the battle of Patay in July 1429. The wives of other captains were also regularly present at the meals hosted by the Warwicks. Their presence acquires an extra significance when we see that the bourgeoisie of Rouen, invited to some of the earl's banquets, were also accompanied by their wives. In the same castle was lodged Joan of Arc. Whilst she languished in prison, other English and French women made small talk over dinner.

The wives of commanders played an essential role in the social and symbolic side of the English conquest. They were seen as particularly important in the aftermath of the treaty of Troyes in creating an English court in France for Katherine de Valois as Henry V's wife. So we find the duchess of Clarence and the countess of March regularly in the new queen's company.⁴⁹ The latter's mother, however, Anne, countess of Stafford (d. 1438), does not seem to have crossed to France to join her second husband, Sir William Bourchier, who had come to prominence for his service in the conquest of Normandy and had been created count of Eu, one of the captured areas, in June 1419. Even so, she was the regular recipient of her husband's news from the front, which she passed on to others.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ BnF, manuscrit français 26065/3775 (16 May 1439).

⁴⁷ Archives Nationales, Dom Lenoir 9/302 (microfilm collection 104), cited in C. T. Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy 1415–1450. The History of a Medieval Occupation* (Oxford, 1983), p. 99. This also shows that Afford's wife was in the duchy with him.

⁴⁸ Warwickshire County Record Office CR 1618/W 19/5; A. Curry, 'The "Coronation Expedition" and Henry VI's Court in France, 1430 to 1432', *The Lancastrian Court*, ed. J. Stratford (Stamford, 2003), p. 48.

⁴⁹ London, College of Arms, Arundel XLVIII fol. 264, cited in C. T. Allmand, *Henry V* (London, 1992), p. 155. That Lady Eleanor Courtenay, widow of Sir Edward who died in France in August 1418, herself died in the same country is revealed by the licence given to Sir John Harpenden on 28 March 1422 to bring her body back to England for burial (*Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper*, xlii. 447). She was the sister of Edmund, earl of March, and had likely also been in the court of Queen Katherine.

⁵⁰ Her first husband had been killed fighting on the side of Henry IV at the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403. The Cartulary of Llanthony Priory contains two letters where she communicated the news of the successful outcome of the siege of Rouen and of the negotiations of December 1419 which led to the treaty of Troyes (TNA C115, K2/6682, fols 106v, 130r).

Wives were also crucial in providing a court and escort for Margaret of Anjou as she was taken through Normandy to England. The records of Mantes, for instance, reveal the presence in her company of the wife of the captain of the town, Lady Scales, as well as the countess of Suffolk and the wife of the treasurer of Normandy.⁵¹ Just after the English victory at Verneuil in 1424, the wife of the captain of Mantes was given a gift of six fowl by the town council.⁵² No doubt they hoped that she would persuade her husband, who had served on the campaign, that the town had remained fully supportive of the English cause at a time of confused reports on which side had won the battle. This example therefore serves as a further reminder of the political importance of women within a military occupation.

Not surprisingly, service connections generated marriage connections, as Anne Marshall's researches into English war captains revealed.⁵³ A good example is Sir Andrew Ogard. His first wife was Margaret Clifton, whose father Sir John Clifton of Buckenham Castle, Norfolk, was his predecessor as captain of Vire. This case is all the more interesting since Ogard had been born in Denmark and had fought in the English cause, rising to become the duke of Bedford's councillor and chamberlain by 1430, and receiving letters of denization at the parliament of 1433 whilst Bedford was in England.⁵⁴ Another of Bedford's officials, William Sylvestre of Hertfordshire, married Margery Petit, daughter of another Englishman, Edmund Petit. The groom agreed to pay his wife 6 nobles of rent per annum for life to be secured on his English properties, and to make 80 nobles available to her relative Thomas Hunt to buy property for her benefit in England.⁵⁵ This 'pre-nuptial agreement' was registered in the Tabellionage of Rouen, but the terms remind us of the problems raised by cross-Channel residence.

The English intended their presence in their conquered lands to be permanent. This had been boosted by Henry V's policy of granting lands to soldiers and administrators. In such circumstances, the residence of wives with their husbands was to be expected. But what of the marriage of Englishmen to local women? On 30 September 1417, at the castle of Caen, three weeks after

⁵¹ Archives Communales de Mantes BB 4 (Délibérations 1440–48), fol. 85 (23 December 1444).

⁵² Archives Communales de Mantes, CC 23 (Comptes de la ville 1423–24), fol. 21. The captain at this juncture was Edward Macwilliam, who had taken fifteen men-at-arms and forty-five archers for the action (BnF manuscrit français 4485, pp. 229–31).

⁵³ A. E. Marshall, 'The Role of English War Captains in England and Normandy 1436–1461' (MA thesis, University of Wales Swansea, 1975).

⁵⁴ J. A. Stratford, *The Bedford Inventories. The Worldly Goods of John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France (1389–1435)*, (London, 1993), pp. 417–21. Although she died before her father, Ogard was able to buy, at Sir John's death in 1447, the Clifton estates in Norfolk.

⁵⁵ Archives Départementales de la Seine Maritime [ADSM], 2E1/173 (Tabellionage de Rouen 1427–28), fols 191–2, printed in *Rouen au temps de Jeanne d'Arc*, ed. P. Le Cacheux (Rouen and Paris, 1931), item LVII. The marriage agreement between John Salvain and Eleanor, sister of Robert, lord Willoughby, was similarly registered in the Tabellionage on 13 October 1436, with her brother providing 600 marks sterling (ADSM 2E1/180, fol. 124).

he had entered the town, Henry gave licence for an Englishman, John Convers, to marry the daughter of Richard Caunet (or Cauvet) of the town of Caen, and granted him the house in Caen which Caunet had inhabited as well as all the lands he had held.⁵⁶ This is the only known example of an Englishman receiving royal permission to marry locally. Does it reflect an initial ban by Henry V on such linkages, or was it an act to encourage integration?⁵⁷ It may be that Henry and his commanders were keen to encourage marriage in order to limit other forms of relationship. Witness, for instance, the order of April 1421 that no soldier should hold any woman in concubinage or 'what is worse adultery', and other illicit relationships, the argument being advanced that this was the kind of lifestyle which would lead them to pillage populations and would therefore be prejudicial to the *res publica*.

Were mixed marriages a deliberate strategy for the consolidation of conquest, or a natural consequence of the inevitable interactions between soldiers and civilians? The Religieux of Saint-Denis implies that it was a way for local women to save themselves from poverty and exile, and there may indeed have been an element of self-protection on the part of those who married their occupiers.⁵⁸ But the cases of John Edward and Richard Merbury, who chose to defect to the French in 1449, remind us that the benefits were not all one way, since marriage to a Norman heiress could provide greater social and financial advancement than these men might have acquired by marriage in England.

A study of the surviving registers of the Tabellionage of Rouen during the English occupation gives evidence of thirty-seven definite and twelve probable mixed marriages. Seventeen of these were marriages to widows, and another eight to heiresses.⁵⁹ One Englishman, Robert Regnard, barber of London, was married to a German woman who was the widow of a Rouen man.⁶⁰ Allmand has identified other mixed marriages in the Tabellionage of Caen, with further examples being detected by Massey in his work on the land settlement. Thomas Smart, an archer in the garrison of Caen between 1426 and 1441, and porter of the castle in 1430, was married to Guillemine, whose name suggests she was Norman. In 1436 he 'bequeathed his house in Caen to the chapel of St George

⁵⁶ Hardy, *Rotuli Normaniae*, p. 184.

⁵⁷ *Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper*, xlii. 428; *Foedera*, vol. IV, part iii. 24. This order was issued whilst the earl of Salisbury was the effective ruler of Normandy whilst the king was in England and following the death of the duke of Clarence at Baugé. Since the earl also issued ordinances banning soldiers from holding common women in their lodgings (see note 36 above), he appears to have had a particular concern for moral probity.

⁵⁸ During the early stages of the campaign he notes that mothers and children were driven out and forced to seek other refuges 'illis exceptis quae connubiali vinculo eligeabant Anglicis copulari' (Le Religieux de Saint-Denis, *Histoire de Charles VI*, ed. L. Bellaguet, Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France (Paris 1839–52), VI, pp. 164–5).

⁵⁹ ADSM 2E1/168–184. See also P. Cailleux, 'La présence anglaise dans la capitale normande: quelques aspects des relations entre Anglais et Rouennais', *La Normandie et l'Angleterre au Moyen Age*, ed. P. Bouet and V. Gazeau (Caen, 2003), pp. 27–6, although the author speaks of only 'une vingtaine de mariages franco-anglais'.

⁶⁰ ADSM 2E1/169, fol. 39.

in the castle so that both he and his wife might be buried within the castle cemetery and benefit from all services recited for the dead'. This demonstrates how soldiers and their wives integrated into local society yet retained a distinctive military flavour in their social relationships. It should also be remembered that the English occupation lasted long enough for mixed marriages to occur across two generations. For instance, the daughter of Thomas Burgh and his French wife, Elizabeth de Pressy, married Robert Hayton, a member of the garrison of Cherbourg.⁶¹

Some marriages contracted in Normandy were undoubtedly bigamous. Judetta de Montigny had married an Englishman, Henry Turnbull, without knowing whether her husband was dead or not. (He was in exile or else serving with the French army.) She was pardoned because of her poverty but also because she had been compelled by Turnbull into marriage *par force et violence*.⁶² Many other fascinating insights can be gleaned from both church and lay records. In 1448, Roger, lord Camoys, took as his second wife Isabel de Beaunoy of the diocese of Rouen with whom he had already cohabited, seeking papal permission.⁶³ John Painter wrote to the wife of his fellow soldier, John Rippes, whilst her husband was serving at the siege of Cherbourg in 1418, falsely informing her that her husband was dead. She thus agreed to Painter having her *compagnie charnelle*. They cohabited for ten years at Valognes and elsewhere, ignorant of the fact that her husband was alive and well and serving in the garrison of Cherbourg. When the two men finally came face to face at Valognes, they fought and Painter was killed. Rippes was pardoned for his death on the grounds that the wife had provoked the dispute by her disloyalty.⁶⁴ Robert Oliver bequeathed all his goods to his fiancée, Guillette, in case he died during the expedition he was undertaking at royal orders in 1421.⁶⁵

The last example reminds us of the dangers of death in service. War widows were to be found in all periods. The wife of Michael de la Pole, whose husband held the earldom of Suffolk briefly between his father's death at the siege of Harfleur and his own death at Agincourt, took the veil within five years of his demise.⁶⁶ Alice Chaucer was twice a war widow, with her first husband, Sir

⁶¹ Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy*, pp. 102–3, with the example of Smart on p. 99; R. A. Massey, 'The Land Settlement in Lancastrian Normandy', *Property and Politics: Essays in Later Medieval English History*, ed. A. Pollard (Gloucester, 1984), p. 87.

⁶² ADSM G249 (Amendes de l'officialité de Rouen: poursuites, 1424–25). This file also contains a case against an Englishman who had been found guilty of bigamy. In ADSM G250 (1425–26) there is a similar case involving a priest who marries a local girl to an Englishman without the proper paperwork since physical violence is threatened.

⁶³ *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1893–), vol. X (1447–55), p. 16. See also *Complete Peerage*, II, pp. 511–12.

⁶⁴ AN JJ 174/157, printed in *Actes*, ii, CLXXXIV (May 1428). Unfortunately we cannot tell whether the wife was English or Norman.

⁶⁵ ADSM 2E1/168, fol. 181v.

⁶⁶ *Complete Peerage*, XII, pp. 442–3. She was Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Mowbray duke of Norfolk. They had married before 24 November 1403. She was still alive 1 December 1423. Their daughter also took the veil at the same nunnery, Bruiyard in Suffolk.

John Phelip, dying of dysentery at Harfleur, and her second, Thomas, earl of Salisbury, being killed by a cannon ball at the siege of Orléans in 1428. Her third husband, William de la Pole duke of Suffolk, was lynched in the aftermath of the loss of Normandy. Alice lived on for another twenty-five years as a widow. Another widow of the siege of Orléans, Joan, lady Moleyns, survived her first husband for fifty-eight years, losing a second husband at the battle of Tewksbury in 1471.⁶⁷ In addition to the personal loss, war widows also faced the responsibility of discharging their husband's obligations. Since captains were paid the wages for all their troops, the widow as executrix faced claims from soldiers for monies due. So we find the countess of Warwick paying arrears of wages to her husband's personal retinue after his death.⁶⁸ Widows might also find themselves involved in disputes, as did Lady Maud Salvain, widow of Sir Roger, erstwhile treasurer of Calais, because of money received by her husband from Agincourt ransoms.⁶⁹ In 1442 widows in Painswick, Gloucestershire, complained against their manorial lord, John, earl of Shrewsbury, who had brought back only five of the sixteen tenants he had taken to war in France, and were able to force the holding of an assize which secured their rights to their husbands' lands for life.⁷⁰

By this point the war in Normandy was going badly for the English, and worse was to come, creating particular difficulties for soldiers' wives. A good example is the Norman wife of Bernard de Montferrant who was left behind in the duchy in 1444 when her husband was discharged from his captaincy of St Lô and despatched instead to his native Gascony. She was given a grant of 100 *livres tournois* by the Norman administration, but she faced subsequent problems because her dowry had been assigned from her husband's lands in Gascony which were by now not in English hands.⁷¹ We have commented already on the problems which soldiers and their wives faced when the English were driven out of Normandy and Gascony completely. In this context mixed marriages became a political issue. Relatively few of the local women who had married English soldiers had sought letters of denization.⁷² When French wives accompanied

⁶⁷ *Complete Peerage*, IX, p. 42.

⁶⁸ BnF pièces originales 3047 Warwick 8 (June 1439). For a similar example in 1445 for Constance, widow of Sir John Cressy, see BnF pièces originales 929 Cressy 11, although she shared the responsibility with another executor, Thomas Wilde, probably Cressy's cousin.

⁶⁹ J. Kirby, 'The Financing of Calais under Henry V', *BIHR* 23 (1950), 174–5; TNA C1/6/76, with facsimile in M. Mercer, *Henry V. The Rebirth of Chivalry* (London, 2004), p. 57. Unfortunately, the transcript provided there misreads as 'fermier' the word 'femme' and misses 'Dame Maud' completely.

⁷⁰ R. H. Hilton, *The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1975), p. 109.

⁷¹ BL Additional Charter 1028 for the grant from Norman revenues; Stratford, *Bedford Inventories*, pp. 414–17.

⁷² An example of one who did was Joanne, the wife of Thomas Gower, who had been born in Alençon but who was granted denization in 1434, the letters covering the children the couple had already had as well as any they might have in the future (*PROME*, xi (1434–45), ed. A. Curry (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 117).

their husbands back to England in 1450 there was an expression of concern that they were a potential threat to national security:

Item it hath not ben sen that men born of this lande havynge ther wiffes and children dwellyng under the obeissance of our souverayn lordys adversaires shuld be cherrished here and kno the printe of our counsell for they be but as spys and therefore by the avye of the councelle a remedye must be purveyed for such that they nother goo ne come withoute licence.⁷³

The last phrase suggests that such wives might have been attempting to preserve their landed interests and to keep in touch with their families in France. Mixed marriages which had created the prospect of unity between the two nations in the wake of the occupation of Normandy and Maine were therefore a potential factor for division and suspicion in the aftermath of its failure.

In this respect a study of women as soldiers' wives provides insights into broader issues of national identity as well as into personal responses to changing circumstances. But what it also shows is that relationships could be as fraught in the fifteenth century as in modern times. Two closing examples must speak for all the rest. First the longevity of the mother-in-law problem. The wife of the mercenary, François de Surienne, was present in the castle of Longny when it was surrendered to the French in 1449 by her son-in-law, the Sire de Saint-Maure. She was furious with him.⁷⁴ And secondly, the failed international marriage. Giles Starkey, herald of the earl of Norfolk, had married Alice, a Rouennaise who was the widow of Guillaume Trubert.⁷⁵ The match of French and English had not on this occasion worked and a separation was being negotiated. Starkey claimed a right to half of the house which Alice had inherited from her first husband. The court disagreed, but permitted him to have a room in the house in which to live and to store his possessions for a few months until he could find somewhere else to go. Accordingly, Alice piled his belongings into this room. But Starkey complained that the room was unsuitable. It was too small. In fact it was really a stable. *And* it was insecure, giving on to a street where no one else lived and where rubbish was accustomed to be thrown. He concluded his rant by demanding a better room in the house. Alice agreed, but only if he delivered half his share in a vineyard in Pontoise and gave her a pension on his English lands. Faced with such female aggression (not all Frenchwomen needed to follow Joan's example in taking to arms against the invader – the tongue and

⁷³ London, College of Arms Arundel XLVIII, fol. 324. The estimate of dating is based on the fact that it does not mention the loss of Gascony. It may have been presented at the parliament of November 1450. See my discussion in *PROME*, xii (1447–61), ed. A. Curry and R. Horrox (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 166. Note also that in 1461, after the attainder of those who had fought on the Lancastrian side, there was reference to the rights of their wives, including 'wyfes or other wommen born under the obeissance of the crown of England in any place oute of the reame of France and of the duchie of Normandie or borne out of this reame' (*PROME*, xiii (1461–70), ed. R. Horrox (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 53).

⁷⁴ *Narratives*, p. 269. One of the text variants writes that she was 'malcontente de son gendre'.

⁷⁵ *Rouen au temps de Jeanne d'Arc*, item XLIX, from ADSM 2 E1/171, fols 387–8 (8 March 1427).

bloodymindedness were weapons enough) Starkey capitulated. Alice thus kept her house all to herself whilst he gained her quitclaim against his property in both England and France. He agreed to move out of the house within eight days in return for 12 *salus*, which his wife generously paid. The suit ends with the comment that this agreement will only be annulled if the couple can, by the aid of their friends, re-establish themselves 'en mariage paisible'. At the end of the day their marriage had proved no more a recipe for peace than that between the nations of England and France which Henry V and Charles VI had concluded at Troyes in 1420.

Armies and Military Communities in Fourteenth-Century England

Andrew Ayton

The armies of late medieval Europe were among the most distinctive institutional, social and cultural phenomena of the age, and yet they are also among the least well understood. Those raised by the fourteenth-century kings of England stand out as prime examples of how these vehicles for collective martial activity so characteristic of their time and so important in themselves, politically as well as militarily, have become disconnected from the mainstream of historical understanding. There are, no doubt, many reasons why modern historians have struggled to get to grips with these armies, but it may well be their very distinctiveness – or, more precisely, the social and institutional characteristics that contributed to that distinctiveness – that has been the essential problem. For the conceptual and material worlds of the fourteenth-century English royal host are now quite remote from us. Raised when required for a single campaign and disbanded at the end of it, an army at this time relied heavily on men who were intermittent rather than professional combatants; and until at least the mid-fourteenth century it would be assembled (from the crown's point of view) by exploiting a variety of methods of recruitment, voluntary and obligatory. With those methods, together with the accompanying remuneration package, apt to change from campaign to campaign, and with the surviving documentation correspondingly variable and, in any case, uneven in quantity and quality, it is small wonder that the historian seeking to reconstruct these armies, and understand how they functioned, is faced by a veritable Gordian knot of interpretative complexity. And given their 'hybrid' form and short life-span, it is small wonder too that, to a modern observer, they may seem decidedly amorphous and ephemeral, lacking structural robustness or any form of overall organisational principle.

How different all this seems from the modern, barracks-based standing armies with which we are familiar: armies that for several centuries in the western world have had permanent institutional structures (including unit and command hierarchies) into which recruits, officers and rank and file alike, have been absorbed, their individuality subordinated to the collective and enduring identities of, on one level, the regiment and, on another, the armed forces of the state. There can be no doubt that the late medieval host was inhabiting a very

different world; and we should not imagine that the existence, here and there, of standing forces, both within late medieval Christendom and beyond, does anything to alter that conclusion. With regard to their institutional structures and the rationale that underpinned them, these standing forces displayed little uniformity – as can be seen by comparing the slave soldiers of Islamdom, the Mamluks and the Janissaries, and the military orders of Christendom; or, in the fifteenth century, the ‘ordonnance’ companies of France and Burgundy, the standing army of Mátyás Corvinus of Hungary and the permanent forces of various Italian city states.¹ Indeed, perhaps the single thing that these various permanent, professional contingents had in common was that the military establishments to which they contributed a steely core remained dependent, often heavily so, on more traditional sources of manpower. In every case, these were ‘hybrid’ armies whose other constituent parts relied on a military culture that, in terms of recruitment dynamics, institutional structures and politico-social imperatives, was both wholly characteristic of the late medieval world and different in many respects from that which sustained the standing forces of the period. It is the variant of late medieval military culture that existed in fourteenth-century England that is our concern in this essay, with the long reign of Edward III our particular focus. Understanding the essentials of that military culture, how it was populated and what made it tick, provides the key to understanding the distinctiveness of English armies under the Edwardian kings, two aspects of which stand out as being crucial to form and function.

The first of the two characteristics that, in a sense, defined the fourteenth-century army was that its very fabric, its structure and social composition, and the mentalities that underpinned it, were rooted in and shaped by the corresponding features of the militarily active group within society: the ‘military community’. This was first and foremost a community of the mind and of function, of shared mentality, skills and perhaps focus: of shared identity. While it may be convenient (and, for some purposes, appropriate) to speak of *the* military community in fourteenth-century England, sensitivity to the variety of circumstance and experience within the pool of militarily active men demands that we also think in terms of multiple military communities; or rather of a number of sub-sets, or groups, of military active men within the wider military community, each group with its own identity or distinctive qualities. A group’s shared identity could be related to common regional or local origins or to a specialist military activity, as might have been the case with those who engaged over a long period in garrison service.² Naturally, these groups were not wholly discrete: there would be overlaps between military communities, and movement between them too. For example, we may think that knights and peasant foot-soldiers occupied quite separate groups, as determined by social status and

¹ Different again, because tied to specific military tasks and localities, were the standing garrisons maintained by the English crown at Calais and in Lancastrian Normandy.

² See D. J. Cornell, ‘Northern Castles and Garrisons in the Later Middle Ages’ (PhD thesis, University of Durham, 2006).

outlook; but at the margins, the separation between sub-knightly men-at-arms and mounted archers might be blurred. Indeed, on occasion, the same family provided both types of combatant.

The military community influenced the structure, composition and general character of armies in fundamentally important ways. The social networks and hierarchies that defined relationships within the military community had a profound influence on the recruiting process. As a consequence, social connections within and between the various groups of militarily active men were carried over into an army, affecting the form and structure that it took, and providing cohesion and inner strength to an impermanent entity. If we are to get to grips with how this worked in practice, and with the implications of it all, we need to understand a crucial facet of the recruiting process and of the armies that emerged from it: namely, the influence exercised, individually and collectively, by the leaders (or 'captains') of retinues or other contingents. Throughout the fourteenth century they were, for the most part, noblemen or upwardly mobile members of gentry families: men whose wealth, social authority and access to recruiting networks within the realm's military communities ensured for them an essential role in the king's wars. Indeed, it was only through their efforts that royal armies could be fielded at all. As a result, the structure of an army – its 'order of battle' – was determined by the captains who were available when it was recruited, and its composition by the 'recruiting reach' of those captains: by the military communities that they were able to draw upon. It should be noted, if only in passing, that there was a political dimension to this. The fact that the military and secular political elites were composed of essentially the same men meant that a royal army was potentially as much political forum as military machine. It also meant that success or failure in war could have direct political consequences, strongly influenced by those who had witnessed victory or defeat first hand, as Edward II experienced in the 1320s and, rather differently, his son did in the aftermath of Crécy.³ It is, however, the army's military function and its captains' influential role as recruiters and leaders of fighting men that are our principal concerns in this essay.

The model proposed here, in which captains exerted considerable influence on the formation of armies, and consequently on their structure and composition, must immediately be qualified if we are to take account of the varied recruitment dynamics that gave rise to structurally hybrid armies and also recognise the effect of change over time. As the greatest of captains, the king should, and often did, have the most extensive of recruiting reaches. One facet of this was exercised by his household bannerets and knights. It was as a result of their efforts, in all corners of England, that the king's 'household division' often contributed a third, and sometimes more than a half, of the retinue-based personnel in a royal

³ M. R. Powicke, 'The English Commons in Scotland in 1322 and the Deposition of Edward II', *Speculum* 35 (1960), 556–62; A. Ayton and P. Preston, *The Battle of Crécy, 1346* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 4–5, 32–4, 225–7.

army.⁴ Also acting as the king's recruiting agents in the English shires were commissioners of array appointed to select and muster prescribed numbers of archers, spearmen or hobelars. What gave this section of the army a different character was that, once mustered, the arrayed companies, each of which might number a hundred or more men, would be handed over to leaders ('ductores'; 'centenars') who lacked the social or contractual authority that would usually be associated with the command of contingents of this size.⁵ That the arrayed companies were also connected in some way to the army's main social network of command can hardly be doubted, such integration being required for all-round operational efficiency. But whatever form this took, the relationships between arrayed archers and the captains under whose orders they had been placed would have been based on ties that were both different from, and probably looser than, those that bound retinue-based personnel to the captains who had recruited them. As a consequence, we would expect some attenuation of the sinews of command and control, a matter of no small significance given that, until the mid-fourteenth century, it was not unusual for the greater part of a royal army's combatant manpower to be raised by commission of array.

The structurally hybrid form of army that we find in Edwardian England represents an important variation on the 'model' late medieval host. Indeed, structurally hybrid armies, in which the captains' direct influence during recruitment was less universal than it would be once operations began, are so commonly encountered in late medieval Europe that we might reasonably consider them, in their various local guises, to be the norm. But in England they ceased to be so during the reign of Edward III. Beginning in the 1330s, and with steadily widening application in the 1340s and 1350s, we find men-at-arms and mounted archers being recruited together and serving together in retinues of mixed composition.⁶ During this transitional phase, most armies were still structural hybrids: arrayed companies continued to contribute significantly to manpower numbers, a notable example being the army that fought the battle of Crécy.⁷ The direction of change is, however, unmistakable. The major royal

⁴ R. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 198–200; 248–50; A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses. Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge, 1994), p. 11; A. Ayton, 'Edward III and the English Aristocracy at the Beginning of the Hundred Years War', *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France*, ed. M. Strickland (Stamford, 1998), pp. 184–7; Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, pp. 171–2.

⁵ A. E. Prince, 'The Army and the Navy', *The English Government at Work, 1327–1336*, ed. J. F. Willard and W. A. Morris, 3 vols (Cambridge, MA, 1940), i. 355–64; M. Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance under Edward I* (London, 1972), pp. 99–107; Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, pp. 181–9.

⁶ A. Ayton, 'English Armies in the Fourteenth Century', *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. A. Curry and M. Hughes (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 31–3; Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, pp. 12–15.

⁷ Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, pp. 181–9; M. Powicke, *Military Obligation in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1962), p. 185. Moreover, in order to recruit archers for their retinues, some captains would be authorised to make use of traditional array-style recruitment methods (Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, p. 176).

army of 1359 was composed mainly of mixed retinues, with comparatively little operational dependence on shire levies,⁸ and this was even more the case with the expeditions sent to France after 1369.⁹ By the 1370s, the only contribution that commissions of array made to continental campaigns was as a supplementary means of raising archers for John of Gaunt's retinue.¹⁰ The hybrid hosts of the early to mid-Edwardian period had been replaced by armies with a more uniform structure of mixed retinues. Moreover, the retinues of the most prominent captains were now larger than before, with the largest acquiring the proportions and characteristics of compact armies.¹¹ With the adoption of the mixed retinue as the central organisational principle of English military organisation, a development dominated in the last decades of the century by the emergence of the 'super' mixed retinue, the individual and collective influence exercised by captains on the structure and composition of armies had become more complete.

In order to fulfil their recruiting needs, the king and his captains engaged with the shared identities of particular military communities and exploited their social networks; and in doing so, they created the circumstances and forces that determined how armies were raised and the particular form that they took. The 'dynamics of recruitment', as we shall term these circumstances and forces, are therefore the key to understanding the character (as well as, to some extent, the performance) of armies. They also played an essential part in shaping military service as a social and cultural phenomenon. If we are to put flesh on the theoretical bones of the dynamics of recruitment, we need to subject the military communities, their shared identities and social networks, and the captains' recruiting reach to closer scrutiny. To begin with the military communities' shared identities: these often appear, in part at least,

⁸ The pay roll (TNA, E 101/393/11, fols 79r–116v) shows that the great majority of the army's 5,000 or more mounted archers were serving in mixed retinues alongside over 3,000 men-at-arms. Of rather more than 1,000 mounted archers raised by commissions of array (*ibid.*, fols 115r–115v; cf. *Foedera*, III, i. 440–1), only 300 remained with the army beyond December 1359. In addition, a small company of Welsh foot, attached to the duke of Lancaster's retinue, served throughout; but less than half of a contingent of 1,000 from North Wales continued in pay beyond early November.

⁹ J. W. Sherborne, 'Indentured Retinues and English Expeditions to France, 1369–1380', *EHR* 79 (1964), 718–46.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 742; A. Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (Harlow, 1992), pp. 218–19, 222–3. Naturally, commissions of array (often concerned with all fencible men rather than the selection taken on expeditions beyond the borders) continued to be employed, alongside contracted troops, for home defence, including incursions into Scotland and Wales: J. R. Alban, 'English Coastal Defence: Some Fourteenth-Century Modifications within the System', *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England*, ed. R. A. Griffiths (Gloucester, 1981), pp. 57–78; A. Goodman, 'Introduction', *War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages*, ed. A. Goodman and A. Tuck (London and New York, 1992), on Otterburn, 1388; R. Griffiths, 'Prince Henry's War: Armies, Garrisons and Supply during the Glyndŵr Rising', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 34 (1987), 165–73.

¹¹ Note, for example, the army made up of four retinues, in all 4,000 men, that sailed for Brittany in 1375. Sherborne, 'Indentured Retinues', 730.

to be geographically related, but there was in fact much variety of experience – variety in the precise nature and intensity of collective feeling, in how it came about and how it was maintained. During the fourteenth century, the most readily identifiable regional military communities were in the northern Marcher counties, where geographical proximity to war, including exposure to raids, and the consequent regularity of mobilisation for defensive and offensive operations, ensured that society became heavily militarised.¹² The situation in the English shires of the Welsh Marches was somewhat different. This had been a frontier society in the recent past and had played a leading role in the Edwardian conquest of Wales.¹³ Thereafter, the martial traditions of the region were exploited in the king's military enterprises further afield, in Scotland, France and Ireland.¹⁴ Apart, perhaps, from the south coast, which occasionally suffered maritime raids, war was 'on the doorstep' nowhere else in England at this time. And so if a regional model is to be applied beyond the frontier war zones, it will be to populations whose collective experience was far less intense and whose shared identity was forged and maintained in rather different circumstances. With regard to those circumstances, it should be stressed that administratively convenient recruitment areas were not necessarily coterminous with coherent local or regional military communities. It is true that, to some extent, the River Trent divided the realm for recruitment purposes,¹⁵ and that the organisation of coastal defence, focused on the maritime land, was founded upon county-based mobilisations of manpower,¹⁶ just as were the commissions of array that were regularly employed to raise foot soldiers (and sometimes men-at-arms) for field armies during the earlier Edwardian period.¹⁷ But what this reveals is the multi-purpose nature of the realm's administrative structures, not necessarily the existence, as a result of those structures, of a mosaic of county or regional military communities. However we interpret the role played by the county in the developing political and territorial identity of the gentry, a much debated subject,¹⁸ it does not seem to have been crucial to the shaping of military communities within the socio-military elite. For the secular landholding estate, the geographical and social background to their involvement in war was usually

¹² See A. King, "'Pur salvation du Roiaume": Military Service and Obligation in Fourteenth-Century Northumberland', *Fourteenth Century England II*, ed. C. Given-Wilson (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 13–31.

¹³ F. C. Suppe, *Military Institutions on the Welsh Marches: Shropshire, 1066–1300* (Woodbridge, 1994); P. Morgan, *War and Society in Medieval Cheshire, 1277–1403* (Manchester, 1987), pp. 30–7.

¹⁴ As, for example, the disproportionately large manpower contribution to the Crécy campaign: Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, pp. 216–17. Cf. D. Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy at War: From the Welsh Wars of Edward I to the Battle of Bannockburn* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 22–4.

¹⁵ J. Campbell, 'England, Scotland and the Hundred Years War in the Fourteenth Century', *Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. J. Hale, R. Highfield and B. Smalley (London, 1965), pp. 192–3.

¹⁶ Alban, 'English Coastal Defence'.

¹⁷ For county-based mobilisations of men-at-arms under Edward I, see Simpkin, *English Aristocracy at War*, pp. 73–4, 96–8.

¹⁸ P. Coss, *The Origins of the Gentry* (Cambridge, 2003), chapter 8.

at once more local and yet more expansive. How this pattern of military service, and the collective identities that accompanied it, came to be established and maintained demands explanation; and, for this, our starting point must be the processes, wide-ranging in their implications, whereby the lesser landholding estate of Edwardian England became so heavily preoccupied with martial pursuits that we might say that they became 'militarised'.

These processes had been set in motion by the recruiting demands of Edward I's ambitious wars in Wales, France and Scotland: demands managed by captains of comital and baronial status who raised retinues of heavily armoured horsemen from the ranks of the country gentry. Continuing under Edward II, recruitment at this level of intensity encouraged the formation of traditions of martial service within landed families and under particular noble banners, and the creation of a complex network of comradeship groups at local and regional levels. As a result of these processes, a military community was forged within the gentry that possessed an abundance of shared experience and a martial culture that promoted stability of personnel within campaigning retinues, characteristics that Edward III was well able to exploit in his Scottish and French wars.¹⁹ The extent and depth of militarisation experienced by the Edwardian gentry is easily enough demonstrated. It is not so much the early recruitment peaks, such as the 3,000 knights and sergeants who went on campaign with the king in 1298,²⁰ that are important, though they do serve to accentuate the change that had occurred since the days of modest recruiting demands under Henry III, when the adopted martial culture of lesser landholders very largely lacked a foundation of actual experience. For there to be true militarisation of the wider gentry – of landed families whose primary interests lay outside the frontier region and who were not bound by obligations to front-line magnates – and for spells of active service to have a real cultural and psychological impact, it was necessary for regular campaigning and high levels of recruitment to be sustained over several decades. And that is precisely what happened, with no more than temporary lulls and, under Edward III, a new intensity and further enlistment peaks.²¹ That 84 per cent of the 854 knights bachelor listed within the county section of the Parliamentary Roll of Arms (c. 1312) can be shown to have been militarily active during the period up to Bannockburn is a powerful indication of the extent of the recruitment reach of the king and his captains.²² Comparatively few gentry families avoided military service altogether; and we

¹⁹ The argument here was broadly sketched in A. Ayton, 'Sir Thomas Ughtred and the Edwardian Military Revolution', *The Age of Edward III*, ed. J. Bothwell (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 111–14. It has since been substantiated, elaborated and extended in Simpkin, *English Aristocracy at War*.

²⁰ M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (London, 1988), p. 479; Simpkin, *English Aristocracy at War*, pp. 17–18.

²¹ About 3,000 men-at-arms served in the royal army of 1335 and rather more in 1359–60: Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp. 198–9, 248–50; TNA, E 101/393/11, fols 79r–116v. The recruiting achievement of 1346–47 was particularly impressive because it involved not merely a single, large army but a range of simultaneous commitments in widely dispersed theatres of war. Ayton, 'Sir Thomas Ughtred', p. 113.

²² Simpkin, *English Aristocracy at War*, pp. 22–4.

should not imagine that very occasional service was the norm among those who did take up the sword. Many did so repeatedly. For example, taking as a sample the 140 knights who are known to have fought at Falkirk (1298) as retinue members (that is, not as captains), David Simpkin has shown that three-quarters of them served in the king's armies on at least three separate occasions, and over half at least five times.²³ Moreover, however the spells of service were undertaken, whether intermittently or quite intensively, we cannot doubt that cumulatively they were significant, and not only in themselves, as vibrant landmarks in a martial tradition that had been grafted onto the lifestyle of the secular landholding community. They also stood out by comparison with other forms of public service that the gentry might be called upon to perform. It would be wrong to imagine that shire administration necessarily bulked larger in their lives,²⁴ and this is hardly surprising given that the king required of the gentry far more warriors than administrators. For example, in July 1338, at the time of Edward III's first military expedition to France, there were at least three (and perhaps as many as four) times as many men from this section of society accompanying their king on campaign as were, at that time, engaged in shire administration and related activities in England.²⁵ This is by no means an exceptional case. Indeed, the figures are all the more telling given that, by the standards of the period, the number of men-at-arms (1,400) in this army was not particularly large.

Militarisation was accompanied and in a sense charted by a process of armorial dissemination. For a combatant knight, his heraldic arms were not only crucial for individual and retinue recognition in the field, they were also at the heart of his family's identity, honour and sense of lineage, and they might reveal something of its social connections. That interweaving of military and cultural concerns is encapsulated in the 'occasional' rolls of arms that record the knights who participated in a selection of campaigns and tournaments from 1298 to 1347.²⁶ The overall heraldic landscape, of which these rolls provide snapshots and in which the arms of individuals and families can be located, became more populous, varied and intricate during the period of the Edwardian wars, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it was the heavy recruitment for those wars that was the principal stimulus of that process. It would seem that many landed families were prompted by the prospect of serving in the king's armies to become armigerous for the first time. Others were persuaded by the particular circumstances of their service to set aside an existing heraldic identity in favour of another. That all this gathered pace in the early to mid-fourteenth century is indicated by the continued emergence of armigerous knightly families after the compilation of the Parliamentary Roll of Arms (c. 1312), and by the heightened

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 79–91, especially p. 89 (Table 3.4).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 102–11.

²⁵ Ayton, 'Edward III and the English Aristocracy', pp. 200–2.

²⁶ A. R. Wagner, ed., *A Catalogue of English Mediaeval Rolls of Arms* (London, 1950), p. xiv.

complexity of heraldic blazon on the rolls of arms of Edward III's reign.²⁷ What makes this process of armorial dissemination of particular importance for our understanding of the dynamics of recruitment is that the newly armigerous would often adapt the arms of the nobleman or lesser captain with whom they had become accustomed to serve in the field.²⁸ For example, the Ughtreds of Yorkshire (first Robert and then his son Thomas) served with the Latimers, whose arms (*gules, a cross patonce or*) they bore with the difference *five mullets gules*.²⁹ Sir Thomas Ughtred kept these arms with a minor difference until his death in 1365, but occurring in parallel with what was probably the predominant tendency of permanent adoption we find cases of shifting armorial identity. John Grendon, who was knighted in Flanders in 1297 while serving with Edmund, lord Stafford, initially bore Stafford's arms (*or, a chevron gules*) differenced *in dexter chief a martlet sable*, but later, having found service with Robert de la Ward, adopted his arms (*vairy argent and sable*) differenced with *a bend or*.³⁰ On occasion, members of long-established armigerous families assumed a different heraldic identity when they took up the sword under Edward I, though the change was not always permanent. Sir John Hardreshull, who like Sir Thomas Ughtred was one of Edward III's greybeard captains, reverted to his paternal grandfather's coat of arms, having set aside those of Hatch differenced, which had been adopted by John's father, William, when he took up service in his father-in law Sir Eustace Hatch's retinue.³¹

Once the implications of the complex process of armorial dissemination are grasped, the heraldic landscape of Edwardian England becomes an eloquent guide to the formation and functioning of the military community within the gentry: for this is a landscape in which the memory of social and martial associations is clearly etched. Moreover, that 'imagined' heraldic landscape became visual reality when an army assembled. The 'personal' rather than institutional nature of army leadership, and the influence of the leaders' recruiting reach in the raising of armies, was made manifest in armorial display. A captain's authority was symbolised in his heraldic identity, his status and presence marked by his banner and the devices distributed to his men, his influence and the strength of social relationships by the fact that some of the independently armigerous bore arms that were derived from their leader's. The Edwardian army was, therefore, a host of many colours, an impression that would have been reinforced still

²⁷ Ayton, 'Sir Thomas Ughtred', pp. 115–18; A. M. Barstow, 'The Importance of the Ashmolean Roll of Arms for the Study of Medieval Blazon', *Antiquaries Journal* 54 (1974), 81.

²⁸ For further discussion, see Simpkin, *English Aristocracy at War*, pp. 27–30, 132. Choice of captain – and, therefore, of armorial influence – would often be prompted by social or tenurial ties, but the military service dimension of such relationships was important because an army muster would be the most likely occasion for the public assumption of a new heraldic identity.

²⁹ Ayton, 'Sir Thomas Ughtred', pp. 115–16.

³⁰ R. Norton, 'The Arms of Robert fitzRoger and Others', *Coat of Arms* n.s. 3 (1979), 161–3; G. J. Brault, ed., *Rolls of Arms: Edward I (1272–1307)*, 2 vols (Woodbridge, 1997), ii. 203, 397, 446.

³¹ R. Norton, 'The Arms of Eustace Hatch and Others', *Coat of Arms* n.s. 5 (1982), 18–19; Brault, *Rolls of Arms: Edward I*, ii. 218, 220–1.

further by the issue of coloured outfits, uniforms in effect, to the arrayed companies of archers and spearmen.³² Nothing would have emphasised more forcefully how the particular make-up of a late medieval army was determined by the prevailing dynamics of recruitment than its appearance in the field. And nothing encapsulates the distinctive world that the late medieval army occupied quite as well as the busy work of the heralds, those professional spectators of battle, whose specialist knowledge enabled them to 'read' an army's heraldry and record the names of those present on rolls of arms.³³

It is clear, therefore, that throughout the greater part of England during the Edwardian century, the gentry's engagement with the king's wars was, over an extended period, regular enough for it to have been deeply affected by the experience. Given the territorial connection of many of the social relationships that influenced recruitment patterns, the combined effect of serving together and of acquiring a martial culture rooted in hands-on experience was the forging of a collective identity within the secular landholding community that had both local and supra-local dimensions. It might be thought that such 'communities of the mind' would be hard to pin down, and yet suggestive evidence of shared martial identities rooted in 'comradeship groups', whether within particular localities or wider regions, is not so difficult to find. Clusters of knights and esquires from a particular locality who served together regularly (though not necessarily under the same captain on each occasion) are readily brought to light by prosopographical research in the military-administrative records.³⁴ If, in such cases, social relationships can only be imagined, more explicit evidence of personal connections can sometimes be found in the testimony given by witnesses in the three armorial cases before the Court of Chivalry for which extensive records have survived. When we learn how the armorial surcoat that Sir Alexander Neville wore at Kinghorn, Halidon Hill and Neville's Cross, embellished with the arms of his friends, was deposited for posterity in the treasury of Marton priory, we are given admission to a world of collective experience and commemoration that is barely (if at all) visible from the vantage point provided by conventional military-administrative records.³⁵ Similarly suggestive of a lost world of social connections is the cluster of militarily experienced knights and esquires who, during the siege of Calais, can be glimpsed gathering in a chamber of Sir Hugh Hastings's manor of Elsing, Norfolk, in order to provide testimony in support of Robert, lord Morley, in his armorial dispute with Sir Nicholas Burnell.³⁶ Shifting focus from the local level to the regional, one of the most striking features of the *Scrope v. Grosvenor*

³² By the 1330s references to uniforms have become frequent: Prince, 'Army and the Navy', pp. 362–3; Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, pp. 186–7.

³³ M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, CT, and London, 1984), pp. 134–5; Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, pp. 166–7, 292.

³⁴ For an example from Dorset, see Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, p. 213.

³⁵ N. H. Nicolas, ed., *The Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, 2 vols (London, 1832), i. 139–40.

³⁶ TNA, C 47/6/1, no. 103.

armorial dispute is the solidarity displayed by the military community of Cheshire in their support for Sir Robert Grosvenor's claim to the arms *azure a bend or*.³⁷ Few corners of the realm illustrate better Maurice Keen's observation that 'within a late fourteenth century regional community ... there would be found a martial genteel community, aware of its identity as such and no doubt proud of it too'.³⁸

The cumulative cogency and coherence of the testimony offered by Grosvenor's supporters was a reflection of the breadth and depth of military experience that existed within Cheshire society during the second half of the fourteenth century. That degree of militarisation was the consequence, in particular, of the regional lordship of the Black Prince, as earl of Chester, and of his recruiting needs, notably as prince of Aquitaine.³⁹ Turning to the witnesses who spoke in favour of Richard, lord Scrope of Bolton's claim, we find a display of solidarity that was also related to masterful lordship. For like Scrope himself, many of his supporters were members of John of Gaunt's extended military affinity.⁴⁰ Indeed, one of the strongest impressions left by the testimony of the Scrope v. Grosvenor case is the extent to which the contours of military service – not just where and when men served, but that they fought at all – were shaped by the demands of territorial magnates who were also front-rank captains. To be sure, the Black Prince and John of Gaunt were super heavyweights among the kingdom's war leaders. Yet the characteristics of their recruiting reach were, on a smaller scale, shared by captains occupying lower rungs of the leadership ladder. Consequently, if we are fully to understand, on the one hand, the creation and functioning of a complex network of local and regional comradeship groups, and on the other, the dynamics of army recruitment within those military communities, it is necessary to focus on the spheres of influence of England's militarily active magnates and lesser captains. In practice, exploiting a sphere of influence meant reaching beyond household personnel and men bound by the terms of indentures of retinue to take advantage of established networks of tenants, neighbours, family and friends, including comrades-in-arms from earlier campaigns. In so far as the recruiting grounds of the leading captains were related to the distribution of their estates and those of other men upon whose services they could rely, there would be some predictability about the process of raising a retinue, and some territorially related cohesion arising from it.⁴¹ But that these spheres of influence were also often transregional,

³⁷ M. Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman. Heraldry, Chivalry and Gentility in Medieval England, c. 1300–c. 1500* (Stroud, 2002), pp. 55–6; Morgan, *War and Society in Medieval Cheshire*, pp. 129–30.

³⁸ Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman*, pp. 57, 68.

³⁹ Morgan, *War and Society in Medieval Cheshire*, chapter 3.

⁴⁰ 'Nearly fifty of Scrope's witnesses were among the known annuitants of John of Gaunt, and a number of others had close connections, by kinship or otherwise, with members of that retinue.' Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman*, p. 65.

⁴¹ As much as half of Sir James Audley's retinue in 1345 'was raised among the gentry families and tenantry close to the Audley lands': Morgan, *War and Society in Medieval Cheshire*, pp.

overlapping and (over time) shifting in extent, would tend to introduce a more complex social mix into the formation of comradeship groups and the dynamics of recruitment.⁴² Whether a captain would need to cast his recruiting net more widely in order to enlist professionals, including sub-contractors with companies at their disposal, would depend on such factors as his status in the socio-military elite, whether he was building a retinue from scratch and how high his retinue's manpower target had been set. In the armies of the late fourteenth century, based as they were on enlarged mixed retinues, the targets were often very high. But, as a general rule, and certainly earlier in the century, the composition of an army would be rooted in those parts of the realm, and its various military communities, that were penetrated by the established recruiting networks of the army's principal captains and their lieutenants.⁴³ Thus, the six archers that Worfield, near Bridgnorth in Shropshire, supplied for the earl of Huntingdon's retinue in 1346 were tenants on his manor there.⁴⁴ And the close-knit group of East Yorkshiremen who fought with the earl of Warwick at Crécy had been brought to his retinue by one of his three banneret sub-contractors, Sir Thomas Ughtred, for whom this corner of the kingdom was home ground.⁴⁵ Warwick cannot have been unaware that through Ughtred he would gain access to a regional pool of manpower that had previously been beyond his recruiting reach, and it is equally certain that such awareness of the practicalities of raising armies also informed decisions at a higher level. When, on the eve of the French war, Edward III created six new earls, their titles backed-up by endowments, thereby reactivating recruiting networks that had ceased to function, he showed how well *he* understood the dynamics of recruitment and military service.⁴⁶ When we think of that king's management of the political elite, we need always to remember that this also involved managing access to, and exploitation of, military communities that were essential for his war effort.⁴⁷

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The muster of a major royal army would give rise to a gathering of men that was, by contemporary standards, huge. As many as 13,500 combatants accompanied Edward III to Scotland in 1335 and a similar number sailed with him

75–7. For the heavy involvement of the earl of Arundel's Sussex tenants in his expeditions of 1387 and 1388, see A. Bell, *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 117–25.

⁴² For captains with extended recruiting reach, see D. S. Green, 'The Military Personnel of Edward the Black Prince', *Medieval Prosopography* 21 (2000), 139–42; S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361–1399* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 31–8; A. Tuck, 'The Percies and the Community of Northumberland in the Later Fourteenth Century', *War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages*, ed. A. Goodman and A. Tuck (London, 1992), pp. 178–95.

⁴³ In this respect, the issue of commissions of array should be seen as a facet of the king's recruiting reach.

⁴⁴ TNA, SC 1/39, no. 190.

⁴⁵ Ayton, 'Sir Thomas Ughtred', pp. 124–5; Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, pp. 179, 213.

⁴⁶ Ayton, 'Edward III and the English Aristocracy', pp. 188–90.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 202–6; Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, pp. 169–71.

to Normandy in 1346.⁴⁸ Few towns in fourteenth-century England were as populous as this and none as socially diverse. What the king's summons had brought to life, therefore, was a complex social and political organism, but it was not yet an army. For that transformation to be achieved, it was necessary to superimpose an all-embracing organisational and regulatory regime on the collection of independently raised retinues and companies that had come together at muster. This was required for day-to-day command and control, discipline and logistical provision, but also to give the army a degree of institutional continuity. It is these superimposed structures that can be identified as the fourteenth-century army's second distinctive characteristic. Such an army may have had no permanent status or personnel, and its particular lifespan would be short, yet it would be wrong to regard it as ephemeral, amorphous or carelessly thrown together. Military traditions and bureaucratic structures that had evolved over time and which were required for such essentials as muster and review, warhorse appraisal and logistical support would be activated when needed. A disciplinary regime would be imposed to regulate the conduct of combatants and ancillary personnel, both within the royal host and in their dealings with the civilian population.

Evidence for the existence and functioning of some of these regulatory structures, particularly those relating to the disciplinary regime, is admittedly patchy for the period before the 1380s. The records that were generated by, or reflect the existence of, these structures were generally not preserved. The systematic sources that we do have in relative abundance, notably the pay rolls, show us the army in terms of the units that concerned the paymaster, not (on the whole) in terms of its operational character. It is only with the host that Richard II led to Scotland in 1385 that we cross the threshold into a more richly documented era. The operational structure of that army is revealed in an apparently contemporary order of battle, which lists the retinues (commanders and numbers of combatants) that composed 'l'avantgarde', the 'bataille du Roy' (with its two wings: 'la ele dextre' and 'la ele sinestre'), and 'la rergarde'.⁴⁹ Moreover, there also survives from this campaign a schedule of standing orders or 'ordinances', the first that we have for an English royal army and the model

⁴⁸ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp. 200, 248–55; Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, p. 189. Similar in size were the armies that campaigned in Scotland in 1385 (see n. 49) and 1400 (A. L. Brown, 'The English Campaign in Scotland, 1400', *British Government and Administration. Studies Presented to S. B. Chrimes*, ed. H. Hearder and H. R. Loyn (Cardiff, 1974), pp. 40–54). These manpower totals make no allowance for non-combatant support personnel, who are difficult to enumerate.

⁴⁹ BL, MS Cotton Nero D. VI, fols 91v–92r, a nearly contemporary manuscript, printed in S. Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt* (London, 1904), appendix II, pp. 437–9. See also, N. B. Lewis, 'The Last Medieval Summons of the English Feudal Levy, 13 June 1385', *EHR* 73 (1958), pp. 3–5 for a discussion of the order of battle, while the pay records for this army are conveniently tabulated and annotated on pp. 17–23. This was an exceptionally large army of perhaps 13,000 or 14,000 combatants.

for subsequent sets of disciplinary regulations.⁵⁰ In these ordinances can be seen the distinctive world of the fourteenth-century royal army, with retinues ('capitaignes' and their men) grouped into 'battles' or divisions, each led by a 'chevytaigne de la bataille', yet all coming under the overarching authority of the king and his constable and marshal. If the command hierarchy emerges as the leitmotif of these ordinances, their clear intention is to identify and neutralise the most likely causes of disorderly conduct within the host, whether on the march, around the camp or in battle.⁵¹ But what impresses about the sequence of twenty-six clauses is not simply the evident aspiration that, by putting in place a comprehensive organisational and regulatory regime, an army with a unitary identity could be created. It is also their open engagement with the realities of the prevailing military culture. As Maurice Keen has observed, those who drafted the ordinances were aware of the need to strike 'the right balance between soldiers' private interests and overriding military concerns'.⁵² There was awareness too that unitary identity would be most securely built upon recognition of the army's structural dependence on its leading captains – indeed, upon exploitation of the strengths brought to the army by retinue-level cohesion, albeit balanced by affirmation of the existence of a higher level of allegiance and comradeship. Thus, on the one hand, the ordinances emphasise the authority of retinue leaders' banners and pennons while, on the other, insisting that all English soldiers bear the cross of St George as a distinguishing mark or 'field sign'.⁵³ If this juxtaposition of personal heraldic insignia and uniform field signs illustrates rather nicely the tension that existed between the fourteenth-century army's two distinctive characteristics, the challenge for the army commander was to ensure that this tension had creative rather than destructive consequences.

The order of battle for the royal host of 1385 reveals it to have been a structurally uniform army of mixed retinues, some of which were very large.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ BL, MS Cotton Nero D. VI, fols 89r–90r, printed in T. Twiss, ed., *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, 4 vols (Rolls Series, 1871), i. 453–8. M. Keen, 'Richard II's Ordinances of War of 1385', *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England. Essays Presented to Gerald Harriss*, ed. R. E. Archer and S. Walker (London, 1995), pp. 33–48. For critical assessment and comparison of later schedules of ordinances, see A. Curry, 'The Military Ordinances of Henry V: Texts and Contexts', *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, c. 1150–1500. Essays in Honour of Michael Prestwich*, ed. C. Given-Wilson, A. Kettle and L. Scales (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 214–49.

⁵¹ The regulations focus in part on those aspects of the soldier's life that were most likely to give rise to dispute, from the selection of lodgings to the establishment of rights to prisoners of war. They also set down a precise code of 'combat-zone' discipline, with draconian penalties awaiting transgressors.

⁵² Keen, 'Richard II's Ordinances of War of 1385', pp. 47–8.

⁵³ Clauses 4 and 18. Twiss, *Black Book*, i. 453, 456.

⁵⁴ Richard II's army was composed of only three dozen contingents and those consisting of at least 300 men (twelve of them) contributed over 86% of the army's manpower. Nearly two-thirds of the personnel were located in four 'super' mixed retinues. Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 437–9.

Half a century earlier, armies were organised rather differently, the host that Edward III led to Scotland in 1335 being very much a structural hybrid, an assembly of assorted retinues and arrayed companies from the shires and towns of England, Wales and Ireland.⁵⁵ Yet it is certain that the regulatory structures and disciplinary regime that we see in detail in the military ordinances of 1385 had existed, albeit in evolving form, during the era of hybrid armies. The organisational context of the 1385 regulations – an army's 'battles' or divisions and the overall authority of the constable and marshal – is clearly in evidence under the three Edwards.⁵⁶ Moreover, an army plea roll that survives from Edward I's Scottish expedition of 1296 reveals how military law operated at that time; and more than a hint of the disciplinary concerns codified in later ordinances is to be found amidst the common law issues and procedures that dominated the judicial work of the marshal and his deputies.⁵⁷ Striking evidence is also to be found here and there in the narrative sources. Jean le Bel's recollection, in his eyewitness account of the Weardale campaign of 1327, that no one (except the marshals) dared to ride ahead of the banners is reminiscent of clause 4 of the 1385 ordinances.⁵⁸ Most telling of all is the clear imprint of a scheme of army ordinances, similar to those from 1385, that is to be detected in two of the narrative sources for the Crécy campaign of July–August 1346.⁵⁹ Edward III had brought with him a large, hybrid army, composed of retinues and arrayed companies: very different, therefore, from the structurally uniform host with which Richard II campaigned in Scotland in 1385.⁶⁰ That a tight disciplinary and regulatory regime should have been deemed necessary in the summer of 1346 is wholly understandable; and, if anything, it became still more important as the

⁵⁵ Even if we count the various contingents within the household division as a single retinue, all told there must have been a hundred separate units in this army. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp. 198–200, 248–55.

⁵⁶ For example, the bannerets in the four battles that made up Edward I's army in 1298 are revealed by the Falkirk roll of arms (Wagner, *Catalogue of English Mediaeval Rolls of Arms*, pp. 27–9), while various chronicles cast some light on the operational structure of Edward III's army at the start of the Reims campaign in 1359: V. H. Galbraith, ed., *The Anonimale Chronicle* (Manchester, 1927), pp. 44–5; A. King, ed., Sir Thomas Gray, *Scalacronica* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 170–1; G. H. Martin, ed., *Knighton's Chronicle, 1337–1396* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 168–71.

⁵⁷ C. J. Neville, ed., 'A Plea Roll of Edward I's Army in Scotland, 1296', *Miscellany XI*, Scottish History Society 5th series 3 (1990), pp. 7–133.

⁵⁸ J. Viard and E. Déprez, eds, *Chronique de Jean le Bel*, 2 vols (Paris, 1904), i. 54, 65; Twiss, *Black Book*, i. 453.

⁵⁹ The proclaiming of disciplinary orders soon after landing in Normandy is mentioned by the *Acta Bellicosa* and the *Historia Roffensis*: 'Acta Bellicosa Edwardi Tertii', in J. Moisant, *Le Prince Noir en Aquitaine, 1355–6, 1362–70* (Paris, 1894), p. 160; BL, MS Cotton, Faustina B. V, fol. 91r. Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, pp. 62–8. Also evident in the army of 1346–47 was the functioning of the Court of Chivalry, which was 'a result of a gradual extension of the lieutenantancies that the Constable and Marshal traditionally exercised in the King's armies'. M. Keen, 'The Jurisdiction and Origins of the Constable's Court', *War and Government in the Middle Ages. Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich*, ed. J. Gillingham and J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 159–69 (p. 167).

⁶⁰ For the English army in 1346, see Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, chapter 5.

campaign dragged on for over a year, much of the time being spent in static, siege warfare. For while it may be the case, as Maurice Keen has argued, that it was the transitory, indeed potentially volatile, character of contract armies that prompted the formal codification, and perhaps elaboration, of existing practice in 1385,⁶¹ we should not forget that managing a large hybrid army was, in its own way, quite as challenging. How, in particular, was the potential of the troops who had been raised by commissions of array to be maximised? Their excesses, all too evident from the cases heard before the military court in 1296, had to be controlled and their endeavours coordinated with those of retinue-based personnel. The principal obstacle to achieving these aims was weaknesses, at two levels, in the chain of command. First, as we have seen, the arrayed companies, many composed of at least a hundred foot soldiers, were led by men of modest social rank and correspondingly limited authority. Consequently, although 'vintenaries' may well have benefited from social cohesion based on shared origins and experience, the leaders of the companies ('vintennars', 'centennars', 'ductores') were underpowered.⁶² Second, while a combination of logistical, disciplinary and tactical considerations ought to have made the integration of these companies into the operational structure of the army a high priority, it is not clear how this was done. Were clusters of arrayed companies placed under the direct command of a 'battle' commander or were they, individually or in groups, brigaded with particular retinues (perhaps those whose manpower had been raised in the same regions of the kingdom), thus coming under a retinue captain's authority? Or did the constable and marshal of the army retain direct operational control of the arrayed troops?⁶³ Whatever the solution in 1346, the English army's performance during the Crécy campaign highlights the scale of the problem but also what could be achieved in favourable circumstances. At several stages of the campaign, the indiscipline of the English and Welsh levies threatened to compromise the army's fortunes. Their spontaneous attack on the barriers at Caen and the looting of urban food stores in Normandy spring to mind as examples of this.⁶⁴ That the various elements of the army pulled together triumphantly at the climactic battle of Crécy may perhaps be attributed to a

⁶¹ Keen, 'Richard II's Ordinances of War of 1385', *passim*.

⁶² Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, pp. 69–70. Cf. Neville, ed., 'Plea Roll', p. 22; nos 13, 17, 23, 91, 116. The leaders of arrayed companies have received little attention from historians. There is *some* evidence of continuity of service at the head of particular county contingents and of willingness to follow the war from Scotland to France. For example, Richard Damysell led a company of horse archers from the Weald in Scotland and then foot archers from Kent in the Cambrésis-Thiérache campaign (TNA, E 101/20/25, m. 15; *The Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell, 12 July 1338 to 27 May 1340*, ed. M. Lyon, B. Lyon, H. S. Lucas and J. de Sturler (Brussels, 1983), p. 360); and John Disworth rode at the head of Leicestershire archers in Scotland and France (TNA, SC 1/39 no. 29; E 101/21/21, m. 3; *Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell*, p. 359).

⁶³ Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, pp. 187–9.

⁶⁴ See, for example, Michael Northburgh's newsletter: Adam Murimuth, *Continuatio chronicarum* and Robert de Avesbury, *De gestis mirabilibus regis Edwardi Tertii*, ed. E. M. Thompson (Rolls Ser., London, 1889), pp. 358–9.

combination of inspirational leadership, a practicable tactical plan on suitable ground and the issuing, on the eve of battle, of disciplinary orders of draconian severity.⁶⁵ But the scale of the English victories at Crécy and Calais should not obscure the fact that they were achieved by an army leadership that throughout had been grappling with major army-level command and control problems that had interrelated 'structural' and 'disciplinary' dimensions. Whatever the wider implications of the emergence of mixed retinues and structurally uniform armies, we may be sure that these developments served to simplify the network of communication for the army's leaders and bureaucrats, creating a more efficient chain of command and administration.

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The two distinctive characteristics of late medieval armies that we have highlighted – the deep imprint of the military communities from which they were recruited and the grip of superimposed regulatory structures – had a profound influence on the fabric of these armies and how they functioned. The precise nature of that influence was shaped by the prevailing dynamics of recruitment, which, as we have seen, may be characterised as the collective functioning of a complex web of relationships between captains and military communities. The dynamics of recruitment did not remain unchanged. They could be affected by such 'external' pressures as army-institutional reform, increased recruiting targets and general social and economic change; and, indeed, they were so affected, with important consequences, during the late fourteenth century. That, however, is a story for another occasion. Fulfilment of our more immediate purpose requires a shift of focus from the global level of kingdom-wide recruitment dynamics to the smaller, self-contained if intricately structured world of the army after it had mustered. We need to take a closer look at the army's component units (its retinues and arrayed companies), the relationships between the men who served in them and the ties that connected these units within the army as a whole: an exercise that benefits from viewing the late medieval army as a social and institutional network.⁶⁶

It would be appropriate to begin with the retinues and arrayed companies. They were at once the building blocks from which Edwardian armies were constructed and social organisms that were born of military communities and thus mirrored structures and relationships within them. This dual identity is of fundamental importance and very much at the heart of what we have identified as the first of the Edwardian army's distinctive characteristics. For a retinue may be viewed as a local network of relationships that is simultaneously part of two wider networks: on the one hand, that of the army, which though a

⁶⁵ Battle discipline: Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, p. 72.

⁶⁶ This theoretical model was first described in A. Ayton, 'From Muhi to Mohács: Armies and Combatants in Later Medieval European Transcultural Wars', *Transcultural Wars from the Middle Ages to the Twenty-First Century*, ed. H.-H. Kortüm (Berlin, 2006), pp. 241–7. See also, Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, pp. 21–4.

phenomenon of short lifespan possessed features that provided continuities from previous musters; and, on the other, the more complex web of long-term connections within the social network of the military community. What this means is that the 'army network' derived much of its strength and cohesion from existing social connections within the military community that were carried into retinues (and, indeed, created bonds between retinues) by the recruitment process. It is true that these 'natural' ties were reinforced and supplemented by the superimposition of 'artificial' ones through the army ordinances. But it was the underlying connections that really mattered: pre-existing ties between the leaders and their men, and between the men themselves. As we have seen, such ties might be based on lordship and locality, kinship and friendship; and also on prior shared service, for often these bonds of mutual trust were forged, or given added reinforcement, in that most challenging of life's arenas – the arena of war. If it was the collective identities of what we have termed comradeship groups that acted as a cohesive agency within retinues and often between them, we should recognise too the role played, at the most fundamental level, of companies composed of a mere handful of men. The standard, atomic-level unit by which men-at-arms had long been recruited consisted of a knight and perhaps a couple of esquires.⁶⁷ We would expect the addition of one or more archers to such companies to have been an essential feature of the emergence of the mixed retinue in the 1330s and 1340s, and small, mixed companies can indeed be detected in the army that triumphed at Crécy.⁶⁸ It is interesting to note how, in 1379, English mercenaries in negotiation with the Lucchese insisted that the standard 'lance' of two men-at-arms and a page should have an archer attached to it.⁶⁹ By that time, the grass-roots mingling of combatants with complementary capabilities was well established in England.⁷⁰ There was considerable variety in the size and form of these sub-retinue contingents. Of the larger ones, some look like bands of professional soldiers,⁷¹ while others, consisting of a man-at-arms at the head of a group of archers, may have been raised by traditional array-style selection methods.⁷² But apparently more

⁶⁷ See, for example, the structure of the earl of Warenne's retinue (raised for service in Aquitaine in 1325) as revealed by a horse inventory: TNA, E 101/17/31.

⁶⁸ Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, p. 180.

⁶⁹ K. Fowler, 'Sir John Hawkwood and the English Condottieri in Trecento Italy', *Renaissance Studies* 12 (1998), 137. Cf. W. Caferro, *John Hawkwood: An English Mercenary in Fourteenth-Century Italy* (Baltimore, MD, 2006), pp. 90–1.

⁷⁰ As can be seen particularly clearly in subcontracts: Sherborne, 'Indentured Retinues', 742–4; A. Goodman, 'The Military Subcontracts of Sir Hugh Hastings', *EHR* 95 (1980), 114–20; S. Walker, 'Profit and Loss in the Hundred Years War: The Subcontracts of Sir John Strother', *BIHR* 58 (1985), 100–6.

⁷¹ Such as Jankyn Nowell's company (five men-at-arms and five archers) in Sir Hugh Hastings's retinue in 1380. Goodman, 'The Military Subcontracts of Sir Hugh Hastings', 116–17.

⁷² Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, p. 176. A roll of Sir Thomas Dagworth's retinue, serving in Brittany in 1346, suggests that two-thirds of his archers (80 out of 120) had arrived at muster in ten companies, three of which included twelve archers, and one (led by an esquire, Peres Dangerton) had twenty. TNA, E 101/25/18.

common were companies consisting of a handful of men.⁷³ What we see in the close-knit companies that coalesced to form retinues are what sociologists call 'primary groups'.⁷⁴ Taken together, the web of relationships within and between primary groups, to which mutual trust but also a preoccupation with honour and reputation no doubt contributed, provided a degree of cohesion and structural robustness that underpinned effective co-operative 'team' combat and compensated a good deal for the lack of 'standing' structures in an army.

Stability of retinue composition – the degree to which men served alongside comrades in arms from previous campaigns – may well be a crucial issue here; and, as a phenomenon, it has almost certainly been underestimated in the past, in part because of the methodologies that historians have employed.⁷⁵ Indeed, it is clear that an important consequence of the processes that combined to bring about the militarisation of the Edwardian gentry, and the creation of comradeship groups within it, was that they tended to promote stability in the composition of campaigning retinues. Such stability is nicely illustrated by the well documented retinues of Henry, lord Percy (d. 1352). Frequency of re-service over a short period, from one campaign to the next, is the simplest measure. For example, of the fifty-six men-at-arms who accompanied Percy to Scotland in 1336, no fewer than forty-one (73 per cent) served with him again the following year.⁷⁶ An assessment of loyalty over longer periods would need, on the one hand, to make allowance for the natural rhythms of gentry life, and the varied responsibilities and relationships that were at the heart of it, all of which might cause interruptions to individual military careers; and, on the other, to assess 'loyalty' in terms of the involvement of families as much as individuals. Judged by these criteria, Percy's retinue, once again, exhibits a high level of stability. Of those families who can be identified as suppliers of knights and esquires to Percy's retinue in 1327, two-thirds were still doing so in the mid- to late 1330s, and in the majority of cases it was the same man

⁷³ Of twenty-six known subcontractors contributing to Sir Hugh Hastings's retinue, seventeen were men-at-arms serving with a single archer and nine were lone men-at-arms. Goodman, 'The Military Subcontracts of Sir Hugh Hastings', 116–17.

⁷⁴ A. L. George, 'Primary Groups, Organization and Military Performance', *Handbook of Military Institutions*, ed. R. W. Little (Beverly Hills, CA, 1971), pp. 293–318; E. P. Chodoff, 'Ideology and Primary Groups', *Armed Forces and Society* 9 (1983), 569–93.

⁷⁵ For example, simply establishing the composition of particular captains' campaigning retinues over time (itself an exercise fraught with methodological problems) will fail to reveal the full extent of personnel stability. It is also necessary to take account of clusters of men serving together, perhaps as a company, over a period of time, but under different captains: and to detect such clusters requires a global approach to military service prosopography.

⁷⁶ Ten out of eleven knights and thirty-one out of forty-five esquires returned. Of the fourteen esquires who did not, two switched to the closely associated retinue of Ralph, lord Neville (d. 1367). For these two campaigns the rate of re-service in Neville's retinue was about 60%. Complete muster records and horse inventories survive for these retinues: TNA, E 101/19/36, mm. 3, 3d, 4, 4d (for 1336); E 101/20/17, mm. 1, 4, 4d, 5, 6, 8, 9, 9d (for 1337).

in the saddle.⁷⁷ In raising his retinues, Percy was able to draw upon long-established recruiting networks within the military communities of Yorkshire and Northumberland where his principal landholdings lay.⁷⁸ By the mid-1330s, there had been forty years of campaigning in which the forces of loyalty and obligation, comradeship-in-arms and self-interest had combined to ensure the cohesive participation of northern military communities in what must often have seemed a frustrating and unrewarding war zone. And yet, these 'forces' took effect quite quickly. Recent research has demonstrated that, contrary to what had previously been thought, continuity of service within retinues was already a feature of English armies during the Scottish wars of Edward I and his son, and not only in contingents raised by magnates from, or reliant upon, the frontier military communities of northern England.⁷⁹

It seems that these earlier campaigns, predominantly in Scotland, had conditioned noble and gentry families throughout the kingdom to the acceptance of an active martial role, and that the dynamics of recruitment, driven principally by the engagement of magnates with local and regional military communities, resulted in retinues that were much more settled in composition than was once thought. What is striking is that this process continued – indeed, perhaps intensified – after Edward III had switched his attention to France, a campaigning theatre for which he could not in any way rely on local recruitment prompted by 'on the doorstep' warfare. Initially, it was deemed necessary to pay men-at-arms at double the usual rates in order to overcome the traditional hostility of the socio-military elite to continental campaigning.⁸⁰ Whether or not such generosity was actually necessary, it is clear that patterns of recruitment established during the Scottish wars (not least during the particularly intensive phase of annual campaigns that began in 1332–33) were carried over into the French expeditions through the sustained efforts of a team of militarily active magnates.⁸¹ Indeed, after the elevation of six of them to earldoms in March 1337 these recruitment networks were reinforced and extended, in part through the reactivation of connections that, owing to the advanced years, infirmity or

⁷⁷ Evidence for Percy's retinue in 1327 comes in the form of a request for the issue of protections for some of the knights and esquires in the retinue: TNA, C 81/1736, no. 75. A comparison with the military service records from the 1330s suggests that thirteen out of twenty-two knights and fourteen out of nineteen esquires continued in Percy's service, either in person or by 'family proxy'.

⁷⁸ *CIPM*, X. Edward III. Years 26–34 (1921), no. 43. Cf. Tuck, 'The Percies and the Community of Northumberland in the Later Fourteenth Century'.

⁷⁹ Simpkin, *English Aristocracy at War*, pp. 119–41. In a sample of fifty retinues in the English army of 1298, 45% of the known men-at-arms can be shown to have served with their captains at least once before and 26% more often than that (*ibid.*, pp. 124, 191–2). Continuity with the same captain from one campaign to the next was at about 50% for knights and 35–40% for sergeants (*ibid.*, p. 129). For some retinues, the re-service rates were much higher. All figures must be considered minimums, given the incompleteness of the military service records.

⁸⁰ Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, pp. 109–10.

⁸¹ Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, pp. 227–8.

death of family heads, had ceased to function.⁸² As campaign followed campaign in France and, during periods of truce, aristocratic contingents were brought together for large-scale tournaments, 'vertical' and 'horizontal' ties within retinues were strengthened. Thus, at the battle of Crécy, over half of the earl of Northampton's identifiable men-at-arms (and 80 per cent of his knights) can be shown to have fought with him before. Given the incompleteness of the documentary evidence, these re-service figures, impressive as they are, must be regarded as minimums. They are broadly representative of the other retinues in that army, or at least of those that had not been recruited from scratch or significantly expanded for the 1346 campaign. But even newly established or radically restructured contingents would benefit from pre-existing service ties between the men themselves.⁸³ That such retinue-level cohesion, founded upon continuity of service and networks of individual relationships, brought tactical benefits can hardly be doubted.⁸⁴

Switching our attention from the clusters of manpower at retinue level to the more extensive and complex network that defined the character of an Edwardian army as a whole, it can be seen that the structural fabric of the army – its architecture and the dynamics of the network of relationships within it, which were strongly influenced by the military community and recruitment mechanisms that gave it life and by the strength (or otherwise) of the regulatory structures superimposed upon it – shaped the way that it functioned. Indeed, to a considerable extent, it was the 'distinctive characteristics' of such an army, as discussed above, that predetermined its strengths and weaknesses as a military machine. The architecture of the medieval 'army network' was dominated by major 'hubs' or foci (the leaders of the army's retinues),⁸⁵ around which were clustered the lesser commanders and their companies. The hubs were linked to each other by ties of shared status, reinforced to a degree by the operation of the army's regulatory ordinances. But apart from such reinforcement, the links in the army network were founded upon 'personal' connections. Lacking a permanent institutional structure that was wholly independent of its personnel, a typical western-European late medieval army was held together by the social authority and resources of its principal commanders and their personal relationships with the men in their retinues.

The key features of an army's network architecture affected how it functioned, not only as a military machine but also as a social and political organism. The network laid down channels of communication within the army

⁸² Ayton, 'Edward III and the English Aristocracy', pp. 188–90.

⁸³ Ayton, 'Sir Thomas Ughtred', pp. 122–5; Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, pp. 204–15.

⁸⁴ Retinue composition throughout the remainder of the fourteenth century has yet to be researched in detail, but initial samples suggest a higher incidence of moderate to poor re-service rates.

⁸⁵ As such, it was (to some extent) scale-free in form. For the characteristic features of such networks, see A.-L. Barabási, *Linked: The New Science of Networks* (Cambridge, MA, 2002) and D. Watts, *Six Degrees: The Science of a Connected Age* (London, 2004), pp. 104–14.

– a not insignificant fact given that following the raising of a major royal host, the political elite of the realm would be in each other's company for weeks, even months at a time. With regard to military function, it was the personal basis of the links in the network, together with the dominance of major hubs, that had profound implications for the army's fighting capability. Stability of retinue composition from one campaign to the next was, as we have seen, clearly particularly important. In the absence of any form of institutional reinforcement, strong 'natural' ties between individuals founded upon shared experiences and, not infrequently, long-standing family traditions of service must have counted for a great deal. By the same token, unstable or otherwise disconnected manpower at retinue level could become a source of weakness. There were, moreover, certain structural vulnerabilities at the very heart of the medieval 'army network'. First, the army would not hold together if the bonds between its captains, the hubs, were weak or non-existent. Much depended on the authority of the army commander and the personal relationships between his lieutenants. When the former was lacking or the latter dominated by rivalries and jealousies, an army's operational effectiveness would suffer, as is well illustrated by the English host's lacklustre performance during the Weardale campaign of 1327.⁸⁶ Indeed, in these circumstances, an army might even come apart at the seams, as we see with Robert Knolles's command in 1370.⁸⁷ Army ordinances could achieve only so much. Second, the army's hubs, its principal captains, were a source of strength but also its Achilles heel. They were the focal points for large sections of the army, its command centres and rallying points, but their removal would have serious structural consequences. In battle, the neutralisation of a commander could cause his retinue to fragment into smaller units and a crowd of individuals. Heavy losses among an army's retinue leaders would have a catastrophic effect on its structural integrity. The general disintegration of Philip VI's *bannières* of heavily armoured horsemen at Crécy is nowhere more forcefully and precisely revealed than in the long list of senior French and allied noblemen who were reported as casualties in the after-action newsletters.⁸⁸ That targeting an adversary's command centres, readily identifiable from the banners that accompanied them, was a commonplace feature of the medieval battlefield is hardly surprising.⁸⁹ Clearly, a military system that was so dependent on 'personal' ties and the direct involvement of the political elite was not without disadvantages. For all the inspirational, hands-on leadership that such a system made possible – as seen at Crécy, Poitiers and Agincourt – there was also real vulnerability at its heart.

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⁸⁶ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, p. 36.

⁸⁷ R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V*, 5 vols (Paris, 1909–31), iv, 335–6; K. Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries*. Volume 1: *The Great Companies* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 289–97.

⁸⁸ Ayton and Preston, *Battle of Crécy*, pp. 19–20, 24, 374–5.

⁸⁹ Ayton, 'From Muhi to Mohács', p. 244.

The primary purpose of this essay has been to bring greater clarity to the study of late medieval armies, with particular reference to those raised by the Edwardian kings of England. It has identified distinctive features that were crucial to form and function; it has investigated how the influence exerted by military communities and superimposed regulatory structures was conditioned by the prevailing dynamics of recruitment; and it has proposed that to conceive of the late medieval army as a social and institutional network allows us to visualise its structure and the connections between its constituent parts in ways that are faithful to reality, which in turn permits a clearer understanding of how it functioned. An objection to the 'army model' proposed here might be that in seeking clarity in salient characteristics that can be consistently observed and analysed, it takes insufficient account of the innate complexity of the subject matter, particularly with regard to change over time. Such criticism, wholly understandable as it might seem, need not detain us for long. A taxonomy of late medieval army forms would indeed be useful, provided that preoccupation with the fine detail in the system did not serve to obscure the essentials of how it functioned. Much more could also be said about the processes of change that, during the fourteenth century, affected army structures, military communities and the dynamics of recruitment. In each of these respects, this was a period of significant development, just as it was also a period of fluctuating military fortunes for the English crown. Interesting and important as such matters are, insufficient space remains to explore them here. Nor, for our present purpose, is it actually necessary to do so, because variety and change are comfortably accommodated by the army model. On the one hand, that certain kinds of change did occur (in the line-up of captains raising troops, for example) is an assumed feature of the dynamics of recruitment. On the other, change of a more substantial or lasting character, perhaps introduced to the system exogenously, does not invalidate the model, but rather brings greater strength to its analytical potential.

If our primary aim has been to bring a degree of clarity to a subject riddled with interpretative complexity, it is hoped too that this clarification will prompt a re-evaluation of the military capabilities of late medieval armies. In such an exercise, comparison with their modern counterparts – those with permanent structures into which individuals are absorbed, the personal being subordinated to the institutional – would be instructive up to a point, not least because, as was noted at the start of this essay, some of the hybrid armies of the late medieval period included contingents of professional soldiers maintained on a permanent footing. Moreover, in so far as a medieval army's performance depended upon such non-structural factors as the quality of its leaders (at all levels), how well attuned it was to local campaigning conditions and the calibre of the opposition, its predicament was comparable with that facing armies in the modern era. But an assessment of the military capabilities of the late medieval army should, above all, be rooted in an understanding of its distinctive character. With that distinctiveness as our starting point, rather than some generic idea of what an army could or should be like, we can embark upon analysis with

greater confidence that the late medieval army's strengths and weaknesses will be recognised and not obscured amidst anachronistic comparisons.

Thus, as we have seen, in a late medieval army, the personal was paramount, the structure and composition of the army being determined by the potential offered by military communities as mediated through the recruitment networks at the disposal of its principal leaders. The institutional and disciplinary framework that was superimposed upon such a host was designed to regulate the conduct of a military machine that was heavily dependant on personal ties, thereby maximising its potential, compensating for its inherent weaknesses and curbing its excesses. The temptation to dismiss such armies as ephemeral and amorphous, and consequently as the decidedly inferior precursors to the aggregate-contract and state-commission armies of the early modern period,⁹⁰ should be resisted. For to regard them in this way would be to misunderstand them and also to underestimate them. What is clear is that, everything else being equal, effective command and control was indeed possible when social networks derived from military communities were reinforced and supplemented by regulatory structures that, for the weeks or months of a campaign, turned a collection of retainues into a fighting machine. It is important to remember too that although its 'life' would be short, an Edwardian army was also part of something more enduring. It took its place in a sequence of royal hosts: if not redolent of a permanent institution, this was at least a regularly occurring event. Indeed, by virtue of the martial culture from which it had been born, each army was tied to those that preceded and followed it by vibrant continuities. Consequently, its underlying social networks and overarching regulatory structures were given greater strength by service traditions – whether personal, familial or institutional – which provided threads of continuity for a military system that was activated only intermittently. In the development of army ordinances, 'time and experience introduced new sophistication in the detail of regulation.'⁹¹ With regard to the composition of the army, stability of personnel within the command hierarchy, within retainues, and in the form of primary groups at company level can only have contributed to operational effectiveness. As we have seen, in England, such stability, involving individual careers and family traditions of service, was built up during the difficult and often unrewarding wars of Edward I and Edward II, and it became strikingly evident in the armies of Edward III. In explaining the latter king's military successes, historians have focused on the effectiveness of massed archery and combined arms tactics, and on Edward's purposeful pursuit of a clear strategic agenda. Some have further argued that operational matters such as these benefited from the emergence of mixed-arms contingents (together with other organisational reforms) during the Anglo-Scottish wars. Perhaps, in this regard, we should devote more attention to the continuities provided by traditions of service, at

⁹⁰ J. A. Lynn, 'The Evolution of Army Style in the Modern West, 800–2000', *The International History Review* 18 (1996), 516–19.

⁹¹ Keen, 'Richard II's Ordinances of War of 1385', p. 46.

personal, familial and institutional levels, and to the symbiotic relationship that, as a consequence, could form between the work of men and the functioning of impermanent institutions. Armies built upon such foundations were different from those of the modern era, but not necessarily inferior to them. However else we choose to interpret the success of English arms under Edward III, it is surely incontestable that they were achieved by armies cast in the classic late medieval mould: armies whose potential had been fully realised.

War and Peace: Military and Administrative Service amongst the English Gentry in the Reign of Henry VI¹

Simon Payling

This paper is an exercise in collective prosopography, examining the theme of military and local administrative service through the careers of twenty-six men who had, in common, careers as soldiers in France after the death of Henry V and at least one election to parliament.² The aim of the enquiry is two-fold. The first relates to military service alone. What, beyond mere personal inclination, prompted these men either to continue campaigning abroad after their initial experiences in the great campaigns of Henry V, or to embark on military careers as the fortunes of the English in France began to decline?³ Did they profit or lose by that decision, whether measured in terms of hard cash or those less tangible signifiers of status by which the late medieval gentry measured themselves? For those who survived into the 1450s, how did their experiences in France inform the choices they made in the troubled domestic

¹ I am grateful to Dr G. L. Harriss and Dr L. S. Clark for their comments on an earlier draft of this chapter. My greatest debt, however, is to the Trustees of the History of Parliament Trust for their permission to draw on material to be published by the History in *The Commons, 1422–61*, ed. L. S. Clark (forthcoming c. 2017). The following twenty-one unpublished biographies have been used: L. S. Clark, 'Thomas Hoo I', 'Sir Henry Hussey', 'Sir John Norbury', 'Sir John Popham'; D. I. Grummitt, 'Sir Thomas Kyriel', 'Richard Wydeville'; M. K. Jones, 'Sir Richard Haryngton'; H. W. Kleineke, 'Sir Theobald Gorges', 'Sir Edward Hull', 'John Nanfan', 'Sir Robert Vere'; C. E. Moreton, 'John Clay', 'Sir John Montgomery', 'Sir Edmund Mulsho', 'Sir Henry Norbury', 'Sir Andrew Ogard', 'Sir William Oldhall'; and S. J. Payling, 'Sir William Byshoppeston', 'Sir John Cressy', 'Thomas Mulsho' and 'Sir William Lucy'. The other five soldiers discussed here – Sir Thomas Blount, Sir Thomas Burton, Sir William Peyto, Sir John Radcliffe, Sir Thomas Rempston – have their biographies in *The Commons, 1386–1421*, ed. J. S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe, 4 vols (Stroud, 1993). Full references to the facts cited below are to be found in these published and unpublished works. References have been given here only to facts made to bear particular weight. All manuscript references are to The National Archives (formerly the Public Record Office) unless otherwise stated.

² The twenty-six soldiers concerned are named in the note above and in Figure 4, p. 256.

³ Of the twenty-six, ten – Cressy, Gorges, Hull, Lucy, the Mulsho and Norbury brothers, Peyto and Vere – did not begin their military careers until after the death of Henry V. Hoo and Blount are uncertain cases.

politics of that decade? The second concerns the relationship between military service in France and participation in local administration in England. How far did commitment to the first preclude participation in the second? At what stage in their careers did they serve in parliament? What part did administrative service at home play in their careers?

The sample of twenty-six is open to the objection that some were far more martial than others: Sir Thomas Rempston and Sir Richard Haryngton, for example, were, above all other things, soldiers, commanders in the field, but men like Sir Edward Hull and John Nanfan were defined only in part by their military service, having an existence as administrators and diplomats that identified them at least as accurately as their purely military rôle. Further, some were abroad more fitfully than others. Yet all twenty-six had this in common: the war in France either dominated or played an important part in their lives for much of the period between 1422 and 1453, and all spent significant periods there.⁴ This differentiates them from the vast majority of their fellow MPs and gives them a coherence as a group.

In the case of most of the twenty-six it is possible to suggest reasons why they should have been attracted to a career in arms more sustained than the single campaigns undertaken by many of England's gentry under Henry V. It is, however, worth emphasising here that even one campaign was beyond the experience of the bulk of the class. Dr James Ross has recently demonstrated the point with clarity, at least if his county of Essex can be accepted as typical. He suggests, albeit as a minimum figure (making allowance for the incompleteness of the records of participation), that only a fifth of the county's gentry took up arms when commitment to war in France was at its deepest.⁵ No doubt more intensely militarised counties, like Cheshire and Cumberland, had higher levels of participation (one might even say less 'legalised' counties in that some 20 per cent of the greater gentry of Essex were lawyers). None the less, an estimate of a fifth of the gentry as even occasional soldiers is low enough to permit of several caveats before it is no longer correct to say that the bulk of the class remained at home. It follows further that those gentry who committed themselves to anything like a military career were a minority upon a minority. This being so – as their choice was a very particular one – it would be surprising if a brief acquaintance with their careers did not suggest some possible motives, both individual and collective.

Family tradition or, at least, the example of a near kinsman or connection, is an obvious factor. Of the twenty-six, nearly half of them might plausibly be

⁴ The selection of the twenty-six is necessarily subjective. Others could have been included, such as, to name but three, the Fiennes brothers, Sir Roger and Sir James, and Sir Henry Inglose, but I have excluded them and others like them on the grounds that their military careers, after 1422, were brief.

⁵ J. Ross, 'Essex County Society and the French War in the Fifteenth Century', *The Fifteenth Century VII: Conflicts, Consequences and the Crown in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. L. S. Clark (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 62–3.

said to have been influenced in this way. Sir Thomas Hoo, for example, was the maternal grandson of Sir Thomas Felton (d. 1381), a knight of the Garter, and the son of a veteran of Agincourt;⁶ Rempston's father, who fought in Scotland, Spain and Lithuania, was, like Felton, a Garter knight;⁷ Haryngton and Sir William Lucy were the sons of men who fought in several campaigns under Henry V;⁸ Sir Thomas Blount followed in the footsteps of his elder brother, Sir John, a Garter knight killed at the siege of Rouen in 1418;⁹ and the Mulsho brothers, Edmund and Thomas, were nephews of Henry Mulsho (d. 1425), who fought at Agincourt and was briefly lieutenant of Harfleur in 1421.¹⁰ The most instructive case, however, is provided by another pair of brothers, Henry and John, sons of the well-born Elizabeth Butler by John Norbury. Their father had had a notable military career, including spells as a mercenary in the service of the duke of Brittany and the king of Portugal, but he died in 1414 when his sons were mere infants. A stronger influence upon them must have been their mother's third husband, another of the twenty-six, Sir John Montgomery, and her brother, Sir Ralph Butler of Sudeley (Gloucestershire), who, as the boys grew to manhood, were among the leading English commanders in Normandy.¹¹ For others the influence came not from their family backgrounds but from their upbringing as wards. John Cressy was raised alongside the Norbury brothers in Elizabeth Butler's household.¹² Robert Vere, a boy on the death of his soldier father, Richard, earl of Oxford, in 1417, grew up in the martial atmosphere of the households of Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter, and John, duke of Bedford.¹³ To be set against these examples are those of soldiers who came from distinctly non-military backgrounds: Sir John Popham and Sir Henry Hussey both appear to have been educated at Winchester College, and Sir William Byshoppeston was raised in the wardship of an Oxfordshire lawyer, William Wilcotes.¹⁴ Over all, however, it is fair to conclude that nurture and family had a demonstrable effect in determining a man towards military service.

⁶ *Complete Peerage*, vi. 566–7.

⁷ *The Commons, 1386–1421*, iv. 189–92.

⁸ *Ibid.*, iii. 304–5; *Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, xlv. 575, 593; E101/51/2.

⁹ *Complete Peerage*, ix. 333–4.

¹⁰ E101/45/4; 50/9; J. S. Roskell, *The Commons in the Parliament of 1422* (Manchester, 1954), pp. 206–7.

¹¹ *The Commons, 1386–1421*, iii. 843–6; *CP*, xii (1), pp. 419–21. Henry Norbury began his military career under Montgomery (*ex inf.* Professor A. Curry).

¹² C139/35/51. If he first went to France when only thirteen, he, like Henry Norbury, began his military career in Montgomery's retinue at Domfront: A. Curry, 'English Armies in the Fifteenth Century', *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. A. Curry and M. Hughes (Woodbridge, 1994), p. 66.

¹³ *Complete Peerage*, x. 235–7.

¹⁴ Roskell, 'Sir John Popham', *Parliament and Politics in Late Medieval England*, 3 vols (London, 1981–83), iii. 356; T. F. Kirby, *Annals of Winchester College* (London, 1892), pp. 110, 121; E40/4501. Interestingly, Wilcotes's two sons, Sir Thomas and Sir John, with whom Byshoppeston grew up, had their lives cut short by service in France: *The Commons, 1386–1421*, iv. 865.

None the less, while formative military influences, whether through near-kin or guardians, were an important factor, disadvantageous family circumstances were equally significant, acting to render attractive the hazardous and uncertain profits of war. For some the two influences ran in parallel. Elizabeth Butler may have inspired her sons through her male connections; but her survival also deprived them of the lands that would have given them a place in local society.¹⁵ Rempston was kept out of the bulk of his inheritance by his mother; not until four years before his own death did he acquire what he might have expected to have half a century before.¹⁶ Aged parents also diminished, albeit less seriously, the resources of Thomas Mulsho, Lucy and Hoo; and Vere, Richard Wydeville and Edmund Mulsho were burdened with the disadvantages of the younger son.¹⁷ Of those from apparently non-military backgrounds several were similarly disadvantaged. Hull, for example, was, like the Norburys, survived by his heiress mother.¹⁸ Others of the twenty-six laboured under a family difficulty of a potentially more permanent kind in that they hailed from families without rank or land. For them military service was a means of negating the disadvantages of birth. The parents of neither Montgomery, a Welshman, nor John Clay can be identified. Andrew Ogard provides an example of a different kind. He was a Dane from a knightly family; for him military service was an entrée into the ranks of the English gentry.¹⁹ In short, a variety of disadvantageous circumstances encouraged gentry to serve, and the converse must also be true: gentry in easy possession of a comfortable estate had good reason to avoid the loss of local place entailed by long absences in France and to see little compensatory advantage in the very uncertain profits of war. There are, of course, exceptions to this rule. Blount was already an extensive landholder when he took up arms after the death of his famous elder brother and he continued to serve in France until Bedford's death in 1435; but he is far from typical of the twenty-six under discussion here.²⁰

The third factor in moving men to spend lengthy periods abroad is one that overlapped with family background and upbringing, that of lordship. Most of the twenty-six were connected, in one way or another, with the leading aristocratic commanders. This was inevitable: the search for lordship was itself a motive for service, and successful career soldiers must necessarily have gravitated to

¹⁵ *The Commons, 1386–1421*, iii. 843–6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, iv. 192–4; *Oxford DNB*, xlv. 460–1.

¹⁷ John Radcliffe was also a younger son, but, before his first campaign in France, he had been made wealthy by his marriage to Sir John Fastolf's half-sister, Cecily Mortimer: *The Commons, 1386–1421*, iv. 155–6.

¹⁸ His mother was the granddaughter and heiress of Sir Baldwin Malet of Enmore (Somerset) and survived him by seven years. Although her survival disadvantaged him financially, he was, if one may judge from the terms of his will, devoted to her: *Register of Thomas Bekynton, Bishop of Bath and Wells*, ed. H. C. Maxwell-Lyte and M. C. B. Dawes, 2 vols (Somerset Record Society 49, 50, 1934–35), i, no. 815.

¹⁹ A. J. Stratford, *The Bedford Inventories* (London, 1993), pp. 417–21.

²⁰ *The Commons, 1386–1421*, ii. 258–60.

the retinues of the leading commanders. Hence it was that Ogard, Blount, Montgomery and others won places in the service of the duke of Bedford, as regent of France; Clay's military distinction brought him to the attention of the duke of York; and so on.²¹ Yet while some saw a career in arms as a means of finding lordship, for others it was a lordship already found that determined them upon lengthy service abroad. Thus, for several of the twenty-six, although their connection with the leading English commanders may have been nourished by their military service, it did not originate therein. Byshoppeston, for example, was, even before he first served in France, an adherent of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, in whose retinue he campaigned in 1415; and the Mulsho brothers were from a family long associated with the house of York, and began their military careers only with Richard, duke of York's appointment as lieutenant-general. Although it would be going too far to say that, for these men and others like them, their military careers were as much a product of their lord's martial inclinations as they were of their own – even militarily active lords, after all, needed servants at home as well as abroad – none the less, their place in a baronial retinue provided an initial impetus to, and an incentive to remain in, arms. Nowhere is this more true than in the case of those in the service of the greatest of all lords, the king. Indeed, perhaps the most notable single characteristic of the twenty-six as a group is the high proportion who came from families intimately associated with the royal house of Lancaster. The Norbury brothers, Blount, Popham and Rempston were sons of men who had been on intimate terms with Henry of Bolingbroke before 1399 and who had, as a result, taken places in national politics out of all proportion to their births. Their sons may have seen a military career as the most feasible means of maintaining an importance that did not properly belong to their families; they might also, to assign them disinterested motives, have identified the maintenance of Henry V's conquests as the most appropriate context for their family's continued service to Lancaster. Others of the twenty-six, although sons of men less intimately connected with the new ruling house, also had strong Lancastrian backgrounds. Haryngton's father, Sir James, had fought for Henry IV at the battle of Shrewsbury; Sir John Radcliffe's father, James, had supported Bolingbroke in 1399 and placed his younger son, the future soldier, in the new king's household where the boy became a personal adherent of the king's second son, Thomas.²² Hull's father, John, had been a king's esquire, and his mother, Eleanor, a servant of Queen Joan, and he began his own career as a henchman in the royal household.²³ For others, their close connection with Lancaster was their own: Wydeville was brought up in the household of John of Gaunt or Bolingbroke, and benefited significantly from the latter's patronage as king; Montgomery began his career in the royal household; as did Henry Hussey,

²¹ Stratford, *Bedford Inventories*, pp. 417–18; A. E. Marshall, 'The Rôle of English War Captains in England and Normandy, 1436–61' (MA thesis, University of Wales Swansea, 1975), p. 69.

²² *The Commons, 1386–1421*, iii. 304–5; iv. 155.

²³ *CPR, 1416–22*, pp. 41, 304; *PPC*, iv. 77.

who, in about 1413, married one of the Spanish ladies who came to England in the entourage of Queen Joan of Navarre.²⁴

So much for motive, what of consequences? The value of military service as a means of access to lordship, as it was for Ogard and Clay, is obviously beyond quantification; but some attempt can be made to assess an individual's gain from the tangible profits of war in the shape of ransoms, wages and grants of conquered territory. In the absence of the sort of detailed financial records that survive, for example, for the career of Sir John Fastolf, the attempt can only be a very imperfect one, gain has to be inferred from the incidental and episodic.²⁵ Generally the most that can be said is that an individual soldier ended his military career far wealthier than he had begun it, without any means of distinguishing the direct gains of war from the indirect ones of patronage.²⁶ None the less, the available evidence leaves no doubt that some men made fortunes from the pure gains of war even in the period when English fortunes were in decline. Fastolf's secretary, William of Worcestre, has left a vivid picture of Ogard's great wealth. He believed that his lands and offices in France were worth some £1,000 a year; that he stored 7,000 marks' worth of French gold in a chest kept at the house of his friend and later executor, Robert Whittingham; that he laid out £1,100 on the purchase of the manor of The Rye in Hertfordshire and a further 4,000 marks on building there; and so on.²⁷ These figures may have been exaggerations, yet there is other hardly less striking contemporary evidence of his wealth. The will of his father-in-law, Sir John Clifton of Buckenham in Norfolk, shows that his 'beloved son' Ogard had purchased a significant part of the Clifton lands for 3,000 marks; in his own will, Ogard set aside 1,000 marks for the marriage of his only daughter, a portion more commonly associated with the daughters of peers; and a bill sued in King's Bench claims that, after his death, two of Ogard's servants plundered his castle at Buckenham of goods worth £3,000, including a collar in the king's livery decorated with nine rubies, and a further 4,250 marks in cash.²⁸ There also yet remains a visible sign both of his wealth and his social

²⁴ *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. N. Davis, 2 vols (Oxford, 1971), i. 162; *CPR*, 1408–13, p. 43; *PROME*, ix. 90–1; BL, MS Cotton Vespasian F XIII, fol. 33.

²⁵ K. B. McFarlane, 'The Investment of Sir John Fastolf's Profits of War', *England in the Fifteenth Century: Collected Essays*, ed. G. L. Harriss (London, 1981), pp. 175–97.

²⁶ This difficulty is particularly acute (for the purposes of this chapter) in the case of the adherents of the duke of York, who appears to have treated his leading military servants, most notably Oldhall, Ogard and Sir Edmund Mulsho, with exceptional generosity. Another of York's servants, John Clay, owed his wealth largely to grants made to him by Edward IV: *CPR*, 1461–67, p. 92.

²⁷ William Worcestre, *Itineraries*, ed. J. H. Harvey (Oxford, 1969), 49. There must be a suspicion that some of Ogard's profits were dishonestly obtained. In 1448 the garrison of Caen protested that he, as their former captain, had withheld their wages: *CPR*, 1446–52, p. 537; 1452–61, p. 439. In his will of 1453/54 he sought to exculpate himself, but the matter troubled his executors: PCC 2 Stokton (PROB11/4, fols. 13v–15); Stratford, *Bedford Inventories*, p. 420.

²⁸ R. Virgoe, 'The Earlier Knyvetts: The Rise of a Norfolk Gentry Family', *Norfolk Archaeology* 41, pt 1 (1990), p. 7; PCC 2 Stokton (PROB11/4, fols. 13v–15); KB27/789, just. rots. 105, 107.

pretensions, that is, the gatehouse of his castle at The Rye, with its striking and intricate decorative brickwork.²⁹

The profits of two other soldiers, Sir William Oldhall and Montgomery, also have contemporary monuments. Both had gained significantly from grants of conquered territory. Next to Ogard, of the twenty-six, Oldhall had the largest French estate, including the barony of Roncheville, granted to him in 1437, although this was not translated into significant property purchases in England. Much more significant in augmenting his lands at home were the land grants he received from the duke of York, most notably that of the manor of Hunsdon in Hertfordshire. These too may have been the windfalls of war with Oldhall employing the cash he won in France to fund his master's activities and receiving grants of land in return. But whatever the case, Oldhall was a rich man. In 1450 he was assessed on an annual income of £369 p.a., and Worcestre was informed, by Oldhall's wardrober, that the soldier's building work at Hunsdon, almost in sight of Ogard's new home at The Rye, cost some 7,000 marks.³⁰ A few miles to the east, at Faulkbourne, lies the house Montgomery began in 1439.³¹ His career is perhaps the clearest example of the social impact of the profits of war: of humble origin, he had to petition the parliament of 1414 for an exemption from an Act of 1401 which forbade Welshmen from purchasing land in England, but by 1436 he was one of the richest men in the wealthy county of Essex with an annual income of £310 (although not all came from purchased property, a significant part of this was derived from the lands of his wife).³²

The evidence for the gains made by others is much less clear, but it may fairly be said that a further three of the twenty-six returned from France significantly enriched. Wydeville, one of the first beneficiaries of the Lancastrian land settlement in Normandy, had resources enough in the late 1420s to buy the valuable manor of La Mote near Maidstone in Kent and lay out 400 marks in making a marriage for his daughter.³³ Another Norman landholder, Popham, is known to have benefited from ransoms and to have purchased several manors.

²⁹ A. Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1996–2006), ii. 289–91.

³⁰ *English Suits before the Parlement of Paris, 1420–1436*, ed. C. T. Allmand (Camden Society 4th series xxvi, London, 1982), p. 299; Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses*, ii. 196–7, 259–61. According to Worcestre, the building at Hunsdon began in 1447–48 and, citing the evidence of Humphrey Paris, 'of the office of Wardrobe' to Oldhall, cost 7,000 marks 8s 8½d: William Worcestre, *Itineraries*, p. 49.

³¹ He and his son, Sir Thomas, jointly created a major courtyard residence in brick, the north and east range of which survive: Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses*, ii. 96–100.

³² *PROME*, ix. 90–1; E179/240/267. French holdings were not subject to assessment: *PROME*, xi. 174–6. Had they been, Montgomery's assessment would have been yet higher. In 1423, for example, he was granted the lordships of Ambrières and Saint-Aubin-Fosse-Levain in Maine, said to be worth about £200: *Actes de la Chancellerie d'Henri VI concernant la Normandie*, ed. P. Le Cacheux, 2 vols (Rouen and Paris, 1907–8), ii. 319.

³³ R. A. Massey, 'Lancastrian Land Settlement in Normandy' (Ph.D thesis, University of Liverpool, 1987), pp. 39–41, 46; *Excerpta Historica*, ed. S. Bentley (London, 1831), pp. 249–50. Although military service made a contribution to his wealth, Wydeville also benefited from the annuity

On the testimony of the sixteenth-century antiquary, John Leland, he left a 'great treasure of strange coynes' and was responsible for building a 'fair chapel' in the parish of St Sepulchre outside Newgate, decorated with his arms in glass and his statue in stone.³⁴ If one may judge from the will Sir Edmund Mulsho made at Calais in 1458, he died a far wealthier man than any younger son of a gentry family of modest prosperity had any right to do, setting aside as much as £40 for the erection of his tomb in the London collegiate church of St Michael Paternoster Royal.³⁵

In short, six of the twenty-six demonstrably profited from their military careers, three of them very significantly. To be weighed against them, however, are those for whom the balance was negative. The fact of loss is probably the harder to identify than gain. The latter is hard to mistake: only men with cash to spare purchased large acres and created grand buildings. Yet signifiers of debt – land sales, apparent asset stripping, mortgages and the like – were not the monopoly of those in financial crisis. There is the further obvious complication that a military career could be alternately profitable and unprofitable. None the less, it can be said with a fair degree of certainty that at least ten of the twenty-six were, at some point in their military careers, financially compromised by arrears of military wages, the burden of a heavy ransom or the recurrent costs of frequent campaigning. For four of them – Rempston, Sir William Peyto and the Norbury brothers – the problems appear to have been almost ruinously acute. Rempston's troubles have been recently described by Professor Bolton: he was captured at Patay in 1429 and spent about nine years in captivity before he could discharge a massive ransom of 7,000 marks, and he was ransomed again in the 1440s when serving in Gascony.³⁶ Peyto, captured at Dieppe in 1443, spent two years in French captivity before his relatively modest ransom of £500 was discharged with the financial assistance of Edmund Beaufort, marquis of Dorset. Yet, presumably because his earlier service had not been profitable, he had to mortgage lands to pay his new debt to Beaufort, and his difficulties were greatly exacerbated by the crown's failure to pay him his wages. By 1447 the Exchequer owed him 400 marks, and he was obliged to resort to a further mortgage to satisfy creditors. Not until 1467 did the family recover all its property.³⁷ The Norbury brothers suffered even more. By the autumn of 1438 John Norbury had fallen into

of 80 marks, charged on the duchy of Lancaster, and other royal grants that he enjoyed from early in his career: *CPR, 1408–13*, p. 49; *1413–16*, pp. 53, 195, 336; *1422–29*, p. 13, 353.

³⁴ *Itinerary of John Leland*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, 5 vols (London, 1907–10), iv, 100–1.

³⁵ PCC 24–5 Stokton (PROB11/4, fols. 186v–188v).

³⁶ J. L. Bolton, 'How Sir Thomas Rempston Paid His Ransom: Or, the Mistakes of an Italian Bank', *The Fifteenth Century VII*, ed. Clark, pp. 101–18.

³⁷ M. K. Jones, 'Ransom Brokerage in the Fifteenth Century', *Guerre et société en France, en Angleterre et en Bourgogne, XIVe–XVe siècle*, ed. P. Contamine, C. Giry-Deloisin and M. H. Keen (Lille, 1991), pp. 230–1. For evidence of Sir William's debts in the 1460s: C131/72/1, 238/9, 248/34. In 1487 his grandson died, 'not having entered, and having refused to enter, on his father's estate': C. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: a Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401–1499* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 121; *CIPM Henry VII*, i, no 292.

the hands of Jean de Vendosme, vidame of Chartres, and was put to the massive ransom of 11,000 *saluz d'or* (c. £1,833 3s 4d). As a younger son, he had no chance of paying such a sum, and it is probable that Vendosme made an inflated demand as a means of discharging his own undertakings to Walter, Lord Hungerford, who had captured him in 1432. John was, in any event, soon released.³⁸ Later Sir Henry Norbury's capture at the battle of Formigny in April 1450 had more far-reaching repercussions for the family. Although he too was soon released, that release came at a heavy price. He was obliged to send John, his son and heir, and other relatives to France, to remain there as hostages until a ransom had been paid. The ransom must have been very large: a single instalment paid in the spring of 1451 amounted to 1,000 marks. Further sums were still due at Norbury's death in 1455, and it was not until 1468 that the last of the hostages for its payment was released.³⁹

Two others of the twenty-six – Byshoppeston and Nanfan – are known to have been ransomed on at least one occasion, and Sir Thomas Kyriel at least twice, but there is no evidence of the sums they paid or the impact of payment on the general state of their finances.⁴⁰ For Byshoppeston, however, ransom was merely the prelude to acute difficulties of another sort. Captured when the castle of Château Gaillard, of which he was captain, unexpectedly fell to the French in 1430, he was quickly released from French captivity only to find himself incarcerated by his own side on the grounds that the castle had been lost through his negligence. He spent eight months in harsh confinement at Rouen, and, on his return to England, was again imprisoned on the orders of the treasurer (for a cause unfortunately unknown). These misfortunes can only have had a negative impact on his finances – he sold his French lordship at Thony-sur-Seine and a few surviving private indentures show him selling trees from his Warwickshire and Worcestershire estates – and his service in France also brought him a greater loss, the death of his only son and the end of his ancient lineage in the male line.⁴¹ If one may fairly judge from the undertakings entered into by Hussey towards the end of a military career that had begun in 1412,

³⁸ *The Commons, 1386–1421*, iii. 451; BL, Additional Charter 5833.

³⁹ *Reports of the Deputy Keeper*, xlviii. 386, 396, 418; M. Stephenson, 'On a Brass in Stoke D'Abernon Church', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, x (1891), 286; E403/839, m. 12; 842, m. 13.

⁴⁰ Thomas Kyriel was ransomed at least twice, first in 1430. He was quickly released but seems to have owed money to his French captors in 1437, when he borrowed 500 marks from the lawyer, Thomas Bodulgate: *CCR, 1435–41*, p. 166. He was again captured at the battle of Formigny in 1450, and, although the crown contributed significantly to his ransom, his younger brother, John, taken with him, remained in French captivity until the early 1470s, perhaps as hostage for the final discharge of Sir Thomas's ransom: *Reports of the Deputy Keeper*, xlviii. 388; Marshall, 'The Rôle of English War Captains', pp. 292–3. A grant of 1447 remembered that Nanfan had been ransomed 'at great cost', probably in Henry V's reign, and he was again captured in the French raid on the Channel Islands in May 1460: *CPR, 1446–52*, p. 17.

⁴¹ C. T. Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy* (Oxford, 1983), p. 190; *Actes de la Chancellerie d'Henri VI*, ii. 157–60; *PPC*, iv. 206–7; Massey, 'Lancastrian Land Settlement', pp. 51–2, 106–7; E40/1317, 4245.

he too ended that career in financial difficulties. In the summer of 1440 he mortgaged two of his Gloucestershire manors for 480 marks, one of which was never redeemed; and leased the demesne lands of his capital manor of Harting in Sussex to a London draper and his Berkshire lands to an Exchequer official, Robert Aubrey. His sons appear to have laboured under an inherited burden of debt until the family failed in the male line in 1470.⁴²

Two others of the twenty-six are known to have been persistently troubled by arrears of wages. Sir Thomas Burton had an early experience of these difficulties: at the end of a term as captain of the castles of Cardigan and Aberystwyth in 1405 he had received only £50 of the £390 he was due, and later the sums due to him for the custody of a succession of important French prisoners, including Charles duke of Orléans, went frequently unpaid. That this caused him real difficulty is implied by the sale of some of his property in his native Rutland in 1412, the raising of loans from London merchants, his outlawry for debt in 1422, and his failure to maintain the chantry his paternal grandfather had established at the family home of Toilethorpe. These difficulties would have been yet more acute had he not enjoyed, from 1404, a massive annuity of 100 marks assigned on the resources of the duchy of York, and it is tempting to conclude that his was a military career subsidised by a baronial annuity rather than royal wages. The sums owed by the crown to a much more important man than Burton, Sir John Radcliffe, were on an altogether greater scale, although, ironically, the difficulties they occasioned may have been rather less. In 1425, two years after his appointment as seneschal of Gascony, he was already so troubled by arrears that he unsuccessfully asked to be discharged from office. By the time he surrendered his offices in 1436, he was owed as much as £12,000, a debt that had only been reduced to £7,000 by his death in 1441, when he was said to have 'long served the King in war and otherwise, and by pressure thereof sold a great part of his revenues and was much indebted to many [of] his friends'.⁴³ These bare facts may not be all they appear. There is no independent evidence to support this claim that he 'sold a great part of his revenues'. Indeed, for him the bitter pill of frustrated payments and mounting deficit had been sweetened by a remarkable string of grants, one of which, that of the wardship and marriage of Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Walter, Lord Fitzwalter, led to his grandson's elevation to the peerage in 1485.⁴⁴

Yet, if Radcliffe did not lose in quite the way he appears to have done, there can be little doubt that for Rempston, Peyto, Hussey, Byshoppeston and others, their military service was financially damaging.⁴⁵ Taking the twenty-six careers discussed here as a whole, their losses appear to have outweighed their gains.

⁴² *CPR, 1436–41*, pp. 289, 429; *1441–6*, p. 237; *CCR, 1441–47*, p. 208; *1447–54*, p. 342; *VCH Gloucestershire*, xi. 90–1; BL, Additional Charter 8879.

⁴³ *CPR, 1436–41*, p. 542.

⁴⁴ *Complete Peerage*, v. 484–6.

⁴⁵ The hope of making good earlier losses may explain why the losers continued to campaign. Despite advancing years and the humiliation of 1430, Byshoppeston was in the retinue of John,

Further, as the war progressed, the danger of loss increased. Although, as the careers of Ogard and Montgomery demonstrate, fortunes were still to be made in France at least as late as the 1430s, loss by then was the much more likely eventuality. As Michael Jones has remarked, 'at the end of the war the English soldiery were playing at increasingly high odds'.⁴⁶ Even allowing for a lag of time between perception and reality, an awareness of this newly unfavourable dispensation by the gentry as a class must have served as a disincentive to service in France. A related point is worth making here. Even when the fortunes of war were far more favourable than in the last phase of the Hundred Years War, and discounting the danger of death and mutilation, a military career was the most speculative route to riches for a late medieval gentleman. Successful churchmen, lawyers, administrators and merchants made money; soldiers, however notable their careers in terms of battle honours and commands, enjoyed no such certainty even in favourable military circumstances.

Much less studied than the purely financial aspect of prolonged military service is another that had nothing to do with the random hazards of conflict, namely the potentially damaging consequences to family and estates of persistent absence from home. The evidence for this is necessarily episodic. Few gentry, and none of the twenty-six concerned here, are well enough documented to say with certainty that the management of their estates or the prospects of their families suffered during their absence campaigning. All that one can say is that several of the twenty-six had, on occasions, reasons for regretting their absence. Peyto's captivity, for example, exposed his wife to the depredations of her neighbours: in 1445 her Gloucestershire property was raided by Thomas Burdet and her livestock at Sibbertoft in Northamptonshire driven away by Sir Thomas Mallory.⁴⁷ Oldhall's absence in France when his father died in 1417 allowed his Norfolk neighbour, William Shelton, fraudulently to secure administration of the father's estate and persuade the sole surviving feoffee of two of the family's manors to sell them to him on the grounds that the soldier was dead. Oldhall had to return from France to win redress.⁴⁸ The absent were also disadvantaged by their inability to oil the wheels of a government bureaucracy that was often blind to the interests of the Crown's military servants. Radcliffe was acutely aware of this: he frequently absented himself from his duties in Gascony to lobby for either the payment of the money due him or some compensatory grant. Others played the system less successfully. In the autumn of 1431 Kyriel, recently released from French captivity, was summoned to the Exchequer to answer for the profits of one of his own manors that had been wrongfully taken into royal wardship on

Lord Talbot, in 1436 (*ex inf.* A. Curry). Peyto was captain of St Lô in the autumn of 1449 and went on to serve in the Beaufort retinue at Calais: *The Commons, 1386–1421*, iv. 68.

⁴⁶ Jones, 'Ransom Brokerage', p. 229.

⁴⁷ C1/15/77–8: Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p. 416.

⁴⁸ Oldhall petitioned the chancellor and the Parliament of May 1421: C1/4/189; *Rot. Parl.*, iv. 158–9; *The Commons 1386–1421*, iv. 356.

the death of a rival claimant.⁴⁹ Cressy suffered similarly. In June 1435, after indenting to take a large retinue to Picardy, he sued out a royal licence to put three of his manors in feoffment, paying £14 for the privilege; yet, in his absence, the most valuable of these manors, that of Coombe Keynes in Dorset, was seized into royal hands on the false grounds that it had been alienated without licence, a seizure probably engineered by a rival claimant, Katherine Hathwick.⁵⁰ Such frustrations may explain his extraordinary outburst in Westminster Hall in 1439, on a brief return to England. On 4 July, one of the criers of the court of common pleas, in response to an order from the justices, arrested him at the bar of the common bench to find surety of the peace. Cressy responded with fury: he assaulted the unfortunate crier and, with dagger drawn and crying, 'Slay the yokel who would have arrested me', pursued him across the Hall into the Exchequer.⁵¹ At the end of a long military career Thomas Mulsho also had reason for exasperation. His reward for remaining in France to the bitter end was the issue of a royal writ removing him from the only office he still held, that of verderer of the royal forest of Rockingham. Given the loss of his military employment, the avowed grounds for his removal were ironic: he was said to be 'too busied elsewhere'. Not surprisingly he reacted unfavourably to what was purely a political move, a punishment for his place in the duke of York's service. When, on 6 May 1451, one of the king's yeomen delivered the writ to him, he defiantly refused to receive it, trampling it under his horse's hooves.⁵²

All on the domestic front was, however, not loss. Military service, with the opportunity it provided for living on close terms with those of higher status, could be a route to a match beyond a soldier's reasonable aspirations. The most famous example concerns the son of one of the twenty-six: in 1436 Sir Richard, son of Richard Wydeville, took as his wife Bedford's widow, Jacqueline, daughter of Pierre de Luxembourg, count of St Pol.⁵³ Others of the twenty-six benefited from their military careers in the same way, albeit less spectacularly. Montgomery's marriage to a woman of birth and wealth – Elizabeth Butler – arose out of his service in France with her brother. Oldhall, as the son of a prominent Norfolk esquire, did not share Montgomery's disadvantages of birth; none the less, his marriage, in about 1420, to the daughter of a peer – Margaret, sister of Robert, Lord Willoughby of Eresby – would not have occurred but for his comradeship-in-arms with Willoughby, one of the leading English commanders. The same could be said of Cressy's marriage, in the mid-1430s, to Constance, daughter of Reynold, Lord Grey of Ruthin, and half-sister of the noted soldier, Sir John Grey, nominated to the Garter in 1436.⁵⁴ More modest

⁴⁹ E159/208, *brevia directa baronibus*, Mich. rot. 8.

⁵⁰ E101/71/3/882; E404/51/316; CPR, 1429–36, p. 463; *Calendar of Fine Rolls*, xvi. 293–4.

⁵¹ CPR, 1436–41, pp. 361–2.

⁵² CCR, 1447–54, p. 204; KB9/94/1, m. 11.

⁵³ *Complete Peerage*, xi. 21–2.

⁵⁴ Roskell, 'Sir William Oldhall', *Parliament and Politics*, ii. 179; G. Baker, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton*, 2 vols (Northampton, 1822–41), i. 353.

was the marriage, probably made in the mid-1440s, of the lowly born Clay to the sister of Sir John Astley, a Knight of the Garter, a marriage that might be said to mark his admission into the ranks of the gentry.⁵⁵ For Ogard, as the son of a Danish knight, a marriage through military service was an entrée, not into gentle society, but into English, or more specifically East Anglian, gentle society: in the early 1430s he married Margaret, one of the daughters of his comrade-in-arms, Sir John Clifton.⁵⁶

For other soldiers the marital benefits of military service were simply material rather than both social and material. In 1433 Lucy, during his long wait for his great parental inheritance, married one of the two co-heiresses of Sir Henry Percy of Atholl: the match arose out of relationships forged in France, her first husband, Thomas Burgh, had been a soldier, and her half-brother, Thomas, Lord Scales, under whom Lucy was later to serve as lieutenant of Vire, was a leading English commander.⁵⁷ Sir Thomas Blount took as his second wife the widow of two soldiers, Sir John Wilcotes and William Glasdale, and so acquired an interest in the jointure manors settled on her by Wilcotes.⁵⁸

Yet, while some made better, or at least different, marriages from those they would have made had they remained at home, others appear to have been disadvantaged. Indeed, if one's priority was an early marriage as the best chance of producing legitimate issue, then a military career appears a poor choice. Several of the twenty-six married significantly later than was the norm for men of their rank (although a caveat must be added here: while most marriages of significant gentry are documented, some are not). Kyriel did not marry until the late 1430s, when he was over forty years of age, and, partly as a consequence, he left no legitimate male issue. Vere took a wife at about the age of forty, although he, despite marrying a widow, did leave a legitimate son.⁵⁹ Popham and John Norbury, remarkably, appear not to have married at all. Their careers raise the possibility that another motive for military service was the desire to avoid the domestic life.

What of the fate of these twenty-six soldiers after the English conquests were lost? Eighteen of them survived after 1450, and, strikingly, only four withdrew from public affairs, namely Blount and Rempston, both elderly, the troubled Peyto and the reluctant Popham, who, famously, declined election as speaker in the parliament of November 1449.⁶⁰ One can only speculate about what the refusal of the other fourteen to do the same reveals about the group

⁵⁵ For Astley's long and remarkable career: *Edward IV's French Expedition of 1475*, ed. F. P. Barnard (Oxford, 1925), pp. 42–7.

⁵⁶ R. Virgoe, 'The Earlier Knyvetts', pp. 6–7.

⁵⁷ C139/58/37; *Complete Peerage*, viii. 262.

⁵⁸ *The Commons, 1386–1421*, ii. 259; C1/12/188. For Glasdale: *English Suits before the Parlement of Paris*, pp. 294–5.

⁵⁹ Nanfan may be another example. If Joan Colshull, widow of Sir Renfrew Arundell (d. 1442) of Tremodret (Cornwall), was his only wife, he was over forty years old when he married: H. W. Kleineke, 'Sir Renfrew Arundell', *The Commons, 1422–61* (forthcoming).

⁶⁰ Roskell, 'Sir John Popham', p. 366; *PROME*, xii. 74–5, 82.

as characters. Were they impelled towards careers in France by a desire for adventure and an involvement beyond the parochial and, once home, found themselves incapable of settling for the life of an English county gentleman? This may be part of the truth, but one is on much firmer ground if one sees their continued activity as a combined function of relationships forged during their military careers and of the turbulent political atmosphere to which they returned. As the stakes were progressively raised in the game of high politics as the 1450s progressed, their military experience and connections, whether with York or Lancaster, made it difficult for them, even had they wished, to leave the game. Thus it was that five of the eighteen, who, both in France and at home, owed much to York, supported him in his opposition to the Lancastrian régime: Oldhall, Sir Edmund Mulsho, Thomas Mulsho and Sir Theobald Gorges were implicated in York's Dartford rising in 1452, and Clay was with the duke at Ludford Bridge in 1459 and, like Oldhall, was attainted in the Coventry Parliament.⁶¹ Two others, Vere and Sir Henry Norbury, entered the service of the unstable Lancastrian magnate and York's son-in-law, Henry Holand duke of Exeter.⁶² Another six – Haryngton, Hoo, Hull, Lucy, Nanfan, and Ogard – either maintained existing places in the royal household or found them.⁶³ Ogard's case is the most notable in that he abandoned York's service for that of the young queen. His death in 1454 spared him some hard choices.⁶⁴ The other four remained loyal to Lancaster until their deaths, Lucy falling in that cause at the battle of Northampton, murdered apparently by the Yorkist lover of his young wife.⁶⁵ There is no support here for the notion that the loss of Normandy, and the maladministration that contributed to it, alienated leading gentry soldiers from the Lancastrian régime. Their loyalties were generally determined, as Marshall argued in 1975, by the continued patronage of interested magnates rather than resentment at loss of French lands and military employment.⁶⁶ Yet one of the twenty-six does not fit into this pattern and his later career

⁶¹ Roskell, 'Sir William Oldhall', pp. 192–3, 197; KB9/94/1, mm 4, 5, 12; Marshall, 'The Role of English War Captains', pp. 171–9; *PROME*, xii. 459. Thomas Mulsho may have met his death in the Yorkist cause. His inquisition post mortem dates his death to 25 July 1460, and it is tempting to conclude that he died as a result of injuries received at the battle of Northampton fifteen days before: C139/181/66. On the other hand, an appeal sued by his widow raises the alternative possibility that he was murdered in a local feud: KB27/802, just. rot. 84.

⁶² CAD, vi. C6133; M. M. N. Stansfield, 'The Holland Family, Dukes of Exeter, Earls of Kent and Huntingdon, 1352–1475' (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1987), p. 274. Vere was seemingly killed as a result of his support for Lancaster and the duke. It was reported, on 18 April 1461, that he 'is slayn in Cornewayll': *Paston Letters*, ed. J. Gairdner, 6 vols (London, 1904), iii. 269.

⁶³ E101/410/6, fol. 44v; *Complete Peerage*, vi. 562–4; R. A. Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI* (London, 1981), p. 262; PPC, vi. 147–8; CPR, 1446–52, p. 17.

⁶⁴ Virgoe, 'The Earlier Knyvetts', p. 8; Stratford, *Bedford Inventories*, p. 420.

⁶⁵ *Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Society, new series xvii, London, 1876), p. 207; *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry VI*, ed. J. Stevenson, 2 vols in 3 (Rolls Series xxii, 1861–64), ii(2), p. 773.

⁶⁶ Marshall, 'The Role of English War Captains', pp. 194–205.

is revealing. Kyriel was, by connection, firmly identified as a Lancastrian: in the late 1450s he was deputy of Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, as warden of the Cinque Ports, and he had a long-standing association with the Beauforts. He had no direct connections with the Yorkist nobility to taint this impeccably Lancastrian pedigree. Yet, when the Yorkist lords landed in his native Kent in June 1460, he moved to support them. His decision proved a fateful one: at the second battle of St Albans on 17 February 1461, nine days after his election to the order of the Garter, he was executed by victorious Lancastrians, even though the king, a captive in the Yorkist ranks, had personally promised to defend him 'from all hurt, joupardie and perell'.⁶⁷ The motives for this apparent change are obscure. Yet one factor may have been a lingering resentment at the treatment he had received during his long military career. His service in France had been wearisome and, seemingly, financially damaging; he had been denied the marks of royal patronage that such service merited; his financial probity was questioned by royal inquiries into his disbursement of funds as lieutenant of Calais; and his affairs in Kent suffered from the government's failure to give them the protection due to an absentee soldier.

The second part of this paper examines the relationship between military service in France and administrative service at home. Some contemporaries saw the two as antithetical. Fastolf's secretary, William of Worcestre, writing in 1452, famously castigated young noblemen who, instead of devoting themselves to learning the arts of war, wasted their time in the needless business of bearing 'a proude countenance at sessions and shires halding'.⁶⁸ Yet the arts of local leadership and administration were, practically if not theoretically, as central to the social rôle of the landed classes as the arts of war. For the greater gentry, appointment to the two major offices of county government – those of sheriff and justice of the peace – were essential vindications of their place in local affairs; therefore, men of that standing, whatever their commitments in France, could not afford to ignore entirely this domestic dimension.⁶⁹ Richard Wydeville's career provides an instructive illustration. As a younger son who was almost continuously in France for nearly twenty years he had no established place in local affairs. As his military career approached its end, he took measures to remedy this problem by putting down roots in Kent, far from his native Northamptonshire. He probably chose Kent because of its proximity to France, and, in 1424 he married his elder daughter to the Kentish landowner, John Passhele. This match came about through military connections, for the groom was the stepson of Wydeville's companion-in-arms, William Swinburne, an

⁶⁷ *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI*, ed. J. S. Davies (Camden Society, old series lxiv, London, 1856), p. 98; *PROME*, xiii. 43.

⁶⁸ William Worcestre, *The Book of Noblesse*, ed. J. G. Nichols (1860), p. 77.

⁶⁹ This argument is not contradicted by the exemptions from office sometimes sued out by returning soldiers: Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 60–1. These were secured to avoid unwelcome rather than all appointments. Lucy, for example, was granted such an exemption in 1445, but went on to serve as sheriff, JP and MP: *CPR, 1441–46*, p. 376.

interesting example of new geographical connections at home arising out of friendships made in France.⁷⁰ In 1428 he purchased the manor of La Mote, and in the following year he married his younger daughter to William Haute, a prominent member of the Kentish gentry and his companion in the Calais garrison.⁷¹ To complete this process of integration, he spent much of 1433 in the county, winning election to parliament in June and, while the assembly was in session, securing appointment as sheriff and JP there.

This correspondence between office and local status explains why, as illustrated in Figure 4, ten of the twenty-six served at least one term as sheriff and nineteen were appointed as justices of the peace. This does not, of course, mean that administrative and military careers ran comfortably in tandem. In part, these figures merely reflect the fact that many of the twenty-six had local careers either before the war began or after it ended. Indeed, intuitively one would expect the relationship between military and administrative service at home to be a straightforward and obvious one, with the crown unwilling to distract active soldiers by naming them to local office and the soldiers equally unwilling to accept such appointments (unless, like Wydeville in 1433, they had a particular personal reason for doing so). As far as the bare facts are concerned, several of the twenty-six illustrate this point very well. Sir Theobald Gorges, while militarily active, received only one *ad hoc* commission of local government, and was not appointed to the Somerset bench until ten years after the fall of Normandy. Oldhall did not appear on the Norfolk bench until 1456 and received no other local administrative appointments. In the case of others, their military and administrative careers can be very clearly delineated. Sir Thomas Burton, for example, spent little time in France between the death of his lord, Edward duke of York, at Agincourt, and his appointment as mayor of Bayonne in 1428, and in that period he served three terms as sheriff of Rutland and spent nine years on the county bench. After 1428, however, he received no further appointments. Similarly, before his military career began in earnest, Thomas Hoo served as sheriff of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire in 1430 and as a Norfolk JP in 1431–32, but thereafter he is not recorded as discharging any other local administrative function. Others had no place in local society until their success in France gave them one: all Clay's administrative appointments in England postdate the English defeat in France and mark his arrival among the Hertfordshire gentry.

⁷⁰ *The Commons, 1386–1421*, iv. 550–1; L. S. Clark, 'John Passhele', *The Commons, 1422–61* (forthcoming). I am grateful to Dr Clark for pointing this match out to me.

⁷¹ *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 249–50.

Figure 4. Military and administrative service of twenty-six soldiers who fought in France after the death of Henry V

<i>Name</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Knighted</i>	<i>First campaign</i>	<i>Last campaign</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>MP</i>	<i>Sheriff</i>	<i>JP</i>
Blount, Sir Thomas	c. 1383	1423/34	?1420	1435	1456	1420	1444–47	1422–56
Burton, Sir Thomas	c. 1369	c. 1397	1404	1438	1438	1422–27	1411–28	1413–22
Byshoppeston, Sir William	1379	c. 1412	?1412	1436	1444	1426	1417–19	dns
Clay, Sir John	c. 1395	1461	1417	?1450	1464	1455	1463–64	1461–64
Cressy, Sir John	1407	c. 1429	?1427	1445	1445	1439	dns	1439–45
Gorges, Sir Theobald	1401	c. 1429	1428	1450	1470	1432	dns	1461–70
Haryngton, Sir Richard	c. 1395	c. 1430	?1415	1450	1462	1450–59	dns	dns
Hoo, Sir Thomas	c. 1395	c. 1436	?1417	1449	1455	1431	1430	1431–32
Hull, Sir Edward	c. 1407	c. 1445	1430	1453	1453	1447	1438–52	1440–53
Hussey, Sir Henry	1387/88	c. 1413	?1412	1441	1450	1413–25	dns	1424–50
Kyriel, Sir Thomas	1395	by 1417	?1415	1450	1461	1455–60	dns	1424–61
Lucy, Sir William	c. 1402	c. 1425	1430	1444	1460	1449	1459	1446–60
Montgomery, Sir John	c. 1390	1418	1415	?1449	1449	1426	dns	1443–49
Mulsho, Sir Edmund	c. 1411	1446	1441	?1450	1458	1450	dns	dns
Mulsho, Thomas	c.1410	n/a	?1438	1450	1460	1450	dns	dns
Nanfan, John	by 1395	n/a	1417	?1439	c. 1462	1445	1427–58	1442–61
Norbury, Sir Henry	c. 1410	c. 1430	by 1427	1450	1455	1453	dns	1435–48
Norbury, Sir John	c. 1411	c. 1445	?1427	1444	1446/47	1445	dns	dns
Ogard, Sir Andrew	c. 1390	1424	c. 1420	1446	1454	1453	dns	1443–54
Oldhall, Sir William	c. 1395	1423	1415	1445	1460	1450	dns	1456–60
Peyto, Sir William	c. 1394	c. 1423	1423	1450	1464	1420	1428–37	dns
Popham, Sir John	by 1395	1415	1415	?1442	1463	1439–49	dns	1424–31
Radcliffe, Sir John	c. 1380	1415	1403	?1436	1441	1420–27	dns	dns
Rempston, Sir Thomas	c. 1385	1413	1415	1442	1458	1413–16	dns	1449–58
Vere, Sir Robert	c. 1410	1426	1436	1450	1461	1455	dns	1455–58
Wydeville, Richard	c. 1382	n/a	?1417	1436	1441	1433	1433	1433

dns = did not serve

And yet this simple pattern, with administrative and military careers clearly distinct, does not fit all the careers under discussion here. Two men, Hull and Nanfan, apparently succeeded in alternating their service in France with a series of appointments at home. Nanfan, while nominally captain of Meaux and Touques successively from 1435 to 1449, served as sheriff and JP in Cornwall as well as maintaining several posts in the administration of the Beauchamp estates. Hull did not let his responsibilities as constable of Bordeaux between 1442 and 1453 prevent him keeping a place on the bench of his native Somerset and serving a remarkable three terms as sheriff. Significantly both men were esquires of the royal household. Clearly certain royal servants, even if their own preference may have been for deployment in France, were expected to serve the

crown at home, and some baronial retainers found themselves with the same obligation to their lords. Byshoppeston provides a curious example. He fought under the Beauchamp earl of Warwick in the campaigns of 1412 and 1415, yet, to the modern historian, is a striking omission from the earl's retinue in 1417, the more so because of his later enthusiasm for service in France. The reason for him staying in England almost certainly lies in what might be termed his secondment to look after his master's affairs at home. The death of the earl's father-in-law, Thomas, Lord Berkeley, on 13 July 1417, as preparations for the forthcoming campaign were almost complete, left the earl in urgent need of a reliable servant to support his countess's claim to the Berkeley inheritance against the heir male, James Berkeley. This explains Sir William's appointment as sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire in the following November, and, on the day his term of office ended, his pricking to the same office in Gloucestershire in defiance of the statute of 1377 (1 Richard II, ch. 11) against consecutive terms. Significantly, aside from two commissions from these years, he received no other administrative appointments although he lived until 1444.⁷²

These remarks about appointment to administrative office also apply to election to parliament. Nine of the twenty-six did not sit as MPs in parliament until after the loss of Normandy, their eventual elections serving as another manifestation of their desire to remain involved in public affairs.⁷³ Five others were elected either before their first campaign in France or after their last. Another, Cressy, appears only to have sought election because a lack of restraint led him into trouble on a brief return home. His assault on a crier of the common pleas in July 1439 had been an affront to royal justice and the dignity of the royal courts was unlikely to be ignored even by a judicial system that extended a certain laxity to men of his rank; and there can be little doubt that it was in search of protection that he sought and won election for Hertfordshire to the parliament summoned that autumn.⁷⁴ Hussey probably had similarly personal motives when he won election for his native Sussex to the parliaments of 1423 and 1425, during the second of which he presented a petition in the Commons seeking royal letters of denization for his Spanish wife.⁷⁵ For two others, their single returns to parliament were an expression of lordship won in France. When the duke of Bedford returned to England in the first days of 1426, Byshoppeston, the master of his household in France, and Montgomery, another Bedford man, came back with him, and both secured election to the important parliament that followed.⁷⁶

⁷² A. Sinclair, 'The Great Berkeley Law-Suit Revisited', *Southern History* 9 (1987), pp. 36–40.

⁷³ Edmund Mulsho, Thomas Mulsho, Oldhall and Haryngton sat in the parliament of 1450; Henry Norbury, Ogard and Haryngton in that of 1453; Clay, Kyriel and Vere in 1455; Haryngton in 1459; and Kyriel in 1460.

⁷⁴ *CPR*, 1436–41, pp. 361–2.

⁷⁵ SC8/85/4230.

⁷⁶ For the context of the parliament of 1426: *PROME*, x. 276–83; Griffiths, *King Henry VI*, pp. 73–81.

The most that can be said from these rather random snippets is that there was an overlap between this small group of active soldiers and the personnel of local office-holding, although it was not extensive. As far as parliament was concerned, in none of those held by Henry VI before the loss of Normandy, did more than two of them sit, too few, one imagines, to influence a generally indifferent Commons in favour of adequately financing the war.⁷⁷ As the reign progressed fewer and fewer of the parliamentary Commons had direct military experience, let alone were still militarily active.

In conclusion, it seems fair to say that an individual gentleman, if he were to continue campaigning in France after Henry V's death, needed some special incentive, such as disadvantageous family circumstances or a close personal connection with the crown or a martial lord; by remaining in arms he was more likely to lose than gain financially, although profits were still to be made by a fortunate few even as English prospects of success declined; he was also likely to see his affairs at home suffer, in part at least because the royal bureaucracy was ill-adapted to protect the absent. For this last reason he could not entirely forget the advantages of an administrative appointment at home as an alternative focus for his energies. Indeed, the loss of local place inherent in the eschewing of local office was, for the greater gentry, a powerful disincentive to a lengthy commitment to military service. The fact that a handful succeeded in combining the two does not detract from Maurice Keen's general conclusion that, 'the preoccupation of English gentlemen who chose to take their part in their counties drew them apart from those other gentlemen who chose to take their chance in the king's wars overseas', and that this was a powerful reason for the loss of Lancastrian France.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ For failure of finance in the loss of Normandy: M. H. Keen, 'The End of the Hundred Years War: Lancastrian France and Lancastrian England', *England and Her Neighbours, 1066–1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais*, ed. M. Jones and M. Vale (London, 1989), pp. 297–311; C. Nall, 'Perceptions of Financial Mismanagement and the English Diagnosis of Defeat', *Fifteenth Century VII*, ed. Clark, pp. 119–34.

⁷⁸ Keen, 'The End of the Hundred Years War', p. 311.

PART III

Treason, Politics and the Court

Law and Political Culture in Thirteenth-Century England: The Treason Trial of 1225

Peter Coss

In 1242 William de Marisco and his associates were famously executed for plotting to murder King Henry III. The chronicle of Matthew Paris illustrates William being drawn by horses to the gibbet for execution.¹ He and his companions were not the first, however, to have been tried for planning to murder Henry. In 1225 three knights were accused of doing just that. Few historians have noted this case, and those who have done so have dismissed it lightly, primarily because the accuser was not believed and the three knights were acquitted. The indications, however, are that the regime actually took the accusation very seriously and that the trial was a thorough one. Consequently the record of the trial has much to tell us about political practice and about the beliefs, values and expectations that underpinned them, that is to say about the political culture of early thirteenth-century England. Moreover, it allows us to observe the interaction between that political culture and what actually transpired within and, to some extent, beyond the court.

The case is recorded in three separate rolls. The fullest, KB 26/88, forms the basis of the transcription in the published *Curia Regis Rolls*.² The process notes in the margin suggest very strongly that this was the roll made for Martin de Pattishall as the senior judge.³ Unfortunately, the membrane which contains the case is severely rubbed down the right-hand side making some of it illegible. Some of the wording can be supplied from the other two rolls.⁴ KB 26/88 contains additional details, including the verdict, which are absent from those.

¹ Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols (Rolls Series, London, 1872–83), iv, 196–7. The case is discussed in F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward*, 2 vols (Oxford 1947), ii, 751–4.

² *CRR*, xii, no. 1055, pp. 215–16. At the time there was the only one central court functioning: there was no court *coram rege* because of the minority of the king.

³ As the introduction to that volume points out, the roll was subsequently used by the compiler of *Bracton's Notebook* which also includes cases subsequently heard before judge Martin de Pateshull at Berkhamsted and Northampton.

⁴ Of these KB 26.92 (membrane 11v) is in excellent condition, while KB 26/93 (membrane 5v) is badly damaged. What survives, however, suggests that these two accounts were identical. The

What the record says is as follows: Richard Fitz Nigel appeals Ralf de Bray, William Fitz Ellis and Vitalis Engaine that the three of them had arranged for the death of the lord king by poisoning him. Richard says that they arranged this in Westminster Hall, and that he overheard them.⁵ Moreover, he heard Ralf and Vitalis arrange this a second time in Vitalis's manor house outside St Neots. They asked him to be an accomplice, and offered him land if he would agree to it. And that they did this 'wickedly and in felony' he offers to prove against them by his body (that is to say, by battle), as the court decides. Asked when this was, he said that it was a year ago Easter when the king was passing through St Albans and was staying at the lord bishop's house, towards London.⁶

We are then told that William Fitz Ellis 'comes and defends the felony and negotiating the king's death' as a matter debasing his honour. And he 'seeks judgement' as to whether he is bound to respond to Richard because the latter was taken for larcenies and robberies and through indictment imprisoned at Oxford, but broke gaol and escaped. He spent a year thereafter as a thief at Northampton, and never spoke of the felony. And then he broke the Northampton gaol. If the court adjudges that he *is* bound to respond to such a man, William offers to defend himself as the court considers appropriate.⁷

And then Vitalis 'comes and defends' any kind of felony, negotiating the king's death and premeditation word for word as against Richard as an imprisoned thief. He petitions that Richard was indicted before the justices in eyre and imprisoned at Oxford, broke gaol and fled. And a year afterwards when the king was at Bedford he was taken by the hue and cry for burgling a church in Bedfordshire⁸ and imprisoned at Northampton. Roll 88 adds at this point that he was then led before the justices at Bedford and again before those at 'Northampton',⁹ namely Martin de Pattishall and his fellows, and he said nothing about this sedition. He petitions also that Richard did not recognise him although he was asked (twice according to roll 88)¹⁰ if he saw Vitalis Engaine in the court, before the lord king,¹¹ and even though he revealed himself; he also petitions that he and Ralf de Bray and William Fitz Ellis never were fellows

published record supplies the missing readings from roll 92 where feasible and notes variant readings.

⁵ To be absolutely exact, rolls 92 and 93 say he overheard Ralf and William, while roll 88 adds *et Vitalis* above the line.

⁶ Rolls 92 and 93 read *venit per Sanctum Albanum*, while roll 88 actually reads *fuit ad Sanctum Albanum*. It should be noted in passing that the approver was correct in his chronology; the king was indeed at St Albans at Easter 1224.

⁷ This sentence is only in roll 88. It concludes *sicut homo qui* ... The published text adds the words *preteriit* but says the reading is uncertain. In fact, the end of this sentence is indecipherable. It is not revealed by ultra violet light.

⁸ *Wahull* = Woodhill?

⁹ The place is uncertain, being lost again in the rubbed margin.

¹⁰ *Bis* is added above the line.

¹¹ Roll 92 reads simply *coram eo*, roll 88 *coram eodem domino rege*, with the last two words interlined. This, like several of the other corrections, suggests that roll 88 is correcting (and at times embellishing) the other rolls. The surviving fragments of roll 93 have now petered out.

and have never spent a day together; roll 88 adds 'or night'. And if he is bound to respond to this man he offers to purge himself of this sedition by the oath of twenty knights (or a hundred knights according to roll 88) or in any way that the king pleases as a faithful man of the king and as the court considers appropriate.¹²

We now come to the testimony of the appellor. Asked if he broke gaol at Oxford, he says that he did indeed do so in time of war for the king's service, during the time when the queen went to Poitou. He was imprisoned at Oxford by Falkes¹³ – that is the now disgraced Falkes de Bréauté – for having taken cattle for tallage.¹⁴

This takes us back some years, for the queen is clearly Isabella of Angoulême, King John's widow, who had returned home in 1218 and had married Hugh de Lusignan in 1220. The circumstances of his imprisonment – for detaining cattle, presumably in distraint to enforce payment – and his statement that he was in royal service suggest that he was, or was claiming to have been, a tallager or a royal bailiff of some kind. The implication is clearly that he had been wrongfully imprisoned.

He goes on. Because he found prison restricting¹⁵ and he was not put in iron nor actually in gaol – by which I presume he means he was not actually confined – he left, as no one was speaking against him. And he was indeed taken again and imprisoned at Northampton. Here, because he was maltreated and alone in gaol, and for the fear he had of the devil who appeared to him in the form of a black scabby monk, he extracted some stones from the wall in order to defend himself.¹⁶ And asked why he had not revealed the felony to the king or his officials he says that he could not do so because of the imprisonment and because of his fear of the friends of the accused.

The three coroners of Northamptonshire, present in the court, then witness that they viewed the gaol at Northampton and that Richard broke it in three places, so that he took a cart-load of stones from one place and a barrow-load from another and in the third place took away the entire gate. All in all it does not seem to say much for the state of prisons in the early thirteenth century. The coroners added this was a month or more before he said anything about the sedition. Roll 92 ends at this point. Roll 88 has the coroners saying that the prisoner broke the iron bar holding the chain with which he was bound to a block, and that the defendants ask that the coroners' testimony be taken into account.

Roll 88 also carries an afterword or *postea* saying that the king and the justiciar – that is, Hubert de Burgh – had Vitalis and William taken to the Tower

¹² The last three words are not in roll 92.

¹³ *per Falcasium*.

¹⁴ *per tensesiam*.

¹⁵ *ei nocebat*.

¹⁶ The following words – *cum solus esset in gaola* and *scabiosi* – are not in roll 92 and are added in roll 88 above the lines.

and imprisoned there. This roll also has a further entry saying that Ralf de Bray comes afterwards and defends himself just as Vitalis and William had done and petitions that the same exceptions to the charges be allowed to him. The verdict then follows. Because Richard had not revealed the felony to the king, despite having ample opportunity to do so, and because he had broken gaol, it was considered that the plea failed and that the appellor be drawn to the gibbet and hanged.¹⁷ He was given the punishment which would have befallen his victims had the appeal succeeded and they been condemned.¹⁸

The annals of Dunstable add a few important details.¹⁹ One, which we would not have guessed from the transcripts of the case, is that Richard Fitz Nigel was in fact a knight. This may help to explain his treatment whilst in Fleet prison. On 2 November the treasurer was ordered to give him 5s so that he could eat better. On 28 November the London sheriffs were ordered to get him a suit of clothes of russet, and two sets of linen clothes, two linen sheets and a shalloon or coverlet priced 3s. He was guarded closely – might one say in style – with no fewer than five guards (crossbowmen in fact) who were paid their expenses on 14 November.²⁰ Perhaps one ought not to make too much of this. It was usual for the state to maintain approvers, either in the county or in London,²¹ and Richard was a type of approver. However, that was pre-trial. Here we are talking post conviction and the failure of his appeal.²² He does not appear to have been hanged very speedily. It is not until 12 February that we hear that it had happened.²³ One wonders who may have visited him in the meantime. Is it fanciful to wonder if the king and justiciar maintained some nagging doubts about the case, and if they interviewed him further?

The Dunstable annalist also tells us that Vitalis, William and Ralf were committed to the Tower following the accusation. This can be supported. On 21 October the constable of the Tower was informed that Vitalis Engaine, then in the Tower, was being bailed at the great supplication of William de Beauchamp and William Blund and handed over to them *pro tem*, providing

¹⁷ The testimony of Ralf de Bray and the verdict are squashed in between this and the next entry. The damage to the right hand of the roll makes some of it difficult to read but the facts are clear enough.

¹⁸ For drawing, the punishment for treason rather than felony, see F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, 2 vols (2nd edn, Cambridge, 1968), ii. 500–1. Jean Dunbabin has recently reminded us that in this period gallows were not normally to be found within or against gaols but at some distance away, on the edge of a community: *Captivity and Imprisonment in Medieval Europe 1000–1300* (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 42.

¹⁹ *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, 5 vols (Rolls Series, London, 1864–69), iii. 97.

²⁰ They were given 5 marks *de prestatio* and another mark for Richard Fitz Nigel's expenses. They were later given another half a mark each: *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, ii, 1224–7, pp. 84, 84b, 85.

²¹ Ralph B. Pugh, *Imprisonment in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 315–16.

²² Richard, moreover, seems to have proved quite expensive. The sheriff of Northampton was later paid 15s 6d for conducting him from Northampton to London to make the appeal: *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, ii. 141b.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 98b.

he stand trial when called upon.²⁴ About the same time he and William Fitz Ellis each found pledges for standing to right.²⁵ Ralf de Bray's pledges had been recorded separately a week before, a first indication perhaps that at the trial he would be dealt with separately from them.²⁶ As we have seen, the proceedings tell us that two of the men, Vitalis Engaine and William Fitz Ellis, were again lodged in the Tower while Ralf de Bray's case was being heard.

Notwithstanding the outcome, everything suggests that the accusation was in fact taken extremely seriously. Procedures were followed to the letter, and the trial was a full and momentous one. Moreover, the king was himself present in court and appears to have deliberated with the justiciar. Needless to say, all the indications are that the accused took the case extremely seriously too, as the episode of Vitalis and his twenty or a hundred knights suggests. It is surprising, therefore, that historians have not. Ralph Turner in his book on the king and his courts assumed that the accuser was mad.²⁷ But madness is, of course, a social construct and each society is likely to construct it differently. Now, we may consider it madness to say the devil appeared to us in the form of a foul monk, but contemporaries would surely have thought it not at all improbable. After all, you could see the devil merely by turning sharply to the left. Richard Fitz Nigel was countered on this issue not by its inherent improbability but by the coroners casting doubt on his version of events through their viewing of the gaol. The same incident was noted by R. B. Pugh in his *Imprisonment in Medieval England*:

About 1225 a man who had already escaped from Oxford prison was rearrested and imprisoned at Northampton. While at Northampton he had an attack of claustrophobia which induced the hallucination that the devil had appeared to him in the form of a monk.²⁸

The record says nothing at all about claustrophobia let alone hallucinations. Again, the record is interpreted through modern eyes. It is, of course, easy to criticise earlier historians when historical concerns, and indeed methods, have moved on; both men published in 1968. Turner and Pugh were both seeking to interpret the incident as objective fact. As one looks carefully at the case it becomes clear that we can deduce very little in terms of hard fact. All we can actually say for certain is that Richard Fitz Nigel made the allegation, that he brought circumstantial evidence forward, that he had been imprisoned, that he broke out, and that the court found that the defendants had no case to answer. My purpose here is not to score points against books written forty years ago. It is to point out that not only do we have to read the reports of cases within

²⁴ *Pat. R.* 1225–32, p. 1.

²⁵ *CRR*, ii, nos 973, 976.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 825.

²⁷ Ralph V. Turner, *The King and His Courts: The Role of John and Henry III in the Administration of Justice, 1199–1240* (New York, 1968), p. 205.

²⁸ Pugh, *Imprisonment*, p. 219.

the context of contemporary legal process but we have also to be aware that everything that is said by prosecution and defence is being said for a purpose, because it needed to be said.

What was it that the respective parties needed to say if they were going to win their case? The obvious route to deeper understanding of a case like this is through normative texts. The treatise on the laws and customs of England, which was written in 1187–89 and goes under the name of *Glanville*, tells us what ought to happen in a case of treason or *lèse-majesté*, but gives us only the bare bones of the procedure.²⁹

For a more comprehensive account we can turn to the great treatise which descended under the name of *Bracton*. This treatise, *On the Laws and Customs of England*, was produced, we now know, during the 1220s and 1230s. It is therefore contemporary with the case we are discussing.³⁰ *Bracton* tells us, for example, that the accuser must be a man of reputation and not a criminal.³¹ Most importantly, *Bracton* tell us that the accused may raise one or more exceptions, and tells us what these are. The appellor must answer them, ‘and if he does so, the appeal will remain’.

It appears then that we have a normative text through which we might be able to differentiate between what is a matter of procedure (and hence what is expected from and allowed to both prosecution and defence) on the one hand, and what is peculiar to this particular case on the other. We have a problem, however, in that the exceptions listed, and indeed some of the language, are so close to the case we are discussing that the writer of *Bracton* must have had it in front of him, so much so that its latest editor, Samuel Thorne, has footnoted a number of lines from the transcript of the case. This is hardly surprising in that the case is so apposite to the discussion and that roll 88 was clearly available to this circle of arch enthusiasts for the common law; we know that it was used for the volume known as *Bracton’s Notebook*. It may be that the court was to some degree feeling its way with this case. Some aspects, for example, the allowable exceptions, probably arose in the first instance in specific cases and were henceforth incorporated into standard procedure. What begins as special pleading turns into normal practice. Once the necessary arguments become normative, however, the ‘facts’ of the case as presented by the parties cannot be taken as objective at all, as they are meant to support or deny the exceptions.

Let us take the question of the appellor’s reputation and imprisonment. The defence needed to show that he was a felon and a man of ill-repute. In

²⁹ *The Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England Commonly called Glanvill*, ed. G. D. G. Hall (Oxford, 1965), pp. 171–3.

³⁰ Samuel Thorne, ‘Bracton’ (*Bracton de legibus et consuetudinibus Angliae: Bracton on the Laws and Customs of England*), ed. and trans. G. E. Woodbine (with revision and notes), 4 vols (Oxford, 1968–77). What follows is taken from vol. ii. 334–7.

³¹ Nor, he says, are the conspirators or those consenting to the crime ever admitted to make an accusation in the crime of *lèse-majesté*. This is at variance with what happens with regard to felonies in general where an approver could save himself by turning what was later known as ‘king’s evidence’.

order to counter this, Richard Fitz Nigel needed to show that he was wrongfully imprisoned. The defence on the other hand had to show that he broke prison. As R. B. Pugh points out, a prison-breach by suspect felons was itself a felony.³² A man of evil report, suspected of theft, who was captured after escape, for example, was more or less automatically condemned to be hanged. *Bracton*, at a subsequent point in his text, argues that escapees effectively condemned themselves.³³ For this to be the case, however, it was necessary for the prisoner to have actually broken prison. If the door stood open through the negligence of the gaoler or was forced open by, for example, the activities of other prisoners, then it was no breach.³⁴ In our case the approver had to explain both escapes in terms that would save him from being condemned as a felon. What happens in court is determined, at least in a general sense, by process of law, by accepted procedure and ways of addressing issues, and indeed by ritual. The litigants and their counsel seem to have little room for manoeuvre. However, this is not the whole of the story. It is in what is specifically alleged and in how precisely these claims are countered – in the interstices as it were – that we enter into the realms of accepted social and political practice, into aspects that is of political culture. Let us begin with the accuser and his attempts to deal with the challenges to his testimony. In explaining away his prison record he makes a series of claims, all of which are intended to have a direct effect on his audience.

First, he was going about his business in the king's service, as, it is surely understood, any good subject should. Second, it was in time of war, when, as everyone knew and accepted, different rules apply. Third, he was falsely imprisoned. And finally, and this is the most evocative of all his claims, he was imprisoned by the notorious Falkes de Bréauté.

Falkes was one of the mercenary captains to whom King John had given great power and authority in the realm. He was a harsh and unjust man. He was supposed to be of peasant stock and to have derived his name from the scythe with which he killed a man in Normandy. When he fell 'a great sigh of relief must have gone up across the whole of central England'.³⁵ He abjured the realm in October 1224. This was just twelve months before the treason trial. Any reference to Falkes was a reference *ipso facto* to violence and instability, and injustice at his hands ought to have inclined listeners at least to give the man a sympathetic hearing.

So far, Richard Fitz Nigel had explained how he came to be in prison and by implication had indicated that he was not a thief or evil-doer but a decent

³² Pugh, *Imprisonment*, pp. 227–8.

³³ Pollock and Maitland, *English Law*, ii. 350: 'when they have been confined to prison because of the nature of their crime, they conspire to break their chains and break prison and escape, they are to be punished more severely than the reason for their consignment to prison demands, that is by the supreme penalty, even if they are found innocent of the crime for which they were imprisoned.'

³⁴ Pugh, *Imprisonment*, p. 230.

³⁵ David Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (London, 1990), pp. 333–4.

subject of the crown. However, he had also to explain how it was he left prison. As far as imprisonment in Oxford was concerned the reality, he says, was that he was only technically imprisoned for he was not confined, and certainly not in irons. He found his position irritating and as no charges were being brought against him, he left. Would not you, or any sensible person, wrongfully imprisoned, do the same?

It was at this point, however, that he faced his biggest challenge. He had been imprisoned a second time and this time he could hardly avoid the evidence that he had broken out. This had to be explained away. He first describes the context in which he was held. He was being ill-treated and was in solitary confinement. In these circumstances the devil appeared to him in the form of a black scabby monk. As has been said already, whereas we might be inclined to think in terms of hallucination and the effects of claustrophobia, we have no reason to doubt that to his contemporaries this was a perfectly possible occurrence. The devil existed right enough, and had the capacity to take corporeal form. When he did so he struck terror; Lucifer's historian, Jeffrey Russell, tells us that the devil frequently appeared as a holy man – a priest, a monk or a pilgrim – and that he was usually black.³⁶ Another authority tells us that he was believed to have been capable of 'appearing in every imaginable human form, with a preference for clerical status'.³⁷ People in cells certainly suffered from satanic visitations.³⁸ Richard Fitz Nigel could certainly say that the devil's appearance made it imperative that he escape. What, in terror and in peril of his soul, would anyone else do? If the court did not believe his story, it was not because it was inherently improbable but because of counter evidence. Whatever else it was, it was a good try.

Let us turn now to the defendants in the case. Their best bet was to attack the credibility of their accuser. Whereas Richard Fitz Nigel sought a sympathetic response, William Fitz Ellis and Vitalis Engaine hoped to elicit a sense of revulsion. The man was guilty of larcenies and robberies, said William Fitz Ellis. He was a gaol-breaker and a thief. Vitalis added that he was arrested for burgling a church. Religious sensibilities are now invoked. How low can a man get? Moreover, the hue and cry had been raised against him. This was surely meant to convey the idea that he was a common criminal and a known evil-doer. In other words, he was a man of no status. Both William Fitz Ellis and Vitalis ask whether they should have to answer to the testimony of this level of man. Moreover, both men stress their own status in comparison to that of the accuser. William indicates that he is a man of honour. Vitalis not only says that he is a faithful man of the king, but plays his trump card. He offers to bring

³⁶ Jeffrey B. Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 1984), pp. 68–9.

³⁷ Robert Muchembled, *A History of the Devil: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 2003), p. 17.

³⁸ See, for example, the case of Umiliana dei Cerchi at Florence in Carol Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates: Lineage and Faction in a Medieval Commune* (Princeton, NJ, 1991), pp. 11–20.

twenty or a hundred knights, according to which roll one is reading, to swear to his innocence.

In England, as elsewhere, the social status of knighthood was in transition at this time. We are on the verge of the full realisation of chivalric knighthood and of all that it implies in terms of elite behaviour and solidarity. During the early decades of the thirteenth century, if not before, the number of knights was declining as the status of knighthood and the costs surrounding it rose. There can be no doubt that Vitalis was appealing to his membership of what he and the court would have perceived as an elite. Moreover, the number of knights is also important. In claiming to command the support of so many knights he was indicating an especially elevated status. What we know of him and his family confirms his sense of himself, the sense that he was conveying to the court. The Engaines went back to the Conquest, William Engaine being a Domesday tenant.³⁹ Their estates were extensive, stretching over six counties.⁴⁰ Among their manors was Dillington near Great Staughton, in Huntingdonshire. Gaynes Hall (built around 1800) is still to be found to the north-east of Dillington and the associated remains of a moat suggests that this was the site of their main residence in the area.⁴¹ Situated close to the A1, directly north of St Neots, it was undoubtedly the manor house at which, according to Richard Fitz Nigel, the conspiracy to kill the king was refined. Vitalis Engaine, with his widespread lands, was the type of man *Bracton* referred to as a vavasour, that is 'a man of great dignity', whom he places in the social hierarchy between a baron and a knight. He was wealthy and of ancient stock.

William Fitz Ellis was not of the social stature of Vitalis Engaine, but he was an important knight.⁴² He was also a significant figure at the Oxfordshire county court.⁴³ He was the type of man of whom *Bracton* was referring when

³⁹ The name seems to have been a French byname related to the Old French *engaine* meaning ingenuity: G. J. Brault, *Rolls of Arms of Edward I*, 2 vols (London, 1997), ii. 151.

⁴⁰ The Engaine estates are best approached through the inquisition on the death of Vitalis himself in 1248: *CIPM*, i, no. 166. Their primary tenure was of the crown by serjeanty of hunting: *VCH Huntingdonshire*, iii. 48–50. For the Engaine family see also *Complete Peerage*, v. 72 and I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study in their Origins and Descent 1086–1327* (Oxford, 1960), p. 23.

⁴¹ A private chapel and a park were added in the thirteenth century, the former certainly, and the latter probably, by Vitalis himself. Earthworks in the vicinity, thought to be the remains of a motte and bailey castle, might well represent their twelfth-century residence: *VCH Huntingdonshire*, ii. 356; N. Pevsner, *Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Peterborough* (London, 1968), p. 257.

⁴² For the Fitz Ellis estates and genealogy see *VCH Oxfordshire*, v. 296–7 and *VCH Buckinghamshire*, iv. 81. The key figure in his pedigree was Emma, daughter of Fulk de Bray, who married William Fitz Ellis I around 1154. She was heiress to the Oxfordshire manors of Waterperry and Tiddington. William Fitz Ellis II must have been in possession of his mother's estates by 1208 when he was challenged for the manor of Tiddington by none other than Ralf de Bray, who was probably distantly related. Ralf did not give up his claim until 1227. William died shortly after, that is by 13 July 1227 when his son, William Fitz Ellis III, succeeded.

⁴³ In 1222 he emerges as one of the four knights appointed to carry the verdict in a controversial case from Oxford to Westminster. He was implicated in the rendering of false judgement: *CRR*,

he talked of the *buzones* of the court 'on whose nod the votes of the others depended'.

In short these were men of reputation, and that reputation they reinforced in court. If they were not known particularly at Westminster, they were certainly known in the counties. It is highly likely that the statement from the Northamptonshire coroners was designed to help them. We cannot know for sure but it seems possible that their account of Richard Fitz Nigel's demolition job on the gaol house may have been designed to promote laughter, perhaps derision, in the court. One wonders about their demeanour and indeed the demeanour of the court. At the very least they did Richard's testimony some considerable harm.

Richard Fitz Nigel and the defendants clearly battled for the sympathy of the court, with much revolving around empathy, notoriety, stability, status and honour. The battle over their respective reputations in relation to contemporary values was only one dimension however. Richard Fitz Nigel's original testimony must also have had palpable designs upon the court. He well knew that the naming of Ralf de Bray would raise a host of questions and fears in the minds of Hubert de Burgh and other members of the regime. The underlying instability of this polity, even by 1225, was exposed to view.

Who was Ralf de Bray? He began his professional life in the service of William Brewer, one of King John's key advisors.⁴⁴ He moved, however, from William's household to that of the king. In 1213 Ralf was named as one of the two marshals of the king's army in England⁴⁵ After the king's death, if not before, he was in the service of Falkes de Bréauté, accounting as undersheriff for him in all of his shrievalties.⁴⁶ In reality Ralf seems to have been the head of a group of sub-sheriffs functioning for Falkes and accounted for Northamptonshire again in 1221 and 1222.⁴⁷ Some of the enmity towards Falkes must surely have rubbed off on his deputies. In 1224, moreover, Ralf de Bray had himself fallen

x. 267, 344–6. The case is discussed in P. R. Coss, 'Knighthood and the Early Thirteenth Century County Court', *Thirteenth Century England II*, ed. P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1988), p. 49.

⁴⁴ S. D. Church, *The Household Knights of King John* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 33, citing D. A. Carpenter, 'The Sheriffs of Oxfordshire and Their Subordinates, 1194–1236: A Study in Politics, Patronage and Society' (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1973), pp. 125–7, 153. Ralf seems to have become Brewer's steward: Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III*, p. 117. He functioned for him as undersheriff in Hampshire in 1200 and again in Somerset and Dorset in 1207: *Public Record Office Lists and Indexes*, ix.

⁴⁵ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i. 164; Church, *Household Knights*, p. 33. In November of that year he was in the king's service at Corfe: *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, p. 106. He is also found acting in association with the powerful royalist Peter de Maulay, constable of Corfe: *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i. 213b; *Rot. Chart.*, i. 213, 218.

⁴⁶ He was sheriff of six counties. PRO *Lists and Indexes*, ix; *Pipe Roll 3 Henry III* (Pipe Roll Society, 1976), pp. 52, 63, 72, 86. Ralf was also a collector of the 1220 carucage: *Book of Fees*, pp. 1437–9.

⁴⁷ David Carpenter calls him Falkes's 'chief servant': *The Minority*, p. 393.

from grace and had been deprived of his property.⁴⁸ At this point, the central government no longer trusted him, to say the least. The naming of Falkes's agent in a treasonous plot was bound to be taken extremely seriously and it probably explains why Ralf was heard separately from the other two defendants.⁴⁹ There is no doubt whatsoever that Ralf continued to maintain dangerous associations. Sometime after the fall of Falkes de Bréauté the earl of Chester, another magnate with no love for Hubert, took Ralf into his service.⁵⁰ Among his seven pledges to stand to right in 1225 were Peter de Maulay and Brian de Lisle. Both were associated not only with Falkes de Bréauté but also with the king's former guardian, the alien Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, Hubert de Burgh's great rival for power. Like Ralf de Bray they were to return to power with Peter des Roches in 1232. When Hubert finally fell and the Poitevin regime of Peter des Roches and Peter de Rivallis took power in the summer of 1232, Ralf de Bray returned to royal service and was sent to guard Hubert, now imprisoned at Devizes.⁵¹ In 1233, the year in which he was sent to receive Hubert's abjuration of the realm, he once again became a sheriff, this time of Warwickshire and Leicestershire.⁵² It is possible that William Fitz Ellis, too, may have had an association with Falkes de Bréauté, given his prominence in the Oxfordshire county court, one of the counties of which Falkes was sheriff.⁵³

If we want to understand these men fully we need to go back, briefly, to the reign of King John and to the history of self-aggrandisement and self-enrichment during that era. These men, alien or otherwise, profited prodigiously from royal service.⁵⁴ King John was a vicious king, even by contemporary standards, and his regime was a harsh one. His servants suffered ignominy, no doubt, as they carried out the king's will. But these were often harsh and unjust men in their own right. After William Brewer's death Somerset jurors recalled him as someone who 'did his will with many folk'.⁵⁵ Peter de Maulay, according to a

⁴⁸ TNA C60/12 m2.

⁴⁹ In fact, he was probably attached (i.e. arrested) before the other two.

⁵⁰ David Carpenter, 'The Fall of Hubert de Burgh', *The Reign of Henry III* (London, 1996; repr. from *Journal of British Studies* 19, 1980), p. 47. It is not clear when this occurred. It had certainly happened by 1230 and it may have been some time before: *Memoranda Roll 14 Henry III* (Pipe Roll Society, 1933), p. 32 and *CR 1227–31*, p. 142.

⁵¹ *CR 1231–34*, pp. 332, 341–2. The crown, meanwhile, had not entirely turned its back on him. In 1227 he was one of the two men employed to conduct the forest perambulation in Huntingdonshire: *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, ii. 209.

⁵² *Pat. R. 1232–47*, pp. 15, 27.

⁵³ I owe this suggestion to David Carpenter.

⁵⁴ J. C. Holt conveys the realities very effectively in the final chapter of *The Northerners* (2nd edn Oxford, 1992; first pub. Oxford 1961), devoted to 'The King's Friends': 'To follow the king's men through the records of the Chancery is to follow a trail of fortunate marriages, of grants made or proffers accepted in their favour' (p. 233).

⁵⁵ R. V. Turner, *Men Raised from the Dust: Administrative Service and Upward Mobility in Angevin England* (Philadelphia, PA, 1988), p. 89

chronicle tradition, was the actual murderer of King John's nephew, Arthur.⁵⁶ And so on.

Historians have been impressed, perhaps rightly so, by the way in which the leading royalists, pre-eminently William the Marshal and Hubert de Burgh, saved the day for the English crown, with its finances restored and its institutions intact. In the process of doing so they reissued Magna Carta, with a separate Charter of the Forests, in 1217, and again – this time under the boy king's own name – in 1225, with enormous constitutional consequences. But this is only one perspective on these years. Equally prominent was the power struggle which was taking place within the ranks of the victorious royalists; much of it centred on the personal rivalry between Peter des Roches and Hubert de Burgh.⁵⁷ Each man sought the preservation, and where possible the extension of his interests. This is true of William the Marshal and Hubert de Burgh just as it is of others. Having said this, it is nonetheless true that those in opposition to Hubert and his allies tended to be those with most to lose from the restoration of castles and sheriffdoms; and this of course was a factor in their opposition.⁵⁸ Moreover, precisely because they lacked power at the centre they had more to lose. Prominent among the dissidents – 'schismatics' as the annals of Dunstable calls them – who were opposed to Hubert's regime, were men like Peter de Maulay and Brian de Lisle. Much depended upon control of the boy king, and the struggle intensified after the receipt of the papal letters of April 1223 which called upon the chief ministers to give Henry free disposition of his kingdom, including the lands and castles held in custody, and control of his own seal. The question now was by what stages would the king be given control, when, and under whose influence. For the individuals who occupied offices and exercised regional and/or central power, their future depended upon it. Factionalism intensified. The resumption of castles and sheriffdoms duly took place, and was controlled by Hubert with the support of the archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton. It was a highly partisan affair with Hubert's opponents yielding most and he and his friends either retaining or quickly recovering their custodies.

In important respects the crisis was well over by Michaelmas 1225. The king was in possession of his seal but still in Hubert's power, and the resumption of castles and sheriffdoms had taken effect. The legal situation was now different and there was less mileage in physically controlling the king. The best way, conceivably, and perhaps the only way, to return to the wholesale spoliation of royal offices and lands which had characterised the previous decade was to change the king. Hubert must have been well aware of this and equally aware that he would have been unlucky to survive a change of monarch.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ N. Vincent, *Peter des Roches: An Alien in English Politics, 1205–1238* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 70.

⁵⁷ This point is well made by F. A. Cazel Jr, 'Intertwined Careers: Hubert de Burgh and Peter des Roches', *Haskins Society Journal* I, ed. R. B. Patterson (London, 1989), pp. 15–21.

⁵⁸ Carpenter, *The Minority*, pp. 332–3.

⁵⁹ It would be far-fetched indeed to suggest that the king's brother, Richard, later Richard

There is every reason then why an accusation against Ralf de Bray must have awakened Hubert's fears. The career of Ralf de Bray opens up the lines of communication between the main political actors of the day on the one hand and both careerists and more local figures on the other. Political opposition, however, is never just a matter of the motives, or even the motives and associations, of the main actors. There is always a wider spectrum of opinion to be taken into account, opinion which is equally likely to involve self-interest but which also reflects contemporary aspirations, fears and values. In assessing the impact of Ralf de Bray's charges we find ourselves face to face with the wider political culture of the 1220s.

Richard Fitz Nigel may also have been playing on the fear of secret cabals and informal associations. Whisperings at Westminster and meetings in manor houses could easily be turned into plots, both in fact and in the mind, in the atmosphere of frenzied excitement that clearly existed in the counties during 1225.⁶⁰ The cause of this excitement was threefold: taxation, the interpretation of Magna Carta and the vexed issue of the extent of royal forests. In order to finance an army to save Gascony, Hubert had to resort to extraordinary taxation. Hence a great council was summoned which granted a fifteenth of moveables in return for the reissue of Magna Carta and the Charter of the Forests. These were sealed on 11 February 1225 and proclaimed in the counties. The tax was impressive in its yield but there are indications of resistance in some quarters. More worrying for the government was the manner in which men were interpreting the Charters, restricting the operation of public courts and the activities of royal officers. Nor were the sheriffs and their courts the only issue. There was also the question of the forests. On 16 February 1225, after the issue of the Charters, the king ordered a new perambulation of the forests throughout England. Metes and bounds were to be placed in the forests, indicating which areas were to be disafforested and which not, in accordance with the Forest Charter. The situation was a rerun of 1218 and 1219 when the over-enthusiastic perambulations had to be disavowed by the government. Henry III was to disavow them once again after he came of age. For the moment, however, the government caved in. On 8 May 1225 the sheriffs were ordered to proclaim and observe the perambulations, with their generous disafforestation. It was an issue on which passions ran high. The attitude towards the central government expressed in all of this seems to me to be deeply negative. In this atmosphere and against this background, Hubert had every right to be greatly concerned at rumours of plots against the king.

of Cornwall, was plotting for the throne. What does make one speculate, however, is the identity of Richard's tutor. In 1215, aged six, Richard was sent to Corfe castle to be educated by Sir Roger d'Acastre under the care of Peter de Maulay. There he stayed until at least 1220, with Peter responsible for him: N. Denholm Young, *Richard of Cornwall* (Oxford, 1947), pp. 3–4.

⁶⁰ For what follows see Peter Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 110–23.

Historians have sometimes assumed that the knightly landowners of Angevin England tended to be opposed to King John but at the same time enthusiastic about the Angevin polity. This interpretation rests partly on a few clauses of Magna Carta which were clearly directed at them rather than at the barons,⁶¹ and partly upon the role of knights within the judicial system. There is a danger here in reading history backwards, given that the crown ultimately won through. The prevailing sense of negativity towards the Angevin government that one sees in the 1220s suggests that wider opinion was more volatile than has often been allowed. Furthermore, in the aftermath of the reign of King John, many landowners, large and small, nursed their own grievances against the crown. Vitalis Engaine and William Fitz Ellis were no exceptions.⁶² Vitalis Engaine belonged to a social stratum of major knights and minor barons whose role had been crucial in the rebellion. His elder brother, Richard Engaine, had in fact died in rebellion, during 1216–17, before he could return to his allegiance.⁶³ The regions in which he operated, the East Midlands and East Anglia, were among the primary areas of revolt against King John.

Richard Fitz Nigel was aware of all of this and more. He knew better than we do how opinion was formed in his day and what the lines of communication were. They were certainly more complex and less formal than those historians who rely overmuch on the county court or even the magnate affinity might lead one to suppose. In this context we need to look closely at the two men who bailed Vitalis from the Tower, William Beauchamp of Bedford and William Blund, both direct descendants of Domesday tenants and both men of regional significance. Several of Vitalis's pledges for standing to right were men of the same type. They include Roger de Huntingfield and William Blund. Roger's father had joined the great rebellion against King John and his lands were ordered to be seized in eight counties, mostly in eastern England.⁶⁴ One should be wary of reading too much into lists of pledges. They have been used, with justice, to point to

⁶¹ For a summary of these see Hugh M. Thomas, *Vassals, Heiresses, Crusaders and Thugs: The Gentry of Angevin Yorkshire, 1154–1216* (Philadelphia, PA, 1993), p. 191.

⁶² Vitalis was much at law during the 1220s in defence of his property and this may have coloured his attitude. In 1223 the sheriff of Essex was ordered to take his lands in the county because he had failed to respond to the summons for the army in Wales. He did, however, participate in the Breton campaign of 1230. He died much later in 1248. William Fitz Ellis, too, had had his grievances. He was one of over fifty men who had property restored to them in the wake of Runnymede and Magna Carta, property that had generally passed into the hands of royalists. The land in question was the manor of Oakley, taken from him unjustly and as William himself said in court, formulaically, 'by will and without judgement'. Men like him could always nurture grievances if they were so inclined. For the individual grievances of lesser men against the crown, often similar to those of the great barons, and for their shared exasperation over aspects of Angevin government see Thomas, *Vassals, Heiresses, Crusaders and Thugs*, pp. 180–8.

⁶³ It was Vitalis himself who was restored to the Engaine lands, by writs of 24 September and 12 October 1217: *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i. 327, 329b. He received livery of the manor of Upminster, which had been a matter of dispute, in April 1218: *ibid.*, p. 247; *Exc. e Rot. Fin.*, p. 6.

⁶⁴ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i. 270b, 309b.

the existence of horizontal associations between landowners, as opposed to vertical associations determined by lordship and service. One cannot assume, however, that they were a coherent group or that each of them had an equal relationship with the defendant in question. There is not the space to offer a full analysis of the pledges here. Nevertheless, if used judiciously, they can offer some pointers. Some of the pledges for Vitalis indicate a neighbourhood factor. Others can be shown to have acted as attorneys either for him or for Roger de Huntingfield or William Blund who seem to have been his chief pledges. They may well have chosen the others. One interesting figure was John de Hulcote, a Northamptonshire knight who had been part of Falkes de Bréauté's shrieval team.⁶⁵ He was to become a much trusted agent of the central government as a long-standing justice of gaol delivery between 1224 and 1238, as a sheriff, and in other capacities.⁶⁶ John de Hulcote's presence in the list may well reflect the social significance of Vitalis Engaine in his Northamptonshire/Huntingdonshire heartland. It may well be that the Northamptonshire coroners spiced up their testimony in 1225 because it was Vitalis Engaine and Ralf de Bray who were under attack. Some extremely important central court justices, moreover, had Northamptonshire interests, including Martin de Pattishall. The justice William de Raleigh, in whose circle Bracton's treatise was born, began life as a clerk to Martin and was presented to the Blatherwycke living by none other than Vitalis Engaine in 1220.⁶⁷ Martin de Pattishall was the chief justice responsible for the fullest roll recording the 1225 case. The extra details it supplies strongly favour the defendants' testimony.

It would seem likely that the chief pledges chose others who were known to them and who were present at the time in or around the law courts at Westminster. This allows us to glimpse the workings of regional society at several levels. Figures of regional significance had connections with a wide variety of men, some of whom operated in both central and local courts. Given the role of William Fitz Ellis at the county court one might have expected his pledges to stand to right to reflect Oxfordshire county society. In fact the pledges are drawn from men with interests across a wider area, centring on Oxfordshire, Berkshire and Buckinghamshire, with outliers from Wiltshire to Middlesex and Surrey. There were certainly more specific associations at work. One is neighbourhood. A few men had discernible interests close to the Fitz Ellis estates. More of them held property close to Abingdon. There was also an 'honorial' factor. Not only does the abbey of Abingdon seem to figure prominently, but also the honour of Wallingford. Most importantly of all, we are dealing here with men who

⁶⁵ He was undersheriff for him in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in 1219, 1221 and 1222. He had been undersheriff for Walter de Preston in 1206: *PRO Lists and Indexes ix; Pipe Roll 5 Henry III* (Pipe Roll Society, 1990), p. 170; *Pipe Roll 6 Henry III* (Pipe Roll Society, 1999), p. 22.

⁶⁶ For John de Hulcote see Coss, *Origins of the English Gentry*, pp. 55–61.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 54, citing C. A. F. Meekings, 'Martin Pateshull and William Raleigh', *BIHR* 26 (1953); reprinted in his *Studies in 13th Century Justice and Administration* (London, 1981), p. 165.

knew each other in legal contexts and in various capacities that included the professional and semi-professional. It is perhaps likely, once again, that William Fitz Ellis did not chose all of the pledges directly himself. The list seems to reflect a dense network of associations. They appear to have been drawn, largely at least, from men who were on hand, known by William and/or others of his pledges, with interests in the same broad area of the country.

What these pledges suggest is that disaffected men could so easily draw in men who were inside the Angevin system and upon whom the crown depended for the continuation of its rule in the localities. Such men had often defected to the rebels in the last years of King John. There was an important divide between the ordinary knight, if we can call him that, who participated in the common law on juries and as litigants, and the type of man on whom the Angevin government depended to staff its commissions. Without the men who functioned alongside the central court judges as justices of assize and gaol delivery and as taxers and the like, the Angevin system could not function. These were the men in the localities whom the government trusted, or at least in whom it needed to place its trust.⁶⁸ They included *vavasours* like Vitalis Engaine, *buzones* like William Fitz Ellis and careerists like Ralf de Bray. They and their families were often known to the centre through previous service, known to the professionals at the centre who also of course had local roots, or known to loyal (or hopefully loyal) magnates. Ralf de Bray was archetypal. In addition to his long-standing role as a sheriff/undersheriff, he functioned as a justice of assize in Northamptonshire, for example.⁶⁹ William Fitz Ellis was appointed as one of the inquisitors for Oxfordshire in the general forest inquiry of 1219, and in February 1225, that is early in the year of his trial, he was appointed one of the collectors of the fifteenth, again for Oxfordshire.⁷⁰ Even Vitalis Engaine, who was perhaps more on the fringe of this system, can be seen as a justice of assize in Essex.⁷¹ When we add the many means by which great lords could extend their tentacles into local society, formally through retinue, affinity and service of various kinds, and informally through power, prestige and their own networks of association, then the full potentiality of disaffection by influential knights and career administrators can be fully appreciated.

How much Richard Fitz Nigel was aware of in terms of the *specific* associations of Vitalis, William and Ralf we cannot know. But he certainly knew enough to be conscious of the implications of what he was alleging. He compounded his picture of a web of secrecy with his choice of weapon. Poisoning was much to be feared. Life in the large, itinerant households of the period with their communal dining and the constant coming and going of guests and visiting officials must have meant that poison was an ever-present possibility. Poison was undoubtedly

⁶⁸ For a fuller discussion of this phenomenon see Coss, *Origins of the English Gentry*, ch.3: 'The Angevin Legacy: Knights as Jurors and Agents of the State in the Reign of Henry III'.

⁶⁹ *Pat. R.* 1216–25, p. 391.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 214, 567.

⁷¹ *Pat. R.* 1225–32, p. 155.

the least detected form of death by stealth and the easiest to carry out. Any sudden death was suspicious. With superb irony it was rumoured after the fall of Hubert de Burgh in 1232 that he was himself a poisoner, responsible for the deaths of Falkes de Bréauté, archbishop Richard of Canterbury and William Marshal the younger.⁷²

I think that we can safely assume that Richard Fitz Nigel was not acting out of a sense of duty. But what was he attempting to do? The short answer is that he was trying to save his own life. Perhaps he was also motivated by spite. He may well have held Ralf de Bray, as undersheriff to Falkes, responsible for his imprisonment and downfall. If William Fitz Ellis was also connected with Falkes de Bréauté that might explain his presence. However, there is another possible explanation for this. A curious fact is that when William Fitz Ellis III died in the early 1270s his manor of Oakley was immediately occupied by John Fitz Nigel. This suggests that the family had a claim to it and that Richard may have born a grudge here too.⁷³

The annals of Dunstable tell us that Richard was a knight. If so, he was almost certainly one of those minor knights, poorly endowed or near landless, who were still a feature of society in the early thirteenth century, and at the opposite end of the knightly spectrum from Engaine and Ellis. His own story of how Falkes de Bréauté came to gaol him in the first instance suggests that he may also have been in royal service. He was very probably of the same sort of origin as Ralf de Bray, that is an obscure figure from established stock; but, unlike Ralf,⁷⁴ he failed to make it.

The accusation against Vitalis Engaine is the most difficult to explain, and it may be significant that it was he who put up the most vigorous defence. Had Richard Fitz Nigel perhaps heard grumbling from him at Westminster or perhaps picked up a rumour about him? Had he then grafted Ralf de Bray and William Fitz Ellis on to this? We shall never know. What we do know is that in the fetid atmosphere of 1225 it was all just about believable.

Chivalric knighthood and its associated values were already central to the political culture of medieval England. This helps to explain why Richard Fitz

⁷² Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 314. On poisoning and attitudes towards it in the Middle Ages see F. Collard, *Le crime de poison au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2003).

⁷³ The Fitz Nigels (or FitzNeils) were a Buckinghamshire family. One branch were hereditary foresters of that county. On the family and its history see *VCH Buckinghamshire*, ii. 300; iii. 127, 377, 402, 404; iv. 11–12, 402; *VCH Oxfordshire*, v. 191; C. A. F. Meekings and P. Shearman, eds, *Fitznells Cartulary*, Surrey Record Society (Guildford, 1968), pp. xci–xcii. No Richard features in this line. There was, however, a second line which held at Salden and Mursley. Two Richard Fitz Nigels held in succession here. The second died in 1220. In 1252 the heir was Robert Fitz Nigel aged 30. He died at the battle of Evesham. It seems possible that Richard Fitz Nigel the appellor belonged to this branch of the family.

⁷⁴ There is a plethora of Brays in the records of the early thirteenth century, across a raft of Midland counties, and I have not yet managed to locate Ralf definitively within the Bray genealogies. Ralf may have had some connection with the Brays who once held Waterperry and Tiddington. See above, note 42.

Nigel was kept in some style after the trial. He may have been a relatively lowly knight, a pre-chivalric knight even, in historical perspective. Nonetheless, the aura that was growing around knighthood must have affected the treatment he received. This respect was necessary, it could be argued, in terms of the broader political context. Much of the political nation subscribed to this culture of respect, and it had to be taken into account. It may be, too, that the delay in his execution should be seen in these terms, although it must also have had a practical motive. Despite the outcome of the trial there might just be something more to be revealed. At the same time treason, or an accusation of treason, was a matter of the utmost gravity. Hence the suspects were committed to the Tower of London. Even if Ralph Turner and R. B. Pugh were right after all, and the government did not take the accusation seriously, it could hardly be seen to be treating it lightly. Such an accusation had to be followed through. The treatment meted out to the false accuser contains similar messages. Perhaps the most significant aspect of this whole affair in terms of the unfolding political culture of England was that the state was seen to abide by the due process of law. Without being starry eyed about it, we can confidently assert that this was the sort of behaviour that Magna Carta demanded and that this was what the political nation expected to see.

‘All Brought to Nought and Thy State Undone’: Treason, Disinvestiture and the Disgracing of Arms under Edward II*

Matthew Strickland

On 23 March 1323, Sir Andrew Harclay, earl of Carlisle, was arraigned before a commission of royal justices, charged with treasonous negotiations with Robert Bruce, the king’s enemy.¹ He was not given a hearing, but was condemned by the king’s record, with the judges merely pronouncing the sentence already decreed by the king.² Only the year before, Edward II had showered honours upon Harclay as a reward for his defeat and capture of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, at Boroughbridge, and with his own hand had belted Harclay with the sword of the earldom of Carlisle. Now, the king’s anger at Harclay’s collusion with the Scots and an intense sense of personal betrayal were reflected in his orders that Andrew was to suffer an elaborate ceremony of degradation before his execution. As the near contemporary account in the *Brut* has the sheriff of Carlisle, Sir Antony Lucy, pronounce:

And our Lord the King’s will is that ... the order of knighthood – by which you undertook all thine honour and worship upon thy body – be all brought to nought, and thy state undone, that other knights of lower degree may after thee

* My thanks are due to Professor Archie Duncan for reading and commenting on this paper, and to Professor Rob Bartlett and Dr Stuart Airlie for references and helpful discussion.

¹ *Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons*, ed. F. Palgrave, 2 vols (London, 1827–34) ii, Part 2 Appendix, p. 263; *Abbrevatio Placitorum, Richard I–Edward II* (Record Commission, 1811), i. 351; *Chronicon de Lanercost*, ed. J. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1839), pp. 248–9. For Harclay’s career, trial and execution, J. Mason, ‘Sir Andrew de Harclay, Earl of Carlisle’, *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 29 (1929), 98–137; and H. R. T. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle: The City and the Borders from the Late Eleventh to the Mid-Sixteenth Century*, 2 vols (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Extra Series xxv, 1993), pp. 230–56, who discusses in detail Harclay’s dealings with the Scots.

² *Lanercost*, p. 251; J. G. Bellamy, *The Law of Treason in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 52–3.

beware; the which lord hath thee advanced hugely in divers countries of England; and that all may take example by thee, their lord afterward truly for to serve.³

To this end, Harclay had been 'led unto the bar in the manner of an earl, worthily arrayed, and with a sword girt about him, and hosed and spurred'. His degradation commenced with the hewing off of his gilded spurs by a knave. Next, the sword with which he had been invested as earl by the king 'to keep and defend his land therewith' was broken over his head.⁴ Finally, he was stripped 'of his furred mantel and of his hood, and of his furred coats and of his girdle'.⁵ Now bereft of his status as both earl and knight, he was condemned to death. 'Andrew', the *Brut* has de Lucy continue,

now thou art no knight but a knave, and for thy treason the King wills that you be hanged and drawn and thine head smitten off, and thy bowels taken out of thy body, and thy bowels burned, and thy body quartered and thy head ... sent unto London, and there it shall be set upon London Bridge, and thy four quarters shall be sent to four towns in England, that all others may beware and chastised by thee.⁶

The well-informed and more sympathetic Lanercost chronicler noted that Harclay met his terrible fate with dignity, professing that his intentions in treating with the Scots had been honourable and denying all treason.⁷

Harclay's execution was but one of a series of incidents which has led Edward's reign to be regarded as a period of exceptional violence within the troubled body politic, and, through a spate of executions, as a key turning-point in relations between crown and nobility.⁸ In turn, these executions themselves have provided an important focus for the study of the nature and application of the law of treason,⁹ as well as of the 'theatre of execution' and its associated rituals.¹⁰ Here, however, I would like to focus on rituals not of execution, but

³ *The Brut or The Chronicles of England*, ed. F. W. Brie, 2 vols (London, 1906, 1908), i. 227.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 227–8; *Lanercost*, pp. 245, 251.

⁵ *The Brut*, i. 228.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i. 228; *Lanercost*, p. 251.

⁷ *Lanercost*, pp. 250–1.

⁸ M. C. Prestwich, 'Gilbert de Middleton and the Attack on the Cardinals, 1317', *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser*, ed. T. Reuter (London, 1992), pp. 179–94; J. R. S. Phillips, 'Simon de Montfort (1265), the Earl of Manchester (1644) and Other Stories: Violence and Politics in Thirteenth- and Early Fourteenth-Century England', *Violence in Medieval Society*, ed. R. W. Kaeuper (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 79–90.

⁹ Bellamy, *The Law of Treason*, pp. 48–58; J. Gillingham, 'Enforcing Old Law in New Ways: Professional Lawyers and Treason in Early Fourteenth Century England and France', *Law and Power in the Middle Ages. Proceedings of the Fourth Carlsberg Academy Conference on Medieval Legal History 2007*, ed. P. Andersen, M. Munster-Swendsen and H. Vogt (Copenhagen, 2008), pp. 199–221.

¹⁰ D. M. Westerhof, 'Aristocratic Executions and Burials in England c. 1150–c. 1330: Cultures of Fragmentation' (PhD thesis, University of York, 2004); *idem*, 'Deconstructing Iden-

of degradation of rank and on the disgracing of arms. In doing so, of course, I take my lead – as do all who speak of arms and chivalry – directly from Maurice Keen, who first highlighted the significance of Harclay's case in his seminal study 'Treason Trials under the Law of Arms', which won the Royal Historical Society's Alexander Prize in 1962.¹¹ Pointing out the striking similarities between the judgment pronounced on Harclay and that of Sir Ralph Grey, sentenced to degradation of his knighthood and execution in 1464, he persuasively argued that such summary trials for treason, particularly those occurring after the earl of Northumberland's revolt against Henry IV and those under Edward IV were not unconstitutional novelties in violation of common or statute law, but rather were the proceedings of courts trying offences against the law of arms. Harclay's case was important in demonstrating that these fifteenth-century cases were based on established precedent visible at least as early as Edward II's reign.

Here, by contrast, I wish to look back beyond Edward II's reign, and briefly examine earlier precedents for elements of the ritual degradation inflicted upon Harclay in 1323. Historians of the later Middle Ages have in general been less concerned than their earlier medieval counterparts with rituals of degradation and disinvestiture.¹² Together with our honorand, a notable exception has been Grant Simpson, who in a brief but important article, itself strongly influenced by 'Treason Trials under the Law of Arms', first drew attention to the clear similarities between features of Harclay's degradation and those inflicted by Edward I on John Balliol, king of Scotland in 1296.¹³ In a volume presented to a Balliol man, it may not be inappropriate here to return to this analogy and to examine in greater detail the nature of John Balliol's ceremonial surrender. For not only has this extraordinary ritual disinvestiture received remarkably little attention beyond students of Anglo-Scottish relations and of Scottish kingship, but it may well have acted as a direct exemplar for the unprecedented degradation of an English earl in 1323. The bitter political feuding of Edward's reign itself, moreover, led not only to a series of summary trials and executions,

ties on the Scaffold: the Execution of Hugh Despenser the Younger, 1326', *Journal of Medieval History* 33 (2007), 87–106.

¹¹ M. H. Keen, 'Treason Trials under the Law of Arms', *TRHS*, fifth series 12 (1962), 85–103, and reprinted in M. H. Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London, 1996), pp. 149–66, whose pagination I follow in all subsequent references.

¹² For valuable approaches to this subject in an earlier period see, *inter alia*, K. Leyser, 'Ritual, Ceremony and Gesture', *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe. The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, ed. T. Reuter (London, 1994), pp. 189–214; M. De Jong, 'Power and Humility in Carolingian Society: the Public Penance of Louis the Pious', *Early Medieval Europe* 1 (1992), 29–52; S. Airlie, 'Narratives of Triumph and Rituals of Submission: Charlemagne's Mastering of Bavaria', *TRHS*, 6th series 9 (1999), 93–119; T. Reuter, 'Pastorale pedum ante pedes apostolici posuit; Dis- and Re-investiture in the Era of the Investiture Contest', *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages. Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. R. Gameson and H. Leyser (Oxford, 2001), pp. 197–210.

¹³ G. G. Simpson, 'Why was John Balliol called "Toom Tabard"?', *Scottish Historical Review* 47 (1968), 196–9.

but to the devising of new rituals of shame, which, I shall suggest, included the disgracing of the coats of arms of defeated political opponents.

Hewing off of Spurs and the Removal of the Cingulum Militiae

Elements of Harclay's degradation in 1323 undoubtedly drew on long-established customs. These, though only occasionally glimpsed in the sources, had formed as the order of knighthood itself grew more self-conscious and sought to punish those who infringed its collective mores.¹⁴ The *Livre de Manières* of Stephen of Fougères reveals that the cutting off of the spurs had become a familiar aspect of degradation from knighthood by the 1170s at the latest.¹⁵ Golden or gilded spurs had been symbols of high rank from an early date,¹⁶ and the earliest detailed accounts of knighting reveal their attachment already formed an integral element in dubbing to knighthood.¹⁷ Indeed, whereas belting with the sword marked a dissemination of a ritual formerly reserved for royal and princely investiture down to the ranks of knighthood,¹⁸ spurs appear to have been added to princely regalia by the later twelfth century as a powerful symbol of the ruler's membership of the *ordo equestris*.¹⁹ At Richard I's coronation in 1189, for example, it was the marshal who bore the great golden spurs in the procession, neatly symbolising the king's dual function as *roi chevalier*.²⁰ Just as the spurs were to be buckled on at dubbing by men of high rank, so by social inversion they were to be cut off by those of lowly station, not only to add shame, but to signify that the man so degraded was now himself debased and ignoble.²¹ Thus Harclay's spurs were hewn off by a knave, while in Sir Ralph

¹⁴ J. Flori, *L'Eessor de chevalerie* (Geneva, 1986), pp. 317–19.

¹⁵ Etienne de Fougères, *Le livre des manières*, ed. R. A. Lodge (Geneva, 1979), p. 82, ll. 623–8.

¹⁶ Thus, for example, among the arms and equipment bequeathed by Eberhard of Friuli (d. 866) in his will were two pairs of golden spurs, enriched with precious stones (*Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Cysoing et de ses dépendances*, ed. I. DeCousse-maker (Lille, 1886), pp. 1–5; R. Le Jan, 'Frankish Giving of Arms and Rituals of Power: Continuity and Change in the Carolingian period', *Rituals of Power: From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, ed. F. Theuws and J. L. Nelson (Leiden, 2000), p. 290).

¹⁷ Thus, for example, in John of Marmoutier's famous description, written c. 1170, of the knighting of Geoffrey le Bel by Henry I in 1128, the buckling on of golden spurs follows his arming and the donning of his mail chausses (*Les Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, ed. L. Halphen and R. Poupardin (Paris, 1913), p. 179).

¹⁸ Flori, *L'Eessor de chevalerie*, pp. 9–119.

¹⁹ *Receuil*, ed. Bouquet, 12, p. 442n.; A. Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou, 778–1204*, 2 vols (Paris, 1903), ii. 183; D. F. Callahan, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine, the Coronation Rite of the Duke of Aquitaine and the Cult of Saint Martial at Limoges', *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine*, ed. M. Bull and C. Léglu (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 29–30.

²⁰ *Gesta Henrici Secundi Benedicti abbatis*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols (Rolls Series, London, 1867), ii. 81, 'duo calcaria magna et ponderosa de thesauro regis'.

²¹ For the spurs of some 500 slain French knights to have been stripped by baseborn townsmen following the great Flemish victory at Courtrai in 1302 was thus a deep insult,

Grey's indictment it is to be the master cook, 'with his apron and his knife', who is to strike off his spurs at the hard heels.²² A distant though intriguing echo of such disgracing is found in *The Song of Roland*, in which the traitor Ganelon, though not ritually degraded or stripped of his knightly belt, is handed over to the cooks of Charlemagne's army, who bind and beat him.²³ Grey's sentence also reveals that at the dubbing ceremony itself the new knight might be warned of the disgrace that would befall a defaulting knight,²⁴ while Stephen of Fougères' comment that once cut off, a degraded knight's spurs should be 'thrown among the knights',²⁵ may reflect another ritual, similarly intended as a terrible example of the penalties for wrongdoing.

In some instances, the cutting off of spurs appears as the primary act of the degradation from knighthood. In 1352, none other than Geoffroi de Charny, that acknowledged expert on matters pertaining to knighthood and chivalry and a leading member of Jean II's Company of the Star, seized Aimery of Pavia, a Lombard knight in the service of Edward III, whom Charny believed had betrayed his attempt to regain Calais the year previously.²⁶ Charny's revenge was a strictly personal affair, for it took place in a time of truce between the kings of England and France. Yet in Charny's eyes, Aimery had been held guilty of treason to his faith and to his knighthood.²⁷ In the market place at St Omer, he had Aimery publicly degraded by having his spurs cut off.²⁸ Once degraded, Aimery was tortured with red-hot irons and his tongue, by which he had sworn his perjured oath, was cut out. He was then hanged, beheaded, and his quartered

and after the French had taken their revenge at Roosebeke in 1382, they took care to remove the spurs from the church of Notre Dame in Courtrai where they had been placed as thank offerings. (J. F. Verbruggen, *The Battle of the Golden Spurs. Courtrai, 11 July 1302* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 242 and n. 112).

²² *The Brut*, i. 227–8; *A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the reign of King Edward the Fourth* by John Warkworth, ed. J. O. Halliwell (Camden Society, London, 1839), p. 39.

²³ *The Song of Roland: An Analytical Edition*, ed. G. J. Brault (University Park, PA, 1978), i. 318–9, ll. 1816–27; and cf. F. W. Locke, 'Ganelon and the Cooks', *Symposium* 20 (1966), 141–8, where the incident is seen as an anticipation of Ganelon's punishment by devil-cooks in 'Hell's kitchen'.

²⁴ In sentencing, Grey was reminded that at his knighting, 'as ys accustomed', the master cook had told him, 'And thou be not true to thy sovereign lord, I shall smyte of thy spors with this knyfe by the helys' (*Warkworth's Chronicle*, p. 39).

²⁵ *Le Livre des manières*, p. 82, ll. 627–8.

²⁶ *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke*, ed. E. Maunde Thompson (Oxford, 1889), pp. 103–7; Robert of Avesbury, *De Gestis Edwardi Tertii*, in *Adae de Murimuth Continuatio Chronicarum*, ed. E. M. Thompson (Rolls Series, London, 1889), pp. 408–10; *Oeuvres de Froissart*, ed. K. de Lettenhove, 25 vols (Brussels, 1867–77, repr. Osnabruck 1967), v. 229–51; J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War, II. Trial By Fire*. (London, 1999), p. 93. Charny's role in the Calais affair and its aftermath is discussed by R. W. Kaeuper and E. Kennedy, *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny* (Philadelphia, PA, 1996), pp. 10–14.

²⁷ M. H. Keen, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1965), pp. 45–59, especially pp. 53–4, 'the breach of any promise made on a soldier's honour could be a treason to his knighthood'.

²⁸ *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker*, pp. 107–8.

body displayed at the town gates.²⁹ No mention, however, is made of the removal of Aimery's belt of knighthood or of the disgracing of his arms.

By contrast, the removal of the knightly belt or *cingulum militiae* appears as the earliest and most important symbol of disinvestiture among laymen.³⁰ John of Salisbury revealed his classical erudition as well as his own vision of contemporary knighthood when he noted in his *Policraticus*, completed in 1159:

it happens at times that for some transgression soldiers are deprived of their military belt, especially in cases when they are guilty of sacrilege. For by the old law it was ordained, and the provision is not abolished in the new, that whoever does not keep his military oath, and attacks the religion which he professes, shall be punished by the loss of his belt.³¹

For John, here the 'old law' was Justinian's Codex, while the new was canon law, which had preserved, through canonical collections such as that of Burchard of Worms, a substantial body of Carolingian and subsequent conciliar legislation relating to the stripping of the *cingulum militiae*.³² For, as Karl Leyser has shown, from the ninth century the Church had increasingly abrogated to itself the power of imposing the loss of arms-bearing status on laymen who had committed serious sin,³³ even if this penalty was essentially penitential, and as such not necessarily permanent.³⁴ Moreover, though treason might rank among them, most of the offences which incurred such a loss of arms-bearing status, such as parricide, the killing of ecclesiastics or adultery, were more sins against the Christian moral order of the Carolingian Church rather than crimes like cowardice or other violations of a warrior ethos and military discipline. Nevertheless, as late as 1114, at the council of Beauvais, the notorious French lord Thomas of Marle was excommunicated and *in absentia* stripped of his

²⁹ *Chronique normande du XIVe siècle*, ed. A. Molinier (Paris, 1882), p. 104; Froissart, v. 273–4, who notes that some of Aimery's *varlets* were also hanged.

³⁰ On the significance of the *cingulum*, K. Leyser, 'Early Medieval Canon Law and the Beginning of Knighthood', *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Josef Fleckenstein zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. L. Fenske W. Rösener, and T. Zotz (Sigmaringen, 1984), pp. 549–66, and reprinted in Leyser, *Communications and Power*, pp. 55–60. (All references here use the pagination of the latter volume.)

³¹ *Ioannis Saresberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis Policratici, sive De nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum libri VIII*, ed. C. J. Webb, 2 vols (Oxford, 1909), ii. 607 (VI.13); *The Stateman's Book of John of Salisbury*, trans. J. Dickinson (New York, 1927), p. 216.

³² Leyser, 'Early Medieval Canon Law', pp. 55–6.

³³ One of the earliest examples of such a sanction occurred at Soissons in 833, where Louis the Pious renounced the *militia saecularis* and thus royal power itself by confessing his dereliction of duty, placing his *cingulum militiae* on the altar of St Medard, and donning penitential garments (De Jong, 'Power and Humility', pp. 29–52; Le Jan, 'Frankish Giving of Arms', p. 300).

³⁴ Thus the Council of Tribur in 895 decreed that homicide, presumably in a war deemed to be legitimate, was to be expiated by the laying down of the *cingulum*, as well as by fasting and abstinence from sex for forty days. For the gravest offences, however, such a demotion might be enjoined for many years or even in perpetuity (*Monumenta Germanica Historica, Capitularia regum Francorum*, II, no. 252, c. 55, p. 242; Leyser, 'Early Medieval Canon Law', pp. 57–61; Le Jan, 'Frankish Giving of Arms', p. 301).

knightly belt and every honour by decree of the papal legate Cuno, bishop of Palestrina.³⁵ Lacking effective secular enforcement, the sentence did little to curb Marle's brutal depredations, though it may well have been an influence on John of Salisbury's thinking on the punishment of knights for sacrilege. Stephen of Fougères similarly speaks of the sword of a disgraced knight being surrendered back onto the altar from which it was taken at dubbing.³⁶

How far such ecclesiastical sanctions had been influenced by secular practice within the *exercitus* of Carolingian or later rulers, or vice versa, is all but impossible to determine.³⁷ Among the earliest evidence for degradation as a purely secular punishment is William of Malmsebury's statement that in the aftermath of the battle of Hastings, William the Conqueror degraded a Norman knight because he had gashed the thigh of King Harold as he lay prostrate, 'a dastardly and shameful act'.³⁸ The Conqueror's displeasure is more readily understandable if, as seems probable, 'thigh' was a euphemism for the genitals;³⁹ Norman propaganda might stress that Harold was a perjured usurper, but so shameful a mutilation of a king, and a man upon whom the duke himself had bestowed arms, may genuinely have angered William. Yet if the case of Harold might be regarded as being *sui generis*, a more general and explicit statement that the loss of the knightly belt might be imposed as the punishment for cowardice in war is explicitly stated by Richard of Devizes, who has Richard I tell his troops prior to the storming of Messina in 1190; 'Let the law be observed without any exceptions. Whoever runs away on foot shall lose a foot. A knight shall be stripped of his belt (*miles privetur cingulo*).'⁴⁰ In both cases, as in John of Salisbury's comments, it is important to note that the loss of knighthood was the punishment in itself, rather than an act of degradation preceding further penalties.

³⁵ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, ed. H. Waquet (Paris, 1964), pp. 174–6.

³⁶ *Le Livre des manières*, p. 82, ll. 617–20.

³⁷ Although one of the supposed crimes for which Duke Tassilo of Bavaria was tried and condemned before Charlemagne in 788 was that of *herslitz* or desertion of the army and treason, the Frankish sources make no mention of any stripping of his *cingulum* or the surrender of arms, but rather stress his enforced tonsuring and that of his son (Airlie, 'Narratives of Triumph', pp. 114–15).

³⁸ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998), i, pp. 456–7. Such an incident appears to be depicted on the Bayeux Tapestry (*The Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. D. M. Wilson (London, 1985), plate 72). The *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio* noted, though without any censure, that the knight who did so was a Giffard, one of the four knights who slew Harold. (*The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy Bishop of Amiens*, ed. F. Barlow (Oxford, 1999), pp. 32–3, ll. 549–50, and lxxxii–lxxxv; and for the identification of this Giffard, E. M. C. van Houts, 'Latin Poetry at the Anglo-Norman Court, 1066–1135: *The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*', *Journal of Medieval History* 15 (1989), 55.)

³⁹ *The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy of Amiens*, ed. C. Morton and H. Muntz (Oxford, 1972), p. 37 n.1, and cf. pp. 116–20, Appendix D, 'The Death of Harold'.

⁴⁰ *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of Richard I*, ed. J. T. Appleby (London, 1963), p. 22.

Inventing Comital Degradation?

Yet if aspects of Sir Andrew Harclay's degradation in 1323 were long established, the totality of his punishment nonetheless appears unprecedented in its severity. The *Brut* certainly believed so. When before Boroughbridge Harclay refused to join forces with Earl Thomas of Lancaster to rid the kingdom of the king's evil counsellors, the 'venyme of England', Earl Thomas is made to utter a prophetic warning:

At on worde, Sir Andrew, y telle the, that or this yer be gon, that ye shal be take and holde for a traitoure, and more than ye holde us now; *and in worse deth ye shul die, than ever dede Knyght of Engeland*; and understonde wel that never ye ded thing that sorer yow shal repent.⁴¹

As a manifest partisan of Thomas of Lancaster, whose miracles he records, the author of the *Brut* was bitterly hostile to Harclay, 'the false traitor',⁴² and records his fate in such detail precisely because he regarded it as condign revenge for that of Lancaster. Nevertheless, two factors suggest that the *Brut* was correct in regarding Harclay's fate as terrifyingly new. First, Harclay's is the first case of which I am aware in which a formal and judicially pronounced degradation of rank preceded execution for treason. Whatever other indignities may have been inflicted upon them, none of those tried and executed for treason during the reign of Edward I suffered either degradation from knightly or comital rank nor, as far as is known, the disgrace of their coats of arms. The absence of such rituals of degradation are particularly notable in the cases of Prince David of Wales, who had been knighted by Edward himself, and of former household knights like Thomas de Turbeville, drawn and hanged 'for letters of treason' in 1295, and Sir Simon Fraser. Similarly, William Wallace's indictment in 1305 details his terrible punishment, but is silent concerning any stripping of his rank of knighthood, even though his elevation to knighthood was the subject of derision by hostile English chroniclers.⁴³ Significantly too, this was also true of the summary executions of Scottish opponents in 1306–7, such as the knights taken after Bruce's defeat at Methven in 1306, for this was just such as time of open war in which sentences may have been passed according to the law of arms.⁴⁴ The absence of formal degradation, particularly from the high-profile and exemplary executions of Wallace, Athol and Fraser, strongly suggests that prior to the death of Edward I, neither degrading from knighthood or title, nor the disgracing of arms had entered the process of treason trials.⁴⁵

Second, Harclay suffered a dual degradation, from both comital and knightly

⁴¹ *The Brut*, i. 218.

⁴² *Ibid.*, i, pp. 228–30.

⁴³ For detailed discussion of these cases, Bellamy, *Law of Treason*, pp. 24–46.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 40–2; Keen, 'Treason Trials', pp. 156–60.

⁴⁵ In the case of Wallace, Pierre Langtoft nevertheless drew a grim image reflecting the charge of having treasonously raised his banner in war against King Edward I: 'His body was cut into four parts; each one hangs by itself, in memory of his name, in place of his banner

rank.⁴⁶ As such, this marks the first known instance in England of the ritual degradation of an earl. John of Strathbogie, earl of Athol, who enjoyed the dubious distinction of being the first earl to be executed since Waltheof in 1076, was hanged on a higher gallows than the others in mocking acknowledgement of his kinship with King Edward, while his body, together with the gallows on which it hung, were burned.⁴⁷ Yet there is no reference to any ceremony of degradation or disinvestiture from his comital rank. According to the *Vita Edwardi*, on his capture by the magnates in 1312 Piers Gaveston was forced to lay aside his *cingulum milicie* before being taken to Warwick 'like a thief and a traitor'.⁴⁸ It is possible that this represented a symbolic removal of his earldom of Cornwall, the bestowal of which upon him by Edward had been greatly resented, but this is nowhere explicitly stated, and the fact that the nobles spared him drawing or hanging because of his kinship with the earl of Gloucester indicates that they still acknowledged his nobility.⁴⁹ His condemnation, moreover, was extra-judicial. Lancaster, by contrast, was judged before Edward II himself, but though he was summarily condemned with no right to answer, his sentence did not involve a ceremonial stripping of his comital rank. Given what John Maddicott has called 'the King's almost morbid desire to avenge Gaveston's execution',⁵⁰ this strongly suggests that degradation had not yet become associated with conviction for treason, for it is hard to believe that a vengeful Edward would not have inflicted such humiliation on Lancaster. Indeed, while Harclay had been 'worthily arrayed' for trial, precisely because he could then be degraded from such outward signs of dignity, chroniclers complained that Lancaster was brought before the king at Pontefract 'bareheaded as a thief', and led to his death on a broken-down nag wearing a '*pauperima tunica*'.⁵¹ In lamenting the execution of Lancaster's followers after Boroughbridge, the Lanercost chronicle had remarked on the unheard-of cruelty of the king and his advisors.⁵² Nevertheless, in 1322, as in 1312, the studied degradation inflicted upon Harclay appears absent. Rather, in seeking to make Sir Andrew's fate an exemplary one, and to devise a punishment worthy of so great an act of betrayal, Edward II and his counsellors fused the shaming rituals of disinvestiture with the terrible penalties for high treason.

these are his gonfanons' (*The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft*, ed. T. Wright, 2 vols (London, 1866–88), ii. 363).

⁴⁶ *Lanercost*, p. 251.

⁴⁷ *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols (Rolls Series, London, 1882–83), i. 149–50; *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. R. Luard, 3 vols (Rolls Series, London, 1890), iii. 135.

⁴⁸ *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, ed. W. R. Childs (Oxford, 2005), pp. 44–5.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 46–7.

⁵⁰ J. R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307–1322* (Oxford, 1970), p. 312.

⁵¹ *The Brut*, i. 221–2; *Annales Paulini*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols (Rolls Series, London, 1882–83), p. 303. *The Brut*, p. 220, believed that Lancaster had earlier been mocked by Harclay's men after his surrender at Boroughbridge, being despoiled of his armour and clothed 'in a robe of ray that was of his squire's livery'.

⁵² *Lanercost*, p. 245.

A Royal Precedent? The Unkinging of John Balliol

For a precedent of a shaming ceremony that went well beyond the stripping of knighthood by the removal of spurs or a knightly belt, King Edward need have looked no further than the reign of his father, and to an event that must have left a powerful impression on contemporaries. For in July, 1296, John Balliol, king of Scots, had made a remarkable threefold submission to King Edward I. At Kincardine on 2 July, he sealed a written confession of his rebellion against his lord.⁵³ Five days later in the churchyard at Strathcaro, he formally renounced the alliance he had made the preceding year with the king of France.⁵⁴ Then at Montrose on 8 July, he was forced to resign his kingdom in a ceremony of abject humiliation. Finally, on 10 July at Brechin, he yielded up the kingdom to Edward in a written instrument, which was witnessed and carefully enrolled by the public notary, John of Caen.⁵⁵ As Lionel Stones, Margaret Blount and Michael Prestwich have demonstrated, there was initially a move, brokered by Antony Bek, to offer Balliol an English earldom in return for his abdication and the granting of Scotland to Edward and his heirs. But Edward himself subsequently quashed such a deal and instead insisted on a ceremony of complete degradation.⁵⁶ This striking *volte face* has been plausibly explained as the result of Edward's discovery, on the fall of Edinburgh castle, of the full extent of Balliol's terms of alliance with the French, which the English king deemed to be treasonous.⁵⁷

It is regrettable that these proceedings, and especially the ceremony at Montrose, are not detailed in either official English records or by contemporary chroniclers, although it is likely that royal newsletters were circulated describing the successful campaign of 1296 and the manner of Balliol's degradation.⁵⁸ It is thus unclear whether Balliol underwent any form of trial for the crimes he had been made to confess to in his written statement of submission.⁵⁹ The

⁵³ *Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1174–1328*, ed. L. G. Stones (revised edn, London, 1970), no. 24, pp. 146–9.

⁵⁴ J. Stevenson, *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland from the Death of Alexander the Third to the Death of Robert the Bruce, 1286–1306*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1870), ii, no. 372, pp. 59–60. For the French alliance and its context, G. W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (4th edn, Edinburgh, 2005), pp. 63–5.

⁵⁵ Stevenson, *Documents*, ii, 61.

⁵⁶ L. Stones and M. N. Blount, 'The Surrender of King John of Scotland to Edward in 1296: Some New Evidence', *BIHR* 48 (1975), 94–106; M. C. Prestwich, 'The English Campaign in Scotland and the Surrender of John Balliol: Some Supporting Evidence', *BIHR* 49 (1976), 135–8, who regards Antony Bek as being the proponent of the offer to Balliol, with whom he had formerly been on good terms.

⁵⁷ W. C. Dickinson, *Scotland From the Earliest Times to 1603*, rev. and ed. by A. A. M. Duncan (Oxford, 1977), p. 161 n. 1; A. A. M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots, 842–1292. Succession and Independence* (Edinburgh, 2002), p. 323.

⁵⁸ Stones and Blount, 'The Surrender of King John', p. 103, who suggest such a letter as being the source for the snatches of vernacular song on Balliol preserved by Pierre Langtoft.

⁵⁹ Stones, *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, no. 24, pp. 146–9. Balliol's submission avoids the word

initial negotiations had merely envisaged a form of peace by which Balliol would enfeoff Edward and his heirs with Scotland by charter, and quitclaim all his rights in the kingdom in return for an English earldom.⁶⁰ But in the very different circumstances that had unfolded by 8 July, when Balliol no longer merely sought peace but placed himself 'en la mercy de le rei de Engleterre',⁶¹ it is possible that Edward sought a judgment, based on these charges, from those of his nobles present in the host before pronouncing Balliol's deposition. Nevertheless, though Edward undoubtedly regarded Balliol as a traitor, there seems throughout to have been no intention to inflict any physical harm upon him.⁶² The notarial document drawn up at Brechin on 10 July for his surrender included a guarantee of safety of life and limb and freedom from imprisonment.⁶³

As Professor Archie Duncan has noted, the separate submissions at Kincardine, Brechin and Montrose themselves were 'a deliberate reflection of his fealty (20 November 1292), inauguration (30 November) and homage (26 December)' to King Edward.⁶⁴ But it is the ceremony which took place at Montrose which is of particular significance for our present study. For its main features, we are reliant upon the later accounts of the *Gesta Annalia*, formerly attributed to John of Fordun,⁶⁵ and of Andrew of Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle*, composed c. 1400. These suggest that the ritual of Balliol's deposition comprised two principal stages. First, the key items of regalia were stripped from John.⁶⁶ As Wyntoun notes of Edward I:

treason itself, but in the letter of 1301 to Pope Boniface, John and his men are accused, 'by preconceived and prearranged malice, and by treachery deliberately planned [*preordinata prodicione*]' of 'wickedly embarking upon the crime of treason [*in crimen lese majestatis*]' (*ibid.*, pp. 210–11).

⁶⁰ Stones and Blount, 'The Surrender of King John', pp. 95, 104.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 105.

⁶² The virulently anti-Scottish poet Pierre Langtoft nonetheless believed that Balliol should hang for his felonies (*Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft*, ii. 258–9).

⁶³ Stevenson, *Documents*, ii. 61.

⁶⁴ Duncan, *Kingship of the Scots*, p. 324.

⁶⁵ *Johannis de Fordun, Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, ed. W. F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1871), pp. 326–7; D. Broun, 'A New Look at the *Gesta Annalia* Attributed to John of Fordun', *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland*, ed. B. E. Crawford (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 9–30.

⁶⁶ *Flores Historiarum*, iii. 288, noted that the *insignia regalia regni Scotiae* had already been seized by Edward when Edinburgh castle fell to the English in June. The Scots were thus not able to save or hide the principal elements of the regalia, and it is very likely that Edward had them brought to Montrose for the ceremony of Balliol's degradation. This is strongly suggested by the entry in a list of the captured *jocalia* (including items of regalia noted to have been formally gifted by Edward to Westminster Abbey on 17 June 1297) of 'unum sceptum auri, quod fuit Johannis de Balliolo ... inventum in castro de Edenburghe, et liberatum magistro Garderobae apud Sancti Johannis de Perth, xxiii die Junii [1296] per dominus J. de Drokenesforde' (Stevenson, *Documents*, ii. 142–3).

This Jhon the Ballyoll dyspolyd he
 Off all hys robys off ryalte.
 The pelure thai tuk off hys tabart
 (Twme Tabard he wes callyt efftyrwart)
 And all other insyngnys,
 That fell to king on ony wys,
 Bathe scepter, swerd, crown and ring,
 Fra this Jhon, that he made Kyng,
 Halyly fra hym he tuk there,
 And made hym off the kynryk bare.⁶⁷

Secondly, John, holding a white rod (*virga*) in his hand, was made to surrender all his rights in the kingdom of Scotland to King Edward 'by rod and staff' (*cum fustum et baculum*).⁶⁸

This was nothing less than the inversion of royal inauguration, by which Edward ritually 'unkinged' the man to whom he had awarded the throne of Scotland in 1292.⁶⁹ This remarkable ceremonial deposing of one monarch by another finds few parallels, arising as it did from the wholly unusual circumstances of the Great Cause, which had allowed Edward so fully to exploit his claims of overlordship, and the unprecedented role Edward and his agents had had in Balliol's own recognition and inauguration as king of Scotland. In this context, it surely was not mere coincidence that the two English magnates, Antony Bek, bishop of Durham, and John of St John, who had played a leading role in John Balliol's enthronement at Scone in 1292, were both with Edward I at Montrose, when the ceremony was consciously reversed.⁷⁰ Yet the degradation inflicted on Balliol went beyond mere inversion of the rites of Scottish royal inauguration; it also reflected Edward's move from claims of overlordship over a subordinate Scottish crown to his desire permanently to extinguish a separate, rival kingship within Britain. Just as only thirteen years previously, Edward had systematically obliterated the regalia and seals of the overthrown princes of Gwynedd,⁷¹ so now in 1296 the Scottish regalia taken from Balliol, together with the Black Rood, the royal muniments and the Stone of Scone, were removed to

⁶⁷ Andrew of Wyntoun, *Orygynale Cronykyl of Scotland*, ed. D. Lang, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1872), II, ll. 1953–62.

⁶⁸ Fordun, *Chronica*, p. 327; in the castle of Montrose, 'Johannes rex, regiis exutus ornamentis, et virgam albam in manu tenens, omne jus, quod habuit, vel habere potuit, in regno Sociae, cum fusto et baculo sursum reddidit, et in manu regis Angliae resignavit'.

⁶⁹ For a detailed discussion of Scottish royal inauguration, A. A. M. Duncan, 'Before Coronation: Making a King at Scone in the Thirteenth Century', *The Stone of Destiny. Artefact and Icon*, ed. R. Welander, D. J. Breeze and T. O. Clancy (Edinburgh, 2003), pp. 138–67; *idem*, *The Kingship of the Scots*, ch. 7, 'Creacio Regis: Making a King', pp. 127–50, and especially pp. 136–9. In what follows, I am much indebted to these two studies.

⁷⁰ E. L. G. Stones and G. G. Simpson, *Edward I and the throne of Scotland, 1290–1296*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1977–78), ii, 252–3; *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. H. Rothwell (London, 1957), 239; M. C. Prestwich, *Edward I* (London, 1983), p. 370, noting that their involvement 'emphasised the new subjection of the Scottish crown to England'.

⁷¹ Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 203–4.

England.⁷² The most important items were gifted by Edward to Westminster, where they were affixed to the feretory of St Edward with silver-gilt clasps.⁷³

Following the stripping from him of the royal insignia, Balliol then was made to perform a further ceremony which appears to have fused an act of personal surrender or *deditio* with a symbolic transferral of the kingdom of Scotland and of royal authority to King Edward. The rod and staff, with their powerful Old Testament resonances, had long been important and multivalent symbols.⁷⁴ As Tim Reuter has shown, the staff played a significant role in ecclesiastical deposition, resignation and reinvestiture, and from the late ninth century, the deposition of bishops might involve both the rending of garments and the surrender or even the breaking of their staff of office.⁷⁵ Equally, however, staves appear as common symbols of conveyance, serving in Michael Clanchy's evocative phrase as 'props in the theatre of memory'.⁷⁶ When, for example, Duke Tassilo submitted to Charlemagne at the Lechfeld in 787, he not only gave up his son as a hostage, but yielded up 'a staff (*baculum*) on the head of which there was the likeness of a man'; this may have been some form of sceptre, and its transference more certainly implied political subjection.⁷⁷ In 1296, the rod and staff carried by Balliol were clearly symbols of conveyance, and appear as such in a number of contemporary charters, notably in connection with the resignation of title. Thus a charter of Patrick III, earl of Dunbar, drawn up before 1273, records how a knight and kinsman, Patrick Edgar, resigned his rights in lands at Laynal '*per fustum et baculum*' in his full court, for defect of service to the earl.⁷⁸

More uncertain is the symbolism of the white wand held by Balliol, which may have been a royal symbol,⁷⁹ but is more likely to have been the white rod

⁷² *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, pp. 75–6; Rishanger, *Chronica et Annales*, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Series, London, 1865), p. 163; J. Hunter, 'King Edward's Spoiliations in Scotland in AD 1296 – the Coronation Stone – Original and Unpublished Evidence', *Archaeological Journal* 13 (1856), 244–55.

⁷³ Stevenson, *Documents*, ii. 135, 142–5. In 1299, Balliol had to surrender a second crown before departing for France, which Edward gave to the shrine of St Thomas at Canterbury (A. J. Taylor, 'Edward I and the Shrine of St Thomas at Canterbury', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series 132 (1979), 26; P. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets* (New Haven, CT, and London, 1995), p. 135).

⁷⁴ L. Carlen, 'Stab', *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1990), iv, cols 1833–44.

⁷⁵ Reuter, 'Dis- and Re-investiture in the Era of the Investiture Contest', pp. 197–210; S. Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance, 900–1050* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 110, 139, 205–6, notes that a penitent had to lay down his *baculus* before being received by the priest, 'signifying his transition from lay to penitential status'.

⁷⁶ M. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record. England 1066–1307* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1993), p. 38, and see pp. 254–60 for a general discussion of objects given as conveyance.

⁷⁷ Airlie, 'Narratives of Triumph', pp. 109–13.

⁷⁸ *Cartularium Comitatus de Levenax*, ed. J. Dennistoun (Edinburgh, 1833), p. 9. I am grateful to Dr Elsa Hamilton for this reference.

⁷⁹ Wyntoun, II, p. 338, describes the 'qwhynt wand' as the token of conveyance of the kingdom, but as he makes no mention of the additional rod and staff mentioned by the *Gesta*

frequently carried by penitents, or those making submission by the *amende honorable*, used to end circumstances of personal enmity or feud.⁸⁰ A white rod or stick might be carried by members of a garrison making their surrender; at Avranches in 1450, Berry Herald noted that 'the English surrendered and departed, each with a stick in his hand', and the same occurred when Bayeux was yielded to Charles VII's forces.⁸¹ As this late example suggests, rituals of penance and political surrender could easily become closely fused, and this is still more apparent in the thirteenth century. In 1209, for instance, Count Raymond VI of Toulouse staved off an attack by northern French crusaders by undergoing penance in the church of St Gilles; stripped to the waist, he entered the sanctuary, and, passing before the tomb of the murdered legate Pierre de Castelnau, was beaten by the new papal legate, Milo.⁸² In 1217 at Kingston, even so potent a prince as Louis of France was forced, clad only in his undergarments and a simple cloak, to seek absolution from the legate Guala before a final peace was made that marked an end to his invasion of England.⁸³ Similarly, the Balliols' recent biographer has drawn an analogy between King John's submission in 1296 and that made by his father, John (I) Balliol, in 1260, after a long-running and opprobrious dispute with the bishop of Durham. Bishop Kirkham compelled him to make formal amends 'with much ceremony at the entrance of Durham cathedral', where 'before the eyes of all the people, he suffered a whipping at the hands of the bishop'.⁸⁴ Equally, speaking of rituals of political submission and satisfaction, Sarah Hamilton has noted that 'although a wholly secular ritual, *deditio* relied on its parallels with penance: the rebel assumed penitential dress whilst the ruler received the penitent in his role as *vicarius Christi*'.⁸⁵ Just as, in 1304, the garrison of Stirling sought Edward I's mercy in penitential garb,⁸⁶ so it is probable that Balliol's own submission in 1296 involved a penitential aspect symbolised by the wand. John was not simply seeking peace for his kingdom; he was making a personal *deditio* to a king who regarded him as a contumacious

Annalia, it would seem that he had conflated these symbols. The *Gesta*, moreover, strongly implies that all regalian symbols had been removed before the subsequent act of surrender and conveyance.

⁸⁰ Simpson, 'Why Was John Balliol called "Toom Tabard"?', p. 199, n. 3, citing a case in 1302 where a white rod was carried by a man making submission to the monks of Coupar Angus. In the *amende*, a man who sought reconciliation appeared in public before the offended individual or kin, bareheaded and dressed simply in a shirt, to offer satisfaction and crave forgiveness. The *amende* is briefly discussed in an anonymous and untitled note in *SHR* 5 (1908), 515–16.

⁸¹ *Le Recouvrement de Normendie, par Berry, Herault du Roy*, in *Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy, 1449–1450*, ed. J. Stevenson (Rolls Series, London, 1863), pp. 339, 342.

⁸² J. Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade* (London, 1978), pp. 83–4.

⁸³ *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre*, ed. F. Michel (Paris, 1840), pp. 204–5; *The History of William Marshal*, ed. A. J. Holden, 3 vols (London, 2002–6), ii, ll. 17704–16.

⁸⁴ *Lanercost*, p. 69; A. G. Beam, *The Balliol Dynasty, 1210–1364* (Edinburgh, 2008), pp. 66 and n. 100, 160.

⁸⁵ Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, p. 185.

⁸⁶ *Flores Historiarum*, iii. 120.

vassal and a traitor, and in such circumstances, the need to seek the king's clemency by a personal act of abasement was no mere formality. It is striking that the terms guaranteeing his life, limb and freedom from imprisonment were drawn up on 10 July, two days *after* the *deditio* at Montrose.⁸⁷ Even then King Edward did not honour this promise in full; Balliol's confinement in London was an honourable house arrest, but it was confinement none the less.⁸⁸

'Toom Tabard': The Defacing of the Royal Arms of Scotland?

The ceremony at Montrose thus fused a number of elements into a powerful ritual of shame, surrender, supplication and the transfer of sovereignty. Yet a fragment of a popular song preserved by Pierre Langtoft suggests that the element which most caught contemporary imagination and symbolised Balliol's disgrace was the despoiling of his 'tabard':

for he has overhipped,
Hise typeth is typed,
Hise tabard es tome'.⁸⁹

This is supported by Wyntoun's explanation for the mocking soubriquet of 'Empty Tabard' thereafter attached to the unfortunate John: 'The pelure [fur] thai tuk off hys tabart / (Twme Tabart he wes callyt efftyrward)'.⁹⁰ Most historians have assumed that this garment was a heraldic tabard, similar to the wide, open-sided garment which became particularly associated with heralds, and have thus also assumed that Balliol's disinvestiture included the defacing of the royal arms of Scotland.⁹¹ Sir Robert Forman of Luthrie, Lord Lyon from 1555, certainly believed so, for his *Armorial* of c. 1562 depicts Balliol with broken crown and sceptre, dressed in a rent heraldic tabard bearing the royal arms (Plate 12).⁹² Grant Simpson, moreover, noted the close analogy between Wyntoun's description and that of Harclay's degradation described in the *Brut*, in which, having condemned Harclay to the loss of his estate, Sir Anthony Lucy 'lete him unclothe of his furrede tabard and of his hood, and of his furrede Cotes and of his gerdell'.⁹³ These two references to defaced tabards seemed closely to echo another treason trial highlighted by Maurice Keen, that of Sir Ralph Grey, whose condemnation in 1464 was accompanied by the disgracing of his

⁸⁷ *Lanercost*, p. 182.

⁸⁸ Beam, *The Balliol Dynasty*, pp. 167–72, provides a detailed analysis of the conditions of Balliol's English captivity.

⁸⁹ *Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft*, II, p. 258–9.

⁹⁰ Wyntoun, ii, ll. 1955–6.

⁹¹ Recently, for example, M. Morris, *A Great and Terrible King. Edward I and the Forging of Britain* (London, 2008), p. 289, who notes that Balliol 'suffered the personal indignity of having the royal coat of arms ripped from the tabard he was wearing'.

⁹² National Library of Scotland Adv. MS 31.4.2, fol. 4r, and for a variant of the same illustration, D. Breeze and G. Munro, *The Stone of Destiny. Symbol of Nationhood* (Edinburgh, 1997), p. 22.

⁹³ *The Brut*, i. 228.

arms. The king had decreed the king of arms and heralds should tear off his 'own propre cote of armes ... and so thou shuldist as wel be disgraded of thy worship, noblesse, and armes, as of the order of Knyghthode', and that he was to wear 'an oder cote of thin arms reversed' to his execution, 'as belongethe after the lawe'.⁹⁴

Yet here we must exercise caution. The word tabard certainly came to denote a heraldic surcoat, but in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, 'tabard' could also mean a form of smock, of plain but hardwearing material worn as a protective outer garment by labourers, or a rich gown, lined with expensive fur.⁹⁵ The word could thus indicate a distinctive shape, which might be open at the sides and sometimes have a hood, a design derived from the monastic scapular and the secular *garde-corps* and *garnache*.⁹⁶ The word tabard and mantle might be synonymous; while the later fifteenth-century version of the *Brut* (Bodleian MS Douce 323, c. 1475) refers to Harclay's 'furrede tabard', the earliest extant version of the *Brut* (Bodleian MS Rawl. B 171, c. 1400) notes that Harclay was stripped of his 'furrede mantel'.⁹⁷ It is very likely that Balliol's 'tabard' was similarly a rich royal mantle, an integral part, as Wyntoun implies, of 'hys robys off ryalte' removed by Edward. The detailed representation of the inauguration of a king of Scots on the mid-thirteenth-century seal of Scone Abbey shows the king being vested by attendant clergy in just such a mantle, whose furred lining is carefully depicted (Plate 13). As Professor Duncan has noted of this image, 'the unmistakable message is that the mantle was a symbol of his kingship with which the clergy invested him after his enthronement'.⁹⁸ It seems very likely that this royal mantle was the *pallium* listed among the captured regalia, and which was hung above the altar of St Edward at Westminster Abbey as part of King Edward's votive offering of the Scottish royal insignia.⁹⁹ And at Montrose on 8 July, 1296, this mantle or tabard was made 'empty' by the tearing out of its fur lining, symbolising the voiding of both Balliol's power and authority, and of an independent Scottish kingship.¹⁰⁰

It is, moreover, highly improbable that Balliol would have worn a heraldic coat armour (*cote à armer*) for the ceremony at Montrose in 1296;¹⁰¹ this was above all a disinvestiture of kingship, not of degradation from knighthood.

⁹⁴ *Warkworth's Chronicle*, p. 39. This penalty, however, was remitted in recognition of the services of his grandfather to the crown (*ibid.*).

⁹⁵ *The Middle English Dictionary*, ed. H. Kurath, S. M. Kuhn, R. E. Lewis, *et al.* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1956–), xi. 1–2. Thus c. 1475, the *Ludus Coventriae or the plaie called Corpus Christi*, ed. K. S. Block (EETS, 120, 1922), p. 230, speaks of 'a busshop of the hold lawe, in a scarlet gowne and over that a blew tabard furred with whyte'.

⁹⁶ J. Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress* (New York, 1984), pp. 3–4, 30, 33–4, 41.

⁹⁷ *The Brut*, i. 228.

⁹⁸ Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots*, pp. 136–7, 144–6. This Scottish royal mantle, moreover, appears to have been not semi-circular, like a chasuble, but rectangular.

⁹⁹ Stevenson, *Documents*, II, pp. 142–5, 'unum pallium ad pendendum in ecclesia'; Duncan, *Kingship of the Scots*, p. 145.

¹⁰⁰ Duncan, 'Before Coronation', p. 163.

¹⁰¹ On coat armour (the contemporary term for surcoat), C. Blair, *European Armour* (London, 1958), pp. 28–9, 75–6.

Unlike in the cases of Harclay and Grey, there is no reference to the hewing off of spurs or the stripping of the *cingulum militiae*, while during his subsequent custody Balliol is still referred to in English records as *dominus*.¹⁰² Depictions of the king in majesty on the obverse of the seals of Alexander II and Alexander III, as on that of Scone Abbey, never depict him wearing the royal arms of Scotland. The only item bearing these arms associated with the regalia was a royal banner, whose role in investiture is only known from the charge brought against Bishop Robert Wishart by the English in 1306 that he had sent a royal standard, together with robes he had had made in the episcopal wardrobe, to Robert Bruce's inauguration at Scone.¹⁰³ One may further note Claude Blair's observation that 'while a developed system of heraldry and the surcoat both appeared at about the same time, illustrations of armorial surcoats are extremely rare until the early 14th c'.¹⁰⁴ None of the knights, for example, depicted in the finely detailed illuminations of the *Romance of Alexander*, executed in Flanders c. 1338–44, wear heraldic surcoats, though the figure of Alexander himself bears arms closely resembling, and probably alluding to, the royal arms of Scotland on his shield, banner and horse trapper.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, though they bear arms on their shields, few if any knights depicted on insular brasses show heraldic surcoats before the 1330s,¹⁰⁶ and even thereafter there is nothing to suggest that these heraldic coat armours were furred. The only two extant coat armours (also known as jupons), that of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral and of Charles VI in Chartres Cathedral, are both of quilted linen stuffed with wool. The prince's is covered with red and blue velvet, onto which the royal arms were stitched, while that of Charles bears no heraldic devices, being simply covered in silk brocade.¹⁰⁷

In short, there is no secure evidence that the ceremonies of degradation in 1296 or 1323 involved the defacing of heraldic arms. Rather, in Balliol's case, the tearing off of the fur from within a rich mantle or, in that of Harclay, simply the removal of such high-status garments, marked a key element of disgrace and disinvestiture. I would suggest, moreover, that the defacing and removal of King John's *pallium* and other royal robes in 1296 had offered Edward II

¹⁰² For example by the notary John of Caen in 1298 (*Anglo-Scottish Relations*, p. 79).

¹⁰³ F. Palgrave, *Documents and Records Illustrating the History of Scotland* (London, 1837), i, 346. Wishart was said to have 'long hidden the banner', which probably explains its absence both from the rituals of degradation at Montrose and from the list of captured regalia compiled by Edward I's wardrobe.

¹⁰⁴ Blair, *European Armour*, p. 28.

¹⁰⁵ M. R. James, *The Romance of Alexander: A Collotype Facsimile of MS Bodley 264* (Oxford, 1933), fol. 51v; Blair, *European Armour*, plate 19.

¹⁰⁶ Thus, for instance, none of the series of fourteenth-century brasses of the Cobham family depict heraldic jupons, though their arms are portrayed on pairs of small shields set above the decorative architectural canopy in which each figure rests (N. Saul, *Death, Art and Memory in Medieval England. The Cobham Family and Their Monuments, 1300–1500* (Oxford, 2001), figs 9–12).

¹⁰⁷ Blair, *European Armour*, pp. 75–6.

and his advisors an immediate and vividly remembered precedent for the novel ceremony of comital degradation inflicted upon Harclay. There may also have been a conscious irony in basing elements of his disgrace upon that of Balliol, as a condign penalty for a man whose chief crime was to have entered into a treasonous compact with the Scots. Only the year previously, Thomas of Lancaster had been made, or so the *Brut* believed, to face north before being executed, in mocking reference to his own dealings with the Scots.¹⁰⁸ Thus it was that Harclay, in addition to the long established custom of hewing off spurs to mark the stripping of knighthood, was ‘unclothed of his furrede mantle and of his hood, and of his furrede Cotes and of his gerdell’, for it was these, together with his comital sword and its belt, which were the key symbols of his rank as an earl.¹⁰⁹ In this, Harclay’s degradation may perhaps itself have set a precedent. When on 21 September 1397, Richard earl of Arundel appeared in parliament to face trial, he did so belted as an earl and dressed in a red robe with a scarlet hood.¹¹⁰ John of Gaunt, who was presiding as seneschal of England, at once ordered Lord Nevill, the constable of the Tower who had conducted Arundel thence, to remove his robe and hood, and openly called him a traitor.¹¹¹ Parliament had already petitioned for the annulment of all pardons previously issued to the appellants, but this act of degradation, coming before trial or judgment, symbolised the fact that Arundel’s condemnation was a foregone conclusion. Later in the same parliament, the earl of Warwick similarly had his hood removed before the appeal for treason was read.¹¹² These examples help explain the otherwise cryptic jingle recorded by Langtoft of Balliol that ‘his tippet is tipped’, suggesting that in 1296, the removal of a fine hood was also an integral aspect of his degradation. Prior to his execution at Hereford in 1326, Hugh Despenser the Younger likewise had his hood removed, as did the cleric Robert Baldock.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ *The Brut*, i. 222.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, i. 228.

¹¹⁰ *The Chronicle of Adam Usk, 1377–1421*, ed. and trans. C. Given-Wilson (Oxford, 1997), pp. 26–9.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 28–9; *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti*, in *Johannis de Trokelowe et Anon Chronica et Annales*, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Series, London, 1866), p. 214; *Vita Ricardi Secundi*, ed. G. B. Stow (Philadelphia, 1977), p. 142, which notes the removal of his ‘belt and hood [zonum et capicium]’; L. W. Vernon Harcourt, *His Grace the Steward and the Trial of Peers* (London, 1907), pp. 354–5.

¹¹² *Vita Ricardi Secundi*, p. 145; C. Given-Wilson, *Chronicles of the Revolution, 1397–1400* (Manchester, 1993), p. 66. It is notable that the Canterbury author of the *Continuatio Eulogii* stated that ‘the proceedings in this parliament were conducted not according to the law of England, but according to civil law [jura civilia], and those who were learned in the law of England were excluded from it’ (*Continuatio Eulogii: Eulogium Historiarum Sive Temporis*, ed. F. S. Haydon, 3 vols (Rolls Series, London, 1858–63), iii. 373).

¹¹³ *The Brut*, i. 240.

Disgracing of Coats of Arms: The Impact of 1322

From the thirteenth century, as knighthood itself became more exclusive and the number of those choosing to be belted declined markedly, so degradation by the loss of the *cingulum militiae* became a penalty applicable only to a smaller social elite within the ranks of the *homines ad arma*. By contrast, all ranks within the aristocracy, whether esquires, knights or lords of higher degree, were now united by their right to bear arms as the visible symbol of their nobility.¹¹⁴ Disgracing of coats of arms thus came to have the power of a universal sanction over the armigerous class. Hence while John of Salisbury, writing in 1159, spoke only of the stripping of the knightly belt for 'whoever does not keep his military oath, and attacks the religion which he professes',¹¹⁵ jurists of the later Middle Ages, as Maurice Keen has shown, thought primarily of the disgrace of arms as a penalty for treason or the violation of chivalry. As John de Bado Aureo noted in his *Tractatus de Armis*,

when one who bears arms is to be dishonoured for treason, or cowardice, or breach of faith, then his arms should be portrayed reversed, for faith is to be kept even with the enemy, according to the civil law and the law of arms.¹¹⁶

Such a penalty, however, was capable of gradation. Thus the ordinances of the Order or Company of the Star, established by King Jean II in 1351, decreed not only that any knight of the Company who fled from battle was to be suspended from its membership, but also that his arms and crest, which hung in the great hall of the 'Noble House' where the order was based, were to be reversed. They were not, however, to be defaced, for a man's honour might be restored by outstanding feats of arms in the future.¹¹⁷ Individual lords might inflict such a reversal of arms *in absentia* upon those who, as traitors to their pledged faith, had defaulted on ransom payments or otherwise broken their parole.¹¹⁸ Graver yet was the reversal of arms of those found guilty of treason to their sovereign. Those who had fled abroad might still have their arms reversed, symbolising the death of their honour,¹¹⁹ but for those who did not escape, there could be no worse penalty than being condemned to bear their own arms reversed to the

¹¹⁴ For a detailed discussion of these trends and further bibliography, P. Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 69–108, 136–46, and *idem*, 'Knighthood, Heraldry and Social Exclusion in Edwardian England', *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, ed. P. Coss and M. Keen (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 39–68.

¹¹⁵ *Policraticus*, ed. Webb, ii. 607 (VI.13); *Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury*, trans. Dickinson, p. 216.

¹¹⁶ Johannes de Bado Aureo, *Tractatus de Armis*, ed. E. Bysshe (London, 1654), p. 44; Keen, *Laws of War*, p. 57.

¹¹⁷ *Ordonnances des Roys de France de la Troisieme Race*, ed. M. de Laurière (Paris, 1729, rep. Farnborough, 1967), ii. 466; D. J. D. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown. The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325–1520* (Woodbridge, 1987), p. 196.

¹¹⁸ Keen, *Laws of War*, pp. 54–5, 57, 173–4.

¹¹⁹ For examples, Keen, 'Treason Trials', p. 100 n.5; *idem*, *Laws of War*, p. 55.

place of execution. Such a sentence, pronounced on Sir Ralph Grey in 1464 and on James Touchet, Lord Audley, who, following the failed Cornish rebellion of 1497, was drawn to the scaffold in 'a coat armour of paper on him all to-torn',¹²⁰ not only heaped shame upon the individual, but inflicted retrospective disgrace upon his lineage by dishonouring the blazon which so powerfully embodied a family's corporate honour.¹²¹

But at what date did this practice of disgracing of arms emerge? The intimate association between arms, status, lineage and honour meant that the infliction of shame and humiliation through their inversion or defacing would follow swiftly upon the development of heraldry itself. Villehardouin notes that following the sack of Constantinople in 1204, the count of St Pol hanged one of his knights, with his shield around his neck, for concealing booty after the general order to the army, enforced by threat of excommunication, to deposit everything taken so it could be properly divided.¹²² By this date, many of the rules of blazon which appear in the earliest rolls of arms, dating from the 1250s, were already in place.¹²³ It is likely, moreover, that standards or banners, symbolising rank, command or claims of lordship and possession, had served as targets for shaming well before this. Certainly the twelfth-century chanson *Renaud de Montauban* could readily envisage its hero Renaud disgracing Charlemagne's silk banner by hanging it from the gibbet on which he has also hanged a number of the emperor's men. The emperor's vassals are outraged at such a deed, while Charlemagne 'bows his head, bending low; he would not have looked upon the banner for the gold of ten cities'.¹²⁴ A similar act of mockery is depicted in Matthew Paris's illustration of the execution of the garrison of Bedford by Henry III following the siege of 1224, which shows the banner of their lord, Falkes de Bréauté, placed over the gallows from which his men hang.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, though these knights were executed for treason, there is no inference that their own arms had been disgraced or reversed.

The importance of Matthew Paris' representations of coats of arms for the study of early blazon has been long appreciated.¹²⁶ It is also Paris who provides

¹²⁰ The indictment against Audley is printed in Vernon Harcourt, *His Grace the Steward*, pp. 414–15.

¹²¹ M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, CT, 1984), pp. 174–6.

¹²² Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. Faral, 2 vols (Paris, 1939), ii. 56–9.

¹²³ A. R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1956), pp. 12–18; A. Ailes, 'The Knight, Heraldry and Armour: The Role of Recognition and the Origins of Heraldry', *Medieval Knighthood, IV. Papers from the Fifth Strawberry Hill Conference, 1990*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 1–22; G. J. Brault, *Early Blazon* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 5–18.

¹²⁴ *Renaud de Montauban*, ed. J. Thomas (Textes littéraires français, Geneva, 1989), ll. 3000–12.

¹²⁵ S. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley, 1987), p. 118, fig. 65; *Matthaei Parisiensis monachi Sancti Albani Chronica Maiora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols (Rolls Series, London, 1872–83), iii. 86–7, 89; *Matthaei Parisiensis monachi Sancti Albani Historia Anglorum*, ed. F. Madden, 3 vols (Rolls Series, London, 1866–69), ii. 264–5.

¹²⁶ A. R. Wagner, *A Catalogue of English Medieval Rolls of Arms* (Oxford, 1950), pp. 1–2 and plate 1; R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 211–16, 250–3; Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, plate xv.

what may perhaps be one of the earliest examples of the shaming of the coat of arms of an English noble convicted of treason. In 1242, William de Marisco or Marsh was executed, together with sixteen companions, for a range of crimes including piracy, outlawry and implication in a plot to assassinate King Henry III. All were drawn and hanged, but de Marisco's corpse was also disembowelled, his entrails burned and his body quartered.¹²⁷ Paris, from whom we learn these details of Marisco's fate, says nothing about the disgrace of his arms, nor in his illustration of the condemned man being drawn at a horse's tail to execution does he depict him bearing his arms reversed. Indeed, in the rubric he is still referred to as *miles*.¹²⁸ But in his autograph manuscript of the *Historia Anglorum*, Matthew accompanied his text with drawings of two shields, first that of William de Marisco's father, Geoffrey, reversed to symbolise his death (Plate 14). Paris's frequent use of the device of a shield reversed to mark an obit of a noble or king indicates that at this date a simple inversion of a coat of arms shield was not in itself seen as a disgrace or in any way insulting.¹²⁹ But immediately beside Geoffrey's inverted arms is William's own shield, depicted not only reversed but cut in two, accompanied by a broken sword and banner bearing his arms, whose haft is broken, and by the rubric 'arma Willelmi de Marisco, de prodicione convicti, deprehensi, et Londoniis suspensi'.¹³⁰ Were de Marisco's arms formally disgraced as part of his condemnation in 1242, or is Paris's marginal drawing intended merely as the author's own graphic visual metaphor for his fall?

Lack of an extant indictment or formal sentence on de Marisco means the case must remain uncertain. What is striking, however, is that there appears to be no further evidence for the disgrace of arms of those convicted of treason during the reigns of Henry III or Edward I. The illustration of Simon de Montfort's death at Evesham in 1265 contained in the Rochester version of the *Flores Historiarum* shows the dismemberment of his corpse, but his discarded surcoat and shield are not defaced, nor are those of his companion Hugh Despenser, and seem only present to identify the bodies of these rebel leaders.¹³¹ De Montfort had not been formerly tried or condemned for treason, but in the wake of the royalist triumph, there seems to have been no attempt to proscribe his arms, nor, more remarkably, to expunge them from the series of armorial shields of

¹²⁷ *Chronica Majora*, iv. 196–7; *Historia Anglorum*, ii. 462–3.

¹²⁸ Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, fig. 151.

¹²⁹ For examples, Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, figs 102 (King Richard I), 117 (Geoffrey de Mandeville), 118 (Henry de Bohun and Saher de Quincy), 133 (Gryuffydd of Wales), 135 (Herbert fitzMatthew), 137 (Prince David of Wales), 142 (John de Nevill), and 170 (Frederick II). With these inverted shields, Paris also sometimes depicted swords with their points downward to mark an obit, while reversed banners could signify a military defeat (P. Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England 100–1400* (Stroud, 1993), p. 77; Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, fig. 152 (Gilbert Marshal); A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550–1307* (London, 1974), plate IX (b) – reversed standards of the Templars and Hospitallers).

¹³⁰ BL MS 14 C.VII fol. 133v; *Historia Anglorum*, ii. 462; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, plate 9 (f).

¹³¹ Reproduced in J. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 343.

leading nobles carved prominently in the arcades of the choir in Westminster Abbey. As David Carpenter has suggested, these shields, erected after June 1259, carried a powerful political statement concerning the close involvement of the council of magnates in funding Henry III's great building project, and even their appropriation of its symbolism on behalf of the 'estate of the kingdom'.¹³² Why de Montfort's arms were allowed to remain in the abbey can only be guessed at; did Henry consider their removal too inflammatory, or by contrast regard their presence as a powerful reminder of the fate of those presuming to challenge the authority of the crown? Whatever the reason, neither in 1265, nor in the small numbers of cases where Montfortians were executed before the final establishment of peace in 1267, is there evidence that the arms of the rebels were disgraced. Still more telling, as we have already noted, is that none of the treason trials during Edward I's reign appears to have involved sentences of degradation from comital or knightly rank, nor the wearing of the condemned men's coats of arms to the scaffold.

This strongly suggests that we must look to the reign of Edward II for the practice of disgracing the arms of defeated rebels, and to the particular circumstances of the king's vengeful and ruthless treatment of Lancaster's supporters in the aftermath of Boroughbridge in 1322. Maurice Keen has rightly pointed out that the court which condemned Hugh Despenser the Elder at Bristol on 27 October held him directly responsible for having hanged 'les bones gens en cotes quartiles', and precisely because of this he was in turn condemned to be executed in 'une cote quartile de vos armes'.¹³³ Yet Despenser's actions, by which he had 'feites deshoner ordre de chivalerie', arose from a very specific context. In August 1321, Edward II's baronial opponents had assembled in arms at St Albans before marching on London to demand the exile of the Despensers.¹³⁴ They had, noted John of Trokelowe, provided their men with 'various surcoats over their arms in order to recognize [their own] units, namely for the knights, surcoats called in English "quartleys", and for esquires "bendes"'.¹³⁵ *The Brut*, here drawing on an earlier French version, gives more details:

And thai come with threei batailes wel armed and alle at poyntz; and every bataille hade cote-armur of grene clothe; and thereof the right quarter was yellow, with white bendes; Wherefore that parlement was called 'the parlement with the whit bende'.¹³⁶

¹³² D. Carpenter, 'Westminster Abbey in Politics, 1258–1269', *Thirteenth Century England* 8 (2001), pp. 52–3.

¹³³ Keen, 'Treason Trials', p. 155; *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, i. 317–18.

¹³⁴ 'A Rochester Account Concerning the Disputes during the Parliament of 1321', *Parliamentary Texts of the Later Middle Ages*, ed. N. Pronay and J. Taylor (Oxford, 1980), pp. 161, 164.

¹³⁵ *Johannis de Trokelowe Annales*, p. 109.

¹³⁶ *The Brut*, i. 213. The earlier French text from BL MS Cleopatra D.iii, fol. 154, noted that 'avoit chascun bataille cote armures de vert drape dount le droit quarter estoit glawke ou bendes blaunches parout ceop est appelle le parlement del bende'; this is cited in *Sir Thomas Gray, Scalacronica, 1272–1363*, ed. and trans A. King (Woodbridge, 2005), 232, n. 39..

The issuing of this special livery was as radical as the assembly of the barons in arms.¹³⁷ Heraldry had long been used to proclaim kinship or affinity, with cadet branches of a family adopting differenced versions of the arms of the senior line, while vassals or allies might do likewise.¹³⁸ Similarly, the granting of robes of livery to knights or retainers was still longer established, though evidence for their importance as a display of a lord's power and status, particularly at public gatherings, and still more in times of political tension, becomes increasingly clear by the early fourteenth century. Thus indentures issued by Thomas of Lancaster himself in 1317 and 1319 explicitly stipulate that the retainer and his knights come to parliament in Lancaster's livery.¹³⁹ Nevertheless, as Frederique Lachaud has pointed out, the colours of such robes of livery usually varied not only with each distribution, but also with the recipient's rank within the household, and were not necessarily linked to a lord's own heraldic colours.¹⁴⁰ In 1321, by contrast, the barons were not issuing personal liveries, but a single uniform of opposition. It was designed to visibly proclaim solidarity among the magnates confronting the king, and distinguished only between the rank of knight and squire. No contemporary offers an explanation of the significance of the tinctures chosen, or of the white bends. By the mid-thirteenth century, green not only 'seems to have become emblematic of knightly rank' but was a favoured colour for royal liveries.¹⁴¹ Its adoption by Lancaster and his allies in 1321 thus may perhaps have been intended to give visual expression to the notion of a 'loyal opposition', determined to save the king from the evil counsellors who had ensnared him. In 1322, the barons claimed to have borne their standards 'non contra regem ut dicebant sed contra inimicos regis et regni', namely the Despensers.¹⁴² A different, though not necessarily contradictory interpretation was offered by the Rochester author: 'All their supporters appeared dressed in green tunics of which a quarter part of the right arm was saffron coloured, as if they had been "quartered" by the said father and son.'¹⁴³ Allusion to the heraldic quartering of arms here seems to suggest the charge that the Despensers had laid claim to authority that was not theirs by 'accroaching' royal power, a charge

¹³⁷ F. Lachaud, 'Liveries of Robes in England, c. 1200–c. 1330', *EHR* 111 (1996), 295–7.

¹³⁸ For examples, Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England*, colour plates 10–13.

¹³⁹ 'Private Indentures for Life Service in Peace and War, 1278–1476', *Camden Miscellany* xxxii, ed. M. Jones and S. Walker (Camden Fifth Series iii, 1994), p. 58 (no. 24), and p. 61 (no. 27); G. A. Holmes, *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth Century England* (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 122–3; Lachaud, 'Liveries of Robes', p. 293 and n. 2.

¹⁴⁰ Lachaud, 'Liveries of Robes', p. 292.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 291, where Lachaud also notes that in the summer of 1314, Lancaster had given robes of yellow to his barons and knights. By the mid-fourteenth century, troops raised from Cheshire and North Wales might be issued with distinctive part-coloured green and white tunics (H. J. Hewitt, *The Black Prince's Expedition of 1355–1356* (Manchester, 1958), pp. 15–16).

¹⁴² Trinity College Cambridge, MS R.5.41, fol. 117v (a continuation of Gervase of Canterbury, later fourteenth century).

¹⁴³ 'A Rochester Account', pp. 165–6 (translation), p. 161 (text).

brought against them in 1321,¹⁴⁴ and thus harming the body politic. Whatever the exact symbolism, the act of wearing such a livery was an open declaration of enmity against the king's favourites, and Sir Thomas Gray succinctly captured its significance: 'the barons came to a parliament at London with their men dressed in livery, with quartered coats; a mortal hatred [*le mortiel heyne*] arose here between them and the king.'¹⁴⁵

It was precisely because this livery represented the opposition, sworn to the destruction of the Despensers that, following the collapse of Lancaster's rebellion the following year, some of the magnates were first tried then hanged in surcoats bearing these very arms. As Trokelowe notes: 'To their confusion they were dressed in these garments, like doublets, for their trials, and afterwards sentenced to diverse punishments.'¹⁴⁶ The *Annales Paulini* is still more explicit, recording how on 3 April, 1322, Henry Tyes, knight, was drawn through London to the gallows 'and there hanged in a surcoat quartered in green and yellow'.¹⁴⁷ The *Scalacronica* similarly notes that 'the lords de Mowbray and de Clifford were hanged at York in quartered coats [*en cotis esquartelez*], such as their people had worn at London'.¹⁴⁸ Such retribution, moreover, was occurring even before Boroughbridge. The *Vita Edwardi* records a revealing incident at Gloucester on 6 February, 1322, when Edward II was informed that Roger de Elmerugge, a knight and former sheriff of Herefordshire,

nevertheless had ridden with the barons, and that, wearing the livery [*secta*] that the barons gave to their knights as a distinguishing mark, he had held pleas of the county, showing insolence to the king. For this it was decreed that this knight should be punished as a traitor, but the king graciously remitted the penalty for traitors, and decided that he should be hanged, and the knight was hanged in the said livery [*secta*], so that just as the penalty was manifest, so too should be the cause.¹⁴⁹

It was these hangings in the special livery of opposition to which the condemnation of Hugh the Elder referred in 1326, and which had brought dishonour on the order of chivalry.¹⁵⁰ It is important to note that while these lords and knights had not been executed in their own arms,¹⁵¹ this was now to be the penalty imposed on Despenser himself:

¹⁴⁴ N. Fryde, *The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II, 1321–1326* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 47, 117, 190; CCR, 1318–23, pp. 492–4.

¹⁴⁵ *Scalacronica*, pp. 84–5.

¹⁴⁶ *Johannis de Trokelowe Annales*, p. 109.

¹⁴⁷ *Annales Paulini*, i. 303.

¹⁴⁸ *Scalacronica*, pp. 86–7.

¹⁴⁹ *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, pp. 202–3.

¹⁵⁰ There may be an echo of this in *The Brut's* remark, p. 220, about Boroughbridge, 'Allas the shame and despite, that the gentil order of Knyghthode there hade at that bataile!'

¹⁵¹ Indeed, the arms of those taken at Boroughbridge, including those subsequently executed, were blazoned on the Boroughbridge Roll of 1322, together with the arms of those who had fought for the king (Wagner, *Catalogue of English Medieval Rolls of Arms*, pp. 50–1).

and because you have dishonoured the order of chivalry, in that you had good men hanged in quartered coats of arms [*en cotes quartiles*], the judgement of the court is that you be hanged in a coat quartered with your arms, and that these arms be destroyed for ever.¹⁵²

Though he was not stripped, as Harclay had been, of the insignia of his comital rank, there was surely vengeful mockery in the order that after hanging, drawing and decapitation, the elder Despenser's head should be 'taken to Winchester where you were earl against law and reason'.¹⁵³

In turn, his son Hugh the Younger suffered the shame heaped upon his arms. According to Jean Le Bel, the marshal of Queen Isabella's army, Sir Thomas Wake, had Hugh

tightly bound to the smallest, thinnest and most weakly horse he could find, dressed him in a tabard blazoned with the arms he usually bore [*un tabard tout semé des arms qu'il soloit porter*] and led him in derision to the sound of horns and trumpets through all the towns through which the queen passed until they reached the city of Hereford.¹⁵⁴

Subsequently, Despenser was preceded to the gallows by his knight, Simon of Reading, bearing on a spear 'his arms reversed, in token that they should be undone for evermore'.¹⁵⁵ What had begun as a mocking innovation, inflicted in 1322 on Lancaster's followers in response to the unprecedented livery of opposition they had worn the year previously, had now been inflicted in a still worse guise on the arms of the Despensers themselves.

Condemning of arms 'to be undone for evermore' appears as another novelty of the 1320s. Edward II may well have proscribed Thomas of Lancaster's arms in 1322, as the *Vita Edwardi* noted that the king was angered by his brother's continuing use of them, 'as if the arms were condemned with the earl', but the *Vita's* language suggests something new.¹⁵⁶ There can surely have been no thought of executing Lancaster in his own arms; these were the differenced royal arms of England, and to heap disgrace upon these would have been unimaginable. But the king could forbid their future use. If this was the case, it lends added significance to the illustration in Bodleian MS Douce 231 (Plate 15), a book of hours dated c. 1325–30, of St George standing beside a knight usually interpreted as Thomas of Lancaster.¹⁵⁷ The scene loudly proclaims the rehabilitation of the Lancastrian arms and the blessing of the saint.

¹⁵² *Annales Paulini*, i. 317–18.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 317; *Memorials of St Edmunds Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, 3 vols (London, Rolls Series, 1890–96), ii. 328. According to *The Brut*, p. 240, Despenser's headless corpse was hanged up again by the arms for four days, before being quartered, 'and hundes eten him'.

¹⁵⁴ Jean Le Bel, *Chronique*, ed. J. Viard and E. Déprez, 2 vols (Paris, 1904–5) i. 26–7. Lord Berners rendered this, 'a tabarte, suche as traytours and theves were wont to were' (*Sir John Froissart's Chronicles*, trans. John Bouchier, Lord Berners, reprinted from Pynson's edition of 1523 and 1525, 2 vols (London, 1812), i, Ch. XII, p. 12.

¹⁵⁵ *The Brut*, p. 240.

¹⁵⁶ *Vita Edwardi*, p. 232–5; Keen, 'Treason Trials', p. 155.

¹⁵⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 231, fol. 1; *The Age of Chivalry. Art in Plantagenet*

It also neatly encapsulates a final point; as with many forms of *damnatio memoriae*, the proscription of arms was reversible once the political climate had changed. From the accession of Edward III, distinguished military service to the new monarch was the surest path to restoration of fortunes and family honour, and it was not long before even the Despenser arms, which had been the focus of such contumely in 1326, were also proudly displayed once more. It was not surprising that this was so in Tewkesbury Abbey, their dynastic mausoleum, where Hugh the Younger had already had himself depicted in the stained glass of the clerestory,¹⁵⁸ and whose sumptuous tomb, once richly adorned with heraldic symbols, lay close by the still more magnificent tomb of his grandson Sir Edward Despenser (d. 1375), surmounted by his kneeling effigy armed at all points.¹⁵⁹ Yet more eloquent testimony as to how feats of arms might reinvest a family's blazon with pride and worship is the famous tomb of Sir Hugh Hastings, at Elsing, Norfolk. His exquisite brass depicts him surrounded by his companions in arms in the late French wars;¹⁶⁰ and here, together with King Edward III, the Black Prince, the earls of Lancaster, Warwick, Pembroke, and lords Stafford and Grey, is proudly depicted Sir Hugh Despenser (d. 1349), whose father and grandfather had had their arms so vociferously condemned in 1326, yet who himself had served with distinction under King Edward, not least on the Crécy campaign.¹⁶¹

Edward II's reign had been a time of terrifying innovation, as much in symbolic violence as in the bloodshed and political vendettas it had unleashed; if Edward I's reaction to Bruce's *coup d'état* in 1306–7 had witnessed an unprecedented spate of executions, those unleashed in 1322 by his son were now accompanied by newly refined rituals of shame, degradation and the disgracing of arms. It was little wonder that men so welcomed the accession of Edward III, a new monarch perceived not as the enemy of chivalry and the nobility, but its very embodiment, and under whose leadership arms might once again be covered not with shame, but with high honour.

England, 1200–1400. ed. J. Alexander and P. Binski (London, 1987), p. 255, no. 151, p. 255; L. F. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285–1385. A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles* V, 2 vols (1987), ii, no. 87, pp. 95–6, repr. 1, figs 218, 226.

¹⁵⁸ He is depicted flanked by the abbey's founder, Robert fitzHamon, and Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester (d. 1230). For an illustration, Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England*, plate 6.

¹⁵⁹ R. Morris, 'Tewkesbury Abbey: The Despenser Mausoleum', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 93 (1974), 142–55; M. A. Hicks, 'The Later Lords: the Despensers and their Heirs', *Tewkesbury Abbey: History, Art and Architecture*, ed. R. Morris and R. Shoesmith (Almeley, 2003), pp. 19–30.

¹⁶⁰ J. Blair, 'English Monumental Brasses before 1350: Types, Patterns and Workshops', *The Earliest English Brasses: Patronage, Style and Workshops 1270–1350*, ed. J. Coales (London, 1987), pp. 133–75, at pp. 119–23; K. Mourin, *The Hastings Brass at Elsing, Norfolk* (Norfolk Heraldic Monographs, no. 3, Dereham, 2001); M. Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman* (Stroud, 2002), pp. 52–4.

¹⁶¹ J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Trial by Battle* (London, 1990), pp. 399, 405, 525.

The Foe Within: Treason in Lancastrian Normandy

Juliet Barker

‘Shirburgh is goon, and we have not now a foote of londe in Normandie’, James Gresham wrote to John Paston on 17 August 1450.¹ Cherbourg occupies a special place in the history of the Lancastrian occupation of Normandy. It was not only the last stronghold to fall to the French but also, almost exactly thirty-two years earlier, it had been the last in western Normandy to fall to the English. Standing on the northernmost tip of the Cotentin peninsula, the castle enjoyed quadruple concentric defences: a curtain wall with a range of towers; a large moat; a second set of massive walls encircling both castle and town; and the sea which, at high tide, turned Cherbourg almost into an island. The castle was capable of holding a garrison of a thousand men and had never been taken by assault since the town walls were built in the mid-fourteenth century. No wonder Froissart could boast that Cherbourg was ‘un des forts châteaux du monde ... en lieu impossible pour assiéger ni pour ostoier’.²

Clearly Froissart was exaggerating: no castle, not even Cherbourg, was impregnable. If it could not be taken by force, or if its garrison could not be starved into submission, then other ways and means could always be found. The two sieges of Cherbourg, which top and tail the period of the Lancastrian occupation, are a case in point. In 1418 it took five months of siege by land and sea before its defenders finally capitulated, agreeing on 22 August to surrender on 29 September if no relief was forthcoming from Charles VI in the interval. The siege of 1450 was much shorter but the garrison still held out for several weeks against a combined assault from the elite forces of the count of Clermont, the constable and the admiral of France, assisted by an innovative deployment on the tidal sands of Bureau’s feared artillery.³

¹ James Gairdner, ed., *The Paston Letters 1422–1509 AD* (Westminster, 1900), i. 139.

² J. A. C. Buchon, ed., *Les Chroniques de Sire Jean Froissart* (Paris, 1913), ii. 41. The castle was demolished by Vauban at the end of the seventeenth century but drawings and plans of it survive: see André Plaisie, *La délivrance de Cherbourg et du Clos du Cotentin à la fin de la Guerre de Cent Ans* (Cherbourg, 1989), p. 25. Only Mont-Saint-Michel continued to hold out and, despite several sieges, never fell to the English.

³ J. H. Wylie and J. T. Waugh, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth* (Cambridge, 1929), iii. 110; M. G. A. Vale, ‘New Techniques and Old Ideals: The Impact of Artillery on War and Chivalry

In both instances, however, the sieges were brought to an end not because supplies had run out but because inducements were offered to the defenders. The French capitulation of 1418 acquired such notoriety that, as Maurice Keen has shown, it became a precedent to be quoted in cases involving the law of arms. One Nicolas de Gennes negotiated the surrender and was given a safe-conduct to allow him to go to Rouen. There was nothing unusual in this but when Rouen fell to the English in January 1419 he was arrested, tried and executed on Henry V's orders 'because he had taken money for the surrender of Cherbourg when it was still well stuffed with supplies and artillery'.⁴ If these charges were correct then Nicolas de Gennes was indeed a traitor but he was also doubly unfortunate. It is doubtful that his treachery would have become public knowledge if had he not fallen into English hands for a second time. And it is difficult to imagine any other prince of the period who would have so strictly interpreted the laws of war as to execute a man from whose treachery he had himself benefited.

The situation was very different in 1450. The captain of Cherbourg was then the veteran Thomas Gower, one of the very few Lancastrian commanders to meet with the approval of that voluble critic of military policy in Normandy, Sir John Fastolf. According to Fastolf's right-hand man, William Worcester, Gower was an esquire 'sage [et] vaillaunt, qui avoit continue la graunte partie de sa vie en service du roy, et exercise en faitz de guerre pour le conservation du bien publique dez royaumes de Fraunce et de Angleterre'. Such praise is all the more telling for the fact that it occurs in a list recording when, by what means and by whom the towns and castles of France and Normandy were lost to the French in 1449–50. Gower's name therefore is inseparably associated with the loss of Cherbourg, which Worcester describes as having been 'rendue par composition'.⁵

The terms by which Gower agreed the surrender of Cherbourg were generous, though not exceptionally so. He had to hand over the town, the castle and its keep 'avecques tous les prisonniers et arteillerie qui appartiennent au roy et à la ville'. All those who wished to remain could do so, providing they took the oath of loyalty to Charles VII; those who chose to leave were to be allowed to sell or give their properties within the town to whomsoever they wished. As was usual in such circumstances, Gower was to give six hostages, identified by the victors, who would be freed as soon as the hand-over had been completed.⁶

What the formal treaty did not mention is that Gower had also negotiated

at the End of the Hundred Years War', *War, Literature and Politics in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Christopher Allmand (Liverpool, 1976), pp. 66–7; Jean Chartier, *Chronique de Charles VII*, ed. Vallet de Viriville (Paris, 1858), ii. 231–3.

⁴ Maurice Keen, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages* (London and Toronto, 1965), p. 46.

⁵ Rev. Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry the Sixth of England* (London, 1864), ii. 634.

⁶ Siméon Luce, ed., *Chronique du Mont-Saint-Michel (1343–1468)* (Paris, 1879–83), ii. 237–9.

a separate agreement, the terms of which are preserved in a mandate of 3 December 1450 from Charles VII to his treasury officials.⁷ This reveals that after the king's military officers had laid siege to Cherbourg, Jacques Coeur, a royal councillor, had been sent there with the express purpose of obtaining a surrender 'par traictie ou autrement'. He was chosen for this diplomatic role not only because he was the king's fabulously wealthy financier but also because Gower's son, Richard, was a prisoner in his custody and therefore a potentially useful bargaining tool.⁸

By 10 August, two days before the official surrender was signed and sealed, Coeur had committed to spending at least 40,000 *écus* to obtain possession of the town and castle of Cherbourg. In the first instance, he had agreed to release Richard Gower free and quit of all obligations towards his captor. This was not an unusual arrangement where important prisoners were concerned. Osbern Mundford, treasurer of Normandy, had obtained his freedom the previous year in exchange for surrendering Fresnay to the French, and as recently as 10 July 1450 John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, had similarly been released without ransom in return for delivering Falaise.⁹ But even Gower could not argue that his son was of sufficient standing to justify the surrender of a stronghold as important as Cherbourg, therefore Coeur had made three specific financial commitments. In a reversal of the usual practice, which was that those surrendering had to pay to obtain their freedom,¹⁰ he promised that he would pay 2,000 *écus* to the *compaignons de guerre* in the garrison. A possible explanation of this unusual and dubious transaction (other than that it was a straightforward bribe) is that it may have been to purchase the garrison's stock of provisions;¹¹ since soldiers' wages were often partly paid in victuals, this could be seen as a form of compensation for loss of earnings. Coeur also agreed to pay further unspecified sums for the ransom of some English prisoners, including 2,000 *écus* for Dickon Chatterton, and finally he undertook to pay all the expenses of returning the Englishmen then in either town or castle, together with their possessions, back to England.

Even though these were extraordinarily favourable terms, their acceptance

⁷ The document is transcribed in full in Plaisse, *La délivrance de Cherbourg*, pp. 180–2.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 182. Richard Gower was one of the English hostages demanded by the French to guarantee the fulfilment of the terms to surrender Rouen at the end of October 1449: Stevenson, *Letters and Papers*, ii. 611–13.

⁹ *Ibid.*, ii. 627, 633. This practice was not just a phenomenon of the end of the Lancastrian occupation. In 1437, for example, Pierre Marnien, then a prisoner of the English at Rouen, had been released in exchange for the demolition of Longueville and the handing over of Torcy: Dominique Goulay, 'La résistance à l'occupant anglais en Haute-Normandie (1435–1444)', *Annales de Normandie* 36 (March 1986), 53.

¹⁰ Robert Stafford paid a gold mark, for instance, and his men a silver mark each, to be allowed to leave La Ferté-Bernard in 1427: C. T. Allmand and C. A. J. Armstrong, eds, *English Suits Before the Parlement of Paris 1420–1436* (Camden Society 4th series 26, London, 1982), p. 225.

¹¹ Keen, *Laws of War*, p. 125.

did not necessarily imply that the captain and his garrison had been bought. That, however, is the unavoidable conclusion of another item included in Charles VII's mandate. Amongst the 'autres despenses' appears money 'pour dons qu'il convenoit faire *en secret* a plusieurs chevaliers et gentilz hommes du party des diz Anglois'.¹² Whether or not Gower himself had been a recipient of these bribes, as seems likely, his position was inevitably compromised by his personal gains from the decision to surrender. Like Nicolas de Gennes, he 'had taken money for the surrender of Cherbourg'. The formal treaty demonstrates that he still had artillery which was to be left *in situ* when the hand-over took place and, if the payment of 2,000 *écus* to the *compaignons de guerre* was to purchase the English stores, then he had capitulated at a time when, once again, Cherbourg was 'well stuffed with supplies and artillery'. Gower was fortunate that those gifts made 'en secret' remained a secret, otherwise he too might have found himself answering a charge of treason.

If a place as impregnable as Cherbourg could fall, what town or castle was safe? No matter how strong the walls, or even how well supplied the garrison, security ultimately depended on the disposition of those within. And the temptation to commit treason was strong. The Lancastrian occupation had imposed only a veneer of Englishness upon Normandy and the *pays-de-conquête*. The king, the regent, the lieutenants-general, the *baillis* of major towns and regions and the senior military commanders might all be English but they were almost entirely reliant on the active cooperation of the native French, particularly Normans, for the minutiae of daily government. Senior officials such as members of the Parlement of Paris, the lieutenants of the *baillis* and the *vicomtes*, down to a host of minor functionaries at local level were all drawn from the indigenous population. Even the military garrisons, manned by some six thousand soldiers by the 1430s, had small but significant numbers of non-English personnel. With a few notable exceptions,¹³ the captain was always English, but it was not unusual for his lieutenant, marshal and controller to be Norman. Amongst the soldiers themselves, the vast majority were classified in muster-rolls as 'Anglois et natifs du Royaulme d'Angleterre' (a generic term which included Welsh and Irish and, on occasion, Gascons), but up to an eighth of the garrison were generally allowed to be of French origin.¹⁴

The Lancastrian land settlement had ensured that vast tracts of land were,

¹² Plaisie, *La délivrance de Cherbourg*, p. 181. The italics are mine.

¹³ François de Surienne, the Aragonese knight, served as a captain in Lancastrian Normandy from at least the mid-1430s: for his career see André Bossuat, *Perrinet Gressart et François de Surienne: agents de l'Angleterre* (Paris, 1936).

¹⁴ Anne Curry, 'The Nationality of Men-at-Arms Serving in English Armies in Normandy and the *Pays-de-Conquête*, 1415–1450: A Preliminary Survey', *Reading Medieval Studies* 18 (1992), 157. After the military crisis of 1429–30 a new clause was introduced into captains' indentures allowing up to half the men-at-arms recruited to be French but insisting that all archers were to be 'natifs du Royaulme d'Angleterre'; this remained in force until security was re-established in 1434: R. A. Newhall, *Muster and Review: A Problem of English Military Administration 1420–1440* (Cambridge, MA, 1940), pp. 119–20.

nominally at least, under English lordship and large numbers of veterans were rewarded for their service with gifts of farms, vineyards and houses. Yet much of Normandy did not change hands. Many, if not most, of the minor nobility chose to take the oath of allegiance to Henry V and retained control of their lands. Similarly, though a number of high profile clergymen, including the archbishop of Rouen, preferred exile to submission, the Norman church as a whole not only accepted the new regime but actively supported it.¹⁵ Even in towns with substantial English populations, the invaders remained in a minority, colonising particular streets and districts close to their places of work and to each other.¹⁶

In the circumstances it was hardly surprising that fear of treachery haunted the Lancastrian administration. The numerous plots at Rouen and Paris are well documented¹⁷ but loyalties in many smaller towns were also strained to the limit. Compiègne changed hands eight times in fifteen years, Louviers, more typically, five times in twenty-two years.¹⁸ Each time, those who had collaborated with the previous regime had to sue for pardon, pay their fines and adapt to their new circumstances but, if the opportunity arose again, someone would always be prepared to take the risk of aiding the enemy.

Even those places which spent the entire Lancastrian occupation in English hands could never feel entirely secure. The important fortified town of Argentan, in lower Normandy, for instance, fell to the English in October 1417 and was not recovered for thirty-two years. Yet on at least four occasions it was seriously threatened with betrayal to the French. On 6 October 1428 the council of Normandy wrote to warn of an imminent plot by traitors in the town and castle to admit the duke of Alençon. The lieutenant of the garrison was informed that Sir William Oldhall, captain of Essay, had been ordered to go to him 'aider et conforter de son povoir' but, in the meantime, he was ordered immediately to expel all suspects, male and female, to muster twenty men-at-arms and sixty archers in readiness and to lay in provisions for a siege.¹⁹

Four years later, in the autumn of 1432, arrests were made when the authorities discovered another plot involving a Dominican friar in the town and the neighbouring enemy garrison of Bonsmoulins. An unfortunate merchant from

¹⁵ Robert Massey, 'The Land Settlement in Lancastrian Normandy', *Property and Politics: Essays in Later Medieval English History*, ed. Tony Pollard (Gloucester and New York, 1984), pp. 76–96; Christopher Allmand, 'The English and the Church in Lancastrian Normandy', *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, eds David Bates and Anne Curry (London and Rio Grande, 1994), pp. 287–97.

¹⁶ Anne Curry, 'The Impact of War and Occupation on Urban Life in Normandy, 1417–1450', *French History* 1(2) (October 1987), 168.

¹⁷ See, for example, Paul Le Cacheux, ed., *Rouen au temps de Jeanne d'Arc et pendant l'occupation anglaise (1419–1449)* (Rouen, 1931), pp. ci–cxiii, cxxv–vii, 224–5, 230–3; Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People under English Rule. The Anglo-Burgundian Regime 1420–1436* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 143–5, 224–8, 231.

¹⁸ Louis Carolus-Barré, 'Compiègne et la guerre 1414–1430', *La 'France anglaise' au moyen âge: Actes du IIIe Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes (Poitiers, 1986)* (Paris, 1988), pp. 383–7; Anne Curry, 'The Impact of War and Occupation', p. 160.

¹⁹ Stevenson, *Letters and Papers*, ii. 85–7.

Argentan, Guillaume du Val, was amongst those arrested and imprisoned. He had fallen under suspicion because he had made regular trips to Bonsmoulins in order to negotiate the ransom and release of a trading partner held prisoner there. His visits were quite legitimate because he had obtained permission to make them from Henry VI's lieutenant in Normandy. Nevertheless, under torture so severe that he lost the use of an arm and a leg, du Val revealed that the French had tried (without success) to persuade him to assist them in taking Argentan. More seriously, he confessed that he had recognised a man from the garrison at Bonsmoulins dining in disguise at the house of the Dominican. Implicated by his association with the traitors, as well as for not informing the authorities of his suspicious encounters, du Val was fortunate to escape with his life. It was only the fact that he had taken his place as a defender on the town walls when the alarm was eventually raised that secured him his pardon.²⁰

The third plot, for which we have far sketchier details, occurred in March 1441 when two messengers were sent from Caen to Argentan to inform the lieutenant of a 'certain trahison comise en ladite place par aucuns de la ville avecques les ennemis'. They took with them a schedule of the names of the traitors so that he could arrest and imprison them.²¹ Finally, in July 1447, the duke of Alençon, who was already playing the double game which would end in his own impeachment for *lèse-majesté* by Charles VII, sent his pursuivant to the captain of Argentan to warn him that the castle keep was *vendu et trahi*. This was perhaps the most serious of all the plots on record, for the betrayal this time was not committed by disaffected townsmen but *par les Anglois*; the duke revealed their identities, enabling the captain to seize them and pre-empt their plot.²²

The experience of Argentan was by no means unique. Whilst conviction, or mere hatred of the English, may have inspired some conspirators, there were other complicating factors. Families were often divided by their political loyalties. Guillaume de Clinchamp, for instance, took the oath of loyalty to Henry V and was confirmed in possession of his lands on 8 November 1419; one of his sons entered the service of John Kemp, bishop of London, becoming a trusted member of his household, but his two sons from his first marriage both joined the French garrison of Mont-Saint-Michel.²³ In 1433 the daughter of Guillaume le Tavernier, a rich bourgeois of Rouen, who had accepted and profited from the conquest, married Jacques de Calais, one of the most important members of the Council of Normandy. Yet despite being at the heart of the Lancastrian regime Tavernier had three sons who had all refused to take the oath, left Rouen and

²⁰ Paul Le Cacheux, ed., *Actes de la chancellerie d'Henri VI concernant la Normandie sous la domination anglaise (1422–1435)* (Rouen, 1908), ii, 233–7.

²¹ Roger Jouet, *La résistance à l'occupation anglaise en Basse-Normandie (1418–1450)* (Caen, 1969), p. 155 n. 36.

²² Stevenson, *Letters and Papers*, i, 189–91; ii, 85–7. Argentan finally fell to the French in 1449: the town was taken by assault, the castle by composition: *ibid.*, ii, 624.

²³ Luce, *Chronique du Mont-Saint-Michel*, i, 168–9.

settled in the kingdom of Bourges.²⁴ Whilst there were advantages to having family members on each side of the divide, not least because lands, property and goods confiscated for belonging to the enemy party were often reclaimed by and given to 'loyal' relatives, the pressure to maintain contact and exchange knowledge was intense. The *curé* of Champ-Haut, in the diocese of Lisieux, for instance, came under suspicion because he was known to have relations *de l'autre côté*: the English garrison at Exmes accused him not only of passing information to them but also, more seriously, of giving a safe-conduct under the seal of the enemy captain of Mont-Saint-Michel.²⁵

The pattern was repeated all the way down the social chain. Time and again, letters of remission were granted to individuals who had assisted family members to evade English justice. What was Sézire Liégart, a widow from Houville, to do when her son, who had joined the enemy, turned up at her door with a companion and asked her to help them get to Louviers? Naturally, rather than betray them to the authorities, she found a fisherman who was prepared to take them over the Seine by night, even though that action resulted in her own denunciation and subsequent flight.²⁶

Others found their loyalties more severely tried. Regnault Mauger, an impoverished young butcher from Etrépagne, had stayed in the town after it was betrayed to the French in 1429; when the English siege to recapture it destroyed what little remained of his livelihood, he decided to follow the French to Beauvais, where he took part in raids which earned him between 16 and 20 *salus* in booty. Nevertheless, he was unable to forget those he had left behind. On several occasions he sent warnings to Etrépagne that a French raid on the town or its vicinity was imminent and once he sent word via his mother-in-law, who was married to an Englishman in the garrison of Gisors, that plans were afoot at Beauvais to use scaling ladders to surprise the castle by night. Thus forewarned, the captain of Gisors redoubled the watch and guard, and when the enemy came they were easily repulsed.²⁷

It was not just family loyalties which might lead to acts of political betrayal. The hazards of constant warfare meant that even soldiers in garrisons were vulnerable to pressure to change sides. Being taken prisoner in battle or on a sortie was a fate not even the highest in the land could avoid and, for those of limited means, it could prove disastrous. Faced with the prospect of being incarcerated indefinitely because they were unable to pay the ransom demanded, some soldiers chose to obtain their freedom in other ways. The easiest method was simply to change sides and fight for the enemy and, once again, the letters of remission provide evidence that this was not uncommon, particularly among Normans. The example of Stephen Hart, a Scotsman captured by an English

²⁴ Le Cacheux, *Rouen au temps de Jeanne d'Arc*, p. 43 n. 1.

²⁵ Jouet, *La résistance à l'occupation anglaise*, p. 76.

²⁶ Le Cacheux, *Actes de la chancellerie d'Henri VI*, ii. 174–6.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, ii. 176–8.

esquire at the battle of Verneuil, who took the oath of loyalty before Lord Scales and five years later was still fighting on behalf of the English, is more unusual.²⁸

The cautionary tale of Gilet de Lointren illustrates the fact that there was only a finite number of times that changing sides was acceptable. The first time de Lointren was captured by the English of Damville garrison he spent seven months in captivity but managed to scrape together a ransom of 80 *écus d'or* which ruined him. Captured a second time by the men of Verneuil he could not pay another ransom and, rather than die in prison, agreed to join the English. Only eight days into his new allegiance, he was captured by the French garrison of Nogent-le-Retrou and threatened with execution as a traitor; his English masters refused to pay his ransom so he reverted to his former French allegiance. Some time later, he was taken prisoner during a sortie, this time by the English from Beaumesnil, who released him on licence to find a ransom of 40 *écus d'or*. On his way back, however, he was captured for a fifth time by English soldiers from Verneuil who recognised their former prisoner and brought him before the courts, where he was condemned to be hanged unless he could find a pledge to answer for him. Only the dramatic last minute intervention of a fifteen-year-old 'pucelle ... de bonne renommée', who offered to marry him, saved him from the gallows.²⁹

Soldiers on both sides who were unable to pay their ransoms could sometimes be persuaded to go further and actually betray their comrades in arms. Thomas Cooley, an English esquire from the garrison of St-Laurent-des-Mortiers in Anjou, was unable to raise his ransom: after fifteen days confined to a tiny underground dungeon, chained hand and foot and fed on bread and water, he agreed to help his captors by finding Jehan d'Anisy, a Norman living at Cormeilles, and handing him over to them in return for his own freedom.³⁰

The English were not averse to using such tactics either. One of the most spectacular coups of the 1430s was the seizure of the French-held castle of Lillebonne by Fulk Eyton, captain of Caudebec. A member of the French garrison had been captured and brought as a prisoner to Caudebec. Incapable of paying the ransom demanded, he was persuaded to collaborate. He was told to go back to the garrison and act as though nothing had happened. To allay suspicions he was to continue taking part in nightly raids from Lillebonne, returning there with Englishmen whom he claimed to have captured, thus building up a contingent within the castle. One particular night, he came back with a party of several horses and men *en guise de prisonniers*. Once they were on the bridge they abandoned their pretence, seized the porter, gained an entrance and promptly made themselves masters of the castle and those within it. For this

²⁸ *Ibid.*, ii. 143–5. For a typical Norman example see *ibid.*, i. 31–3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, i. 82–7.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, ii. 149–53.

'signal service', Eyton was rewarded with the gift of 3,510 *livres tournois*, a huge sum which was levied as a tax on the inhabitants of the duchy.³¹

The problem for the Lancastrian administration was quite simply that no one could be trusted. Even those who benefited from the occupation by holding important office were not always loyal. When Richard Mites plotted to betray Rouen to the French in 1424 he made a point of consulting the experts. He approached Jehan Salvart, master of masonry works for the king in the cathedral and town, and Alexandre de Berneval, who held the same position for the *bailliage* of Rouen, and asked for their advice on how Rouen castle could be taken if the French had already taken the town. Since they were actually working on repairs at the castle at the time, Salvart and de Berneval discussed the problem *in situ*, advised that the walls should be mined and pointed out positions where cannon could be trained on the gate and bridges to break them down and prevent the garrison getting out. Although de Berneval claimed he had refused to join the conspiracy, he was arrested and endured a lengthy imprisonment for failing to inform the authorities of the plot. Salvart, who was more deeply implicated, forfeited all his goods and narrowly escaped with his life, being reprieved at the last moment by the regent Bedford, who pardoned him literally at the place of execution.³²

Jehan Burnel, the *vicomte* of Carentan, also had a lucky escape after an exchange of compromising correspondence in August 1429 with a member of the garrison of Mont-Saint-Michel. Offered a safe-conduct by the captain, Burnel returned his thanks but explained that it was too dangerous to send it by road. He therefore asked that the *brunecte*, his code-word for the safe-conduct, should be kept until he sent for it. What made this contact with the enemy even more significant was its timing: it seems to have coincided with a French raid on Carentan in which the lodgings of those guarding the town gates were destroyed by fire and several people, including the marshal of the garrison, were killed. Though Burnel had been loyal since the beginning of the occupation, his commitment to the Lancastrian cause could not be taken for granted, especially in the military crisis of 1429–30. Guillaume Campion, another *vicomte* who had served continuously since 1420, first at Arques, then at Conches and Breteuil, defected to the French in this same period and forfeited his two houses in Rouen as a consequence.³³

³¹ Charles de Beaurepaire, *Les états de Normandie sous la domination anglaise* (Évreux, 1859), p. 69; *Les croniques de Normandie*, ed. Hellot, p. 86, quoted in Goulay, 'La résistance à l'occupant anglais en Haute-Normandie (1435–1444)', p. 54. The chronicle dates the capture of Lillebonne by this stratagem to 1436 but the Estates General was ordered to levy the money in March 1439.

³² Le Cacheux, *Actes de la chancellerie d'Henri VI*, ii. 47–53. Surprisingly, but perhaps because their skills and knowledge were indispensable, both men were restored to office.

³³ *Ibid.*, ii. 146–9; Luce, *Chronique du Mont-Saint-Michel*, ii. 23; Philippe Cailleux, 'La présence anglaise dans la capitale normande: Quelques aspects des relations entre Anglais et Rouennais', *La Normandie et l'Angleterre au moyen âge: Colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle* (Caen, 2001), p. 271.

Even churchmen were not above suspicion, playing a significant role in many of the plots. Although the bishop of Sées, for example, whose episcopal seat had surrendered to the English in October 1417, took the oath of fealty and had his temporalities restored, the canons of his cathedral were not to be won over so easily. Some four years later, they made contact with the Armagnac captain, Louis de Tromagon, and suggested that it would be possible to gain access to the fortress through the adjoining cathedral treasury. Tromagon therefore brought several of his tenants over from the neighbouring lordship of La-Chapelle-près-Sées and set them to work digging a hole through the treasury wall. The workmen were sworn to secrecy but the plot was almost discovered on the very night that the French made their entry into the cathedral and fortress. A barber-surgeon employed by the canons was performing the night watch on the fortress walls when he unexpectedly ran into a man armed with an axe. He challenged the intruder but one of the canons hastily intervened, summoning him to an upstairs room and holding him there against his will (or so the barber claimed) throughout the night. Though the coup was successful, Sées only remained in French hands for some eight weeks before being retaken. Significantly, however, when the town was finally lost in 1449, it was again by means of 'ceulx de leglise' who delivered it to the duke of Alençon.³⁴

These were not isolated incidents. On 25 May 1428, for instance, Etienne de Vignolles, better known as La Hire, succeeded in getting a small band of Frenchmen into the town of Le Mans in the absence of its captain, John Talbot. It was clear that La Hire had been assisted by traitors among the townsmen, but the English suspected that Adam Châtelain, the bishop, was also involved. The coup was overthrown three days later but the bishop's loyalty came under further scrutiny. Some years later, he took the drastic step of excommunicating the royal officers who refused to release into his custody Martin le Riverain, a tonsured and habit-wearing clerk, who had been imprisoned for collaborating in a French surprise attack on Domfront. When Châtelain refused to lift the excommunication, his temporalities were seized into the king's hands.³⁵ In 1431 Jean de Saint-Avit, bishop of Avranches, found himself incarcerated in Rouen castle on similar charges of having known about, consented to and not revealed to the authorities, a plot to deliver Rouen to the French. Despite his archbishop's protests and an appeal to the council of Basle, it took two years to procure his transfer for trial into the ecclesiastical courts, where he was ultimately found innocent and released.³⁶ On the other side of the political divide, the prior of

³⁴ Le Cacheux, *Actes de la chancellerie d'Henri VI*, ii. 5–9, 22–4; Stevenson, *Letters and Papers*, ii. 625.

³⁵ André Mary, ed., *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris sous Charles VI et Charles VII* (Paris, 1929), pp. 206–7; Allmand and Armstrong, *English Suits Before the Parlement of Paris*, p. 8; Jouet, *La résistance à l'occupation anglaise*, p. 74. It is possible that this was simply a quarrel over jurisdiction between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities: Châtelain's defence of the clerk, though unusually robust, did not necessarily imply sympathy with his cause.

³⁶ Le Cacheux, *Rouen au temps de Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. cxi–cxii; S. H. Cuttler, *The Law of Treason and Treason Trials in Later Medieval France* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 83.

Nanterre was arrested and sentenced to a term of imprisonment on bread and water for his part in treasonably helping the English take the castle of Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1439.³⁷

The special protection afforded by the secular authorities to churchmen and, in particular, the peripatetic life-style of the mendicant orders offered great advantages for those who were treasonably inclined, allowing them to travel from place to place and across political boundaries without unduly raising suspicions. We have already seen that a Dominican friar was one of the pivotal figures in the plot to betray Argentan in 1432. Four more Dominicans, this time from Caen, were accused of committing the crime of *lèse-majesté* and imprisoned in Rouen in 1428.³⁸ At Orléans in 1419 a Carmelite friar offered to sell to the authorities information on 'l'estat des Angloys' that he had gathered in the course of his wanderings and Carmelites, one of whom was dressed as a labourer, carried letters between Charles VII and a group of conspirators in Paris in 1430.³⁹ Charles VII regularly employed friars as messengers and spies. One, known by the code-name *Samedi passé*, was sent 'many times' to Calais and other places 'to discover the enterprises of the English'; captured and tortured seven times, he spent twelve years in an English prison but was ultimately rewarded for his services by becoming a pensioner of the French crown. Another friar, an Augustinian from Rouen, was in Charles VII's pay from 1449. He too went 'many times, to the great danger of his person ... to Louviers and Pont-de-l'Arche' to inform Charles VII of 'the state of the said town of Rouen, and what measures he would have to take to recover the same'. And like *Samedi passé*, he duly collected his pension when Rouen finally fell to the French at the end of the year.⁴⁰

Given the scale and extent of treasonable activity, it was critically important that every town and castle should be constantly on the alert. 'Take good heed ... boothe day and nighte and ... bee wel wer of traisions' the duke of Bedford wrote in September 1429 to the lieutenant of Falaise.⁴¹ (Ironically, that lieutenant was none other than a young Thomas Gower.) The principal method of ensuring security was the performance of the twin services known as *guet et garde*, keeping watch on the town walls at night and guarding the town gates during the day. The *guetteurs* were groups of ordinary civilians who were required to perform a regular shift and were responsible for a particular section of wall. Though some delegated the task or paid a form of tax in lieu, each man was personally

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

³⁸ Luce, *Chronique du Mont-Saint-Michel*, i. 278 n.1. Their prior failed in his attempts to reclaim them for trial in the ecclesiastical courts.

³⁹ Françoise Michaud-Fréjaville, 'Une cité face aux crises: les remparts de la fidélité, de Louis d'Orléans à Charles VII, d'après les comptes de forteresse de la ville d'Orléans', *Jeanne d'Arc: une époque, un rayonnement: Colloque d'Histoire Médiévale: Orléans – Octobre 1979* (Paris, 1982), p. 49; Stevenson, *Letters and Papers*, ii. 35–50.

⁴⁰ M. G. A. Vale, *Charles VII* (London, 1974), p. 122.

⁴¹ C. T. Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy 1415–1450: The History of a Medieval Occupation* (Oxford, 1983), p. 190.

accountable for ensuring that the duty was carried out and could be imprisoned if he failed to do so. The *dizainier* or *quartenier* in charge of each group had to ensure that all those chosen for that night's service were present and awake, that his particular stretch of the walls was in good repair and that there were stones and rakes ready to repel enemies and their scaling ladders. Occasionally the *guet* had to be supplemented by professionals. In 1435, for example, when the enemy was reported to be in the area of Mantes, sixteen members of the garrison were employed for two nights to keep watch outside the town walls.⁴²

The day-time routine began at dawn when the gate-keepers would collect the keys from their official custodian, open the gates and take up a position in front of the walls where temporary barriers were installed; they would stop and interrogate all strangers, search their loads and look over their letters. In the evening these guards would close the gates and retire, returning the keys to the mayor or designated officer. The question of who should keep the keys was a fraught one. The city of Paris, no less, had fallen in 1418 because the son of one of the watch officials stole his father's keys to the Porte Saint-Germain and opened the gates to the Burgundians. At Mantes half the keys were kept by the captain of the garrison and half by the mayor, a cumbersome arrangement which was changed in 1422 so that the keys were all kept together but guarded by equal numbers of townsmen and English soldiers. Sometimes it was necessary to change all the locks and keys, as in the wake of the Ricarville plot at Rouen in 1432, or simply as a routine security measure, as at Evreux in 1427.⁴³

The importance of the *guet* was underlined by a reforming ordinance issued by the Lancastrian administration on 26 November 1425. This was issued in response to complaints from townsmen that the system was being abused by English captains who imposed excessive charges, diverted the manpower to get unpaid labour, physically assaulted those suspected of sleeping on watch and deliberately gave *motz estranges* as the watchword for the night, so that the *guetteurs* could neither understand nor remember them and were thus subjected to fines. In future, the ordinance stated, captains were to accept the nominated person for the night, or his replacement, so long as the latter was over twenty years old and well known locally. They had to choose a watchword 'en langage françois ou autre tel que ceulx qui feront le guet puissent raisonnablement entendre'. They could only charge a fixed scale of fines for defaulting on service and punish those who slept on watch by putting them in leg-irons for the whole

⁴² Bernard Chevalier, *Les bonnes villes de France du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1982), pp. 120–1; Thompson, *Paris and its People under English Rule*, pp. 98–103; Anne Curry, 'Isolated or Integrated? The English Soldier in Lancastrian Normandy', *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones, Richard Marks and A. J. Minnis (York, 2000), p. 199.

⁴³ Chevalier, *Les bonnes villes de France*, pp. 119–20; Thompson, *Paris and its People under English Rule*, p. 150; Curry, 'Isolated or Integrated?', p. 199; Le Cacheux, *Rouen au temps de Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. 230–1; André Plaisse and Sylvie Plaisse, *La vie municipale à Evreux pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans* (Evreux, 1978), p. 118.

of the next day. Finally, under no circumstances were they to force townsmen to dig ditches or similar work without prior consultation with the local *bailli*.⁴⁴

An efficient *guet et garde* system could make all the difference to the fate of a town. Joan of Arc met the first check in a hitherto spectacularly successful military career when her assault on Paris in 1429 was rebuffed by the townsmen who manned the walls and even shot her through the leg with a crossbow-bolt. As the Bourgeois proudly explained, 'en celui assault n'avoit aussi comme nuls hommes d'armes, qu'environ quarante ou cinquante Anglois'; this was a victory won by the Parisians themselves who were armed, ready and waiting for her.⁴⁵ All too often, however, the system failed because those supposedly on watch either did not perform their duty properly, being absent, drunk or asleep, or were complicit in treason. The town of Evreux, for instance, was captured by the French in 1441 by means of two local fishermen. One of them pretended to be fishing and used his boat to fetch the scaling ladders that the French needed for their enterprise. His companion, meanwhile, was performing the *guet* and either contrived not to notice what was happening or showed the scaling party where to place their ladders.⁴⁶

The captain who allowed his town to be taken by the enemy could expect to be severely punished. In August 1423 the fortress of Ivry-la-Chaussée in upper Normandy was, like Evreux, seized 'par eschielle et faulte de guet'. The captain at the time was Pierre Glé, one of the richest lords of the region, who had taken the oath of loyalty to Henry V on 16 May 1419. Aware that the 'faulte et negligence commise en la garde dudit chastel' would be laid squarely at his door, Glé at first absconded and all his goods, lands and possessions were confiscated to the crown. He was eventually persuaded to throw himself on the king's mercy and was duly pardoned in March 1424 on the grounds that he was only guilty of negligence and had had no knowledge of, or part in, the treason which led to the castle's seizure. The letter of remission noted that Ivry was still in enemy hands 'dont pluseurs maulx, dommaiges et inconveniens s'en sont ensuiz'; the Bourgeois, more colourfully, claimed that the garrison committed murder, arson, rape, kidnap and robbery. Recovering the fortress became a priority and on 15 June 1424 the earl of Suffolk laid siege to Ivry. It capitulated three weeks later, agreeing to surrender on 15 August if no assistance arrived in the meantime.⁴⁷

A large French army, including a contingent of some six thousand Scottish mercenaries recently arrived in France, was despatched to aid the beleaguered garrison. As they approached Verneuil, a group of Scots who could speak English were paraded before the town disguised as prisoners and loudly bewailing the utter destruction of 'their' army by the French at Ivry. The terrified townspeople, convinced by this stratagem that there was no hope of relief if they held out against the victorious French, promptly opened their gates and surrendered

⁴⁴ Luce, *Chronique du Mont-Saint-Michel*, i, 225–8.

⁴⁵ Mary, *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, p. 223.

⁴⁶ Plaisse and Plaisse, *La vie municipale à Evreux pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans*, pp. 130–1.

⁴⁷ Le Cacheux, *Actes de la chancellerie d'Henri VI*, i, 76–9.

the town. The duke of Bedford who had already issued a general summons to arms to prevent the French relieving Ivry now diverted his forces to Verneuil. The resulting battle, on 17 August 1424, was the most spectacular victory of his regency. The Scottish forces were wiped out, together with their leaders, the earls of Buchan and Douglas, and Douglas's heir, and several illustrious French commanders, including the count of Aumâle, captain of Mont-Saint-Michel; the duke of Alençon was captured.⁴⁸

What these events demonstrated was that the loss of a relatively minor fortress, through treason and *faute de guet*, could rapidly escalate into a military crisis in which the fate of the whole of Lancastrian Normandy hung in the balance. This was understood and appreciated by the military high command who did not hesitate to punish severely any captain who failed in his duty. Sir William Bishopton, for example, was the highly respected and long-serving English captain of Chateau Gaillard, one of the strongest fortresses in Normandy. In March 1429 he and his garrison had earned unusual praise from the local *vicomte* for guarding the castle 'soigneusement' and for 'vivent chacun jour merchandaument comme les simples personnes du pays sans aucune chose prendre ne exiger sur le peuple'.⁴⁹ Less than a year later Bishopton was being held in the royal prisons at Rouen accused of having allowed the enemy to take Chateau Gaillard 'par negligence, inadvertance ou foible resistance'. The loss of such an important stronghold was serious enough, but the disaster was compounded because it liberated the sire de Barbazan, an English prisoner since the surrender of Melun to Henry V in 1420, who was being held there. With appalling timing, the English had just agreed to exchange Barbazan for Talbot, who had been captured at the battle of Patay on 18 June 1429. That deal was now no longer possible and, as a result, one of the most effective English captains would remain out of action throughout the military crisis of 1429–30.⁵⁰

Bishopton stayed in prison for thirty-two weeks until released on compassionate grounds because he was losing his sight. In the meantime, two men were identified as being responsible for the catastrophe:

la prise d'icelui chastel avoit esté faite par faulte, coulpe et moien de un nommé Colin le Franchois, qui faisoit le guet pour le jour oudit chastel, et de ung Anglois, nommé Thomas Surych, de son alience, comme ledit Colin a confessé, qui pour la cause a esté executé puis nagaires au siege de Loviers, et aussi ledit Anglois pour le cas s'est absenté[.]

Bishopton himself escaped execution but his failure cost him dearly. He had

⁴⁸ Mary, *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, pp. 181–2; Stevenson, *Letters and Papers*, ii. 24–8.

⁴⁹ B. J. H. Rowe, 'Discipline in the Norman Garrisons under the Duke of Bedford, 1422–35', *EHR* 46 (1931), 207–8.

⁵⁰ Le Cacheux, *Actes de la chancellerie d'Henri VI*, ii. 158; Wylie and Waugh, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth*, iii. 211, 214, 214–5; A. J. Pollard, *John Talbot and the War in France 1427–1453* (Barnsley, 2005), p. 17. Talbot would remain a prisoner until the spring of 1433 when he was exchanged for Poton de Xaintrailles.

been captured when the castle was taken and therefore had to pay a ransom for which his son was being held as security by the French; he personally had to bear the cost of the wages of his garrison for three months, together with those of an additional twenty-one soldiers assigned to him for a month in the general crisis of September 1429; and, finally, to procure his pardon, he was fined the sum of 2,000 *livres tournois* which, with a nice irony, was to be paid to the captain of Le Crotoy to cover the wages of those guarding the town and castle for six months.⁵¹

Bishopton seems to have meekly accepted his fate but Robert Stafford, captain of La Ferté-Bernard, in Maine, contested his forfeiture in the highest court of the land, arguing that the stronghold had been lost to the French in 1427 ‘par fortune et d’aventure sans sa coulpe’. Talbot, as governor of Maine and recipient of the confiscated goods, justified the confiscation on the grounds that Stafford had failed to take pre-emptive measures when he was given the names of traitors who were plotting to betray La Ferté-Bernard. Instead, Talbot alleged, he had merely retreated into the castle ‘qui est imprenable’, which he then surrendered almost immediately ‘sans assault et sans engins’. Stafford responded that he had only retired into the castle after appointing those of the townsmen he most trusted, together with some of his own men, to guard the gates and sending out scouts to warn of the enemy’s approach. The French had been let into the town that night by some of the local officials. He had been unable to defend the castle because the only gunner was absent, the sole cannon was in need of repair and there was just one crossbow left in the munitions store – and that had no string. The garrison had mutinied when the French began to lay siege to the castle and insisted on negotiating to surrender. In the circumstances, Stafford argued, he had done all that could reasonably be expected of him and the court, eventually, agreed with him.⁵²

Sir William Chamberlain, too, was acquitted of treason for surrendering Meaux in 1439. The town had already been taken by assault when he was placed in charge of the stronghold and, although a relieving force was on its way to him, it only arrived the day after he had agreed to surrender. Even though he had enough supplies to have held out for longer, he escaped punishment because his position was deemed hopeless.⁵³

By the time Thomas Gower came to surrender Cherbourg, such nice distinctions between what was treasonable or mere negligence were otiose. According to William Worcester’s list of the towns and castles which fell to the

⁵¹ Le Cacheux, *Actes de la chancellerie d’Henri VI*, ii. 157–60. It was probably significant that the men were related by marriage.

⁵² Allmand and Armstrong, *English Suits Before the Parlement of Paris*, pp. 220–30. The court decided in Stafford’s favour on 13 February 1434, exactly seven years after the events which had cost him his office, estates and reputation.

⁵³ Keen, *Laws of War*, p. 125; Pollard, *John Talbot and the War in France*, p. 52; Hugh Collins, ‘Sir John Fastolf, John Lord Talbot and the Dispute over Patay: Ambition and Chivalry in the Fifteenth Century’, *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain*, ed. Diana Dunn (Liverpool, 2000), pp. 127–8.

French in 1449–50, only five places (seven if one includes their castles) were taken by assault. Three times that number were taken by treason, including La Roche Guyon and Gisors, whose captains were both married to wealthy French women and therefore decided it was in their personal best interests to change allegiance. Considerable sums of money – 4,500 *livres tournois* in the case of La Roche Guyon – also changed hands. A further ten fortresses were demolished and abandoned at the approach of the enemy. Virtually every other town and castle, somewhere in the region of seventy places, was surrendered by composition.⁵⁴

Though Cherbourg was the last of Henry V's conquests to remain in English hands, there was nothing inevitable about its fall. Even if the hinterland was lost, town and castle had survived as an isolated outpost before, spending sixteen years in English hands in 1378–94. With the aid of England's superior naval power, Gower could have held out for months, if not years, turning Cherbourg into an English Mont-Saint-Michel or, indeed, another Calais. A fleet to bring him aid was actually in preparation at the very moment of surrender.⁵⁵ Yet Gower escaped forfeiture, indictment, or even opprobrium for his decision to surrender. He was regarded as just one of many captains who had taken the pragmatic decision that nothing was to be gained by fighting on to the bitter end. The situation might have been different if it had been known that 'dons qu'il convenoit faire en secret'⁵⁶ had been accepted, but the rapid surrender of so many other places, sometimes without even a token resistance, suggests that money also changed hands on other occasions. At an earlier period such breaches of the fiduciary duty of captains would have been investigated and prosecuted as treason. It was symptomatic of all that had gone wrong in Lancastrian Normandy that, at the end, no one knew or cared.

⁵⁴ Stevenson, *Letters and Papers*, ii. 619–34; Vale, *Charles VII*, pp. 123–4; A. D. Carr, 'Welshmen and the Hundred Years War', *The Welsh History Review* 4 (1968–69), 37. The numbers are not definitive: Worcester's list usually distinguishes between the town and its castle, since one could be taken by assault and the other by composition, but he is not consistent.

⁵⁵ Plaisse, *La délivrance de Cherbourg*, p. 28; Stevenson, *Letters and Papers*, i. 520–1.

⁵⁶ Plaisse, *La délivrance de Cherbourg*, p. 181.

Richard Duke of York and the Royal Household*

Gerald Harriss

As Protector from April 1454 to January 1455, and from November 1455 to February 1456, the duke of York faced three major challenges to his authority: from baronial disorders in the north and the west country; from the mutinous garrison at Calais; and from his own enemies in the court. Each of these incorporated antagonisms derived from his personal feud with the duke of Somerset, and presented considerable obstacles to his capacity to govern for the common good and with the support of the peers. In considering the last of these, his policy towards the court and the royal household, it is necessary to start from his re-entry into the political maelstrom of 1450 as the heralded agent of reform and retribution on the courtier clique.

The royal household had two main functions: it attested the honour and estate of the king, and it was the operational centre of royal patronage and power. As such it formed the major charge on the ordinary revenues of the crown. Criticism of its political and financial working, which was not infrequent, always risked affronting the king's dignity and might even be construed as treason. But in 1449–50 it was the courtiers who were denounced as traitors, for stripping the crown of its wealth. In the Michaelmas session of the parliament of 1449–50 the Commons demanded the resumption of all crown gifts as the price for taxation.¹ In January they proceeded to impeach the duke of Suffolk, who had resisted this. Historically, resumption had always been strongly opposed both by the king, as derogatory to his honour, and by the nobility, as an attack on their wealth, and it was only following Suffolk's exile and death and the offer of a tax, that the Commons' bill was conceded early in the third session. The prologue to the resumption bill adduced the treasurer's declaration of the 'state of the realm' in claiming that the king's debts and arrears amounted to £372,000, the annual charge of his household was £24,000, and his ordinary income only £5,000. It complained of purveyances not paid for, burdensome taxes, and the

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¹ R. Flenley, *Six Town Chronicles of England* (Oxford, 1911), 'Bale's Chronicle', pp. 125–6; J. E. Thorold Rogers, ed., T. Gascoigne, *Loci E Libro Veritatum* (Oxford, 1881), pp. 189–90; B. P. Wolffe, *The Royal Demesne in English History* (London, 1971), pp. 124–6.

failure to execute justice.² Alongside it was introduced an allocation for the household lasting seven years, 'to ordeine, provide, and establish sufficient of the premises so resumed for the contenting and paiement of the expenses and charges of youre Houshold and all your other ordinarie charges' for the term of seven years. Such allocations had been a recurrent feature of Lancastrian royal finance since 1404. Drawn up by the council in liaison with the exchequer, they named the main revenues on which the household could draw, either in cash or by assignment. The allocation of 1450 provided revenues amounting in total to £11,002, drawn from the crown fisc, the appanage estates, and the ancient customs. The sums from the fisc were in the form of precise annuities to be levied from farms of lands, farms of ulnage, fee farms of towns, and the proffers of sheriffs and escheators. These must have been compiled from exchequer records over the preceding weeks, as an official proposal issued by authority of parliament and entered on the parliament roll.³ It was designed to show that the crown was heeding criticism and that the fisc, restored by resumption, could support the king's domestic costs – that he could 'live from his own demeanes', as the Commons had asked. When and how had this measure originated?

It seems clear that both the resumption and the allocation for the household were under discussion during the second session, the first by the Commons, the second by the government. Who was directing government throughout the proceedings on Suffolk's impeachment is far from clear. Dr Watts has compiled a tentative list of curialist lords who were active in the first half of 1450 under the aegis of the new chancellor, Archbishop Kemp.⁴ A number of them had financial experience. Ralph, Lord Cromwell was one of the chamberlains of the exchequer and himself a notable lord treasurer; Lord Sudeley, also a former treasurer, was steward of the household; Lord Say and Sele, the current treasurer, was king's chamberlain; Lord Stourton was the current treasurer of the household; Lord Beauchamp of Powick and Lord St Amand were both king's carvers. It was perhaps these men who initiated the allocation, both to provide for the king's estate during the unfolding crisis and as an earnest of reform. It was probably also under their managerial guidance that the courtiers were persuaded to accept a limited surrender of their grants. Dr Wolffe first drew attention to a draft list detailing the 101 properties they were to relinquish while others were retained. It was to be a cosmetic resumption, the act being couched in wholesale terms but with 186 subsequent provisos exempting individual courtiers. In the result, grants to the value of £1,800 were to be relinquished while those totalling

² *Rot. Parl.*, v. 183–5 (*PROME*, xii. 106–8).

³ TNA PRO, Exchequer KR, Mem. Roll 29 Henry VI, E 159/227, *Communia Recorda*, Mich. 17 contains the full text of the act; that in *Rot. Parl.*, v. 174–6 (*PROME*, xii. 87–92) is seriously incomplete. G. L. Harriss, 'The Finance of the Royal Household, 1437–1460' (D.Phil. thesis University of Oxford, 1953), pp. 118–19 and Appendix Table IV tabulates the annuities and their payment in 1450–54.

⁴ J. Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 282–3 nn. 96–8, 286 n. 113.

£3,750 were retained.⁵ This was already generally appreciated when the acts of resumption and for the household were going through parliament in the first week of the third session, for John Crane writing to John Paston on the day the resumption was enacted described it as being 'in summe, but nat in alle'.⁶ Nonetheless, the exchequer acted immediately to implement the allocation, assigning the farms and annuities listed to the household. From these £1,090 was assigned to the household in Easter term 1450 and £1,210 in Michaelmas term 1450–51, and other revenues may have been received as cash.⁷ These were far smaller totals than those allocated, and the king's exemptions had undoubtedly weakened the resumption and impaired the allocation.

It was small wonder that the cause of resumption was taken up by Cade's followers, who condemned those who 'had the revenues of the crown', urged the king 'to take ageyn all his demayngnes', and accused the courtiers of frustrating the resumption. They called for 'punysshment of the fals traitours', and in the aftermath of the revolt indicted numbers of courtiers as well as local oppressors before a commission of oyer and terminer in Kent.⁸ York's name had been invoked in both the writings and cries of the rebels, and when, in September 1450, he arrived from Ireland and entered the political scene, he was the ineluctable agent of a popular constituency and a programme of retribution and reform. The bills which York addressed to the king in late September affirmed his allegiance while offering his assistance in doing justice on those indicted. In words which echoed Cade's articles, he also appealed to his fellow peers to remove the low-born courtiers who had impoverished the crown and subverted the laws.⁹ However, it was from the Commons, in the parliament which assembled on 6 November, that York principally received support. His retainer, Sir William Oldhall, was chosen as Speaker; the Commons reintroduced the resumption bill which 'had not been effectually had', shorn of the previous individual exemptions; and they petitioned for the removal of twenty-nine courtiers from the household, twenty of whom had been indicted in August. It was the failure of the Lords to take action for the punishment of the 'traitors' inculpated in the loss of Normandy that produced the great clamour for 'justice' in Westminster Hall

⁵ B. P. Wollfe, 'Acts of Resumption in the Lancastrian Parliaments', *EHR* 76 (1958), 600–1, citing TNA PRO, Exchequer KR, Miscellanea E 163/8/14.

⁶ J. Gairdner, ed., *The Paston Letters 1422–1509* (London and Exeter, 1904), ii. 148 (n. 121).

⁷ Wollfe, *Royal Demesne*, pp. 128, 134–5. Assignments on sheriffs' proffers were made on 16 April 1450 and large-scale assignments on farmers of lands on 29 June–3 July 1450: TNA PRO, Exchequer of Receipt, Receipt Rolls, E 401/815.

⁸ M. W. Harvey, *Jack Cade's Rebellion of 1450* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 132 ff., with the texts of Cade's articles on pp. 187, 189, 191; Wollfe, *Royal Demesne*, p. 125; R. Virgoe, ed., 'Some Ancient Indictments in the King's Bench Relating to Kent in 1450–2', *Documents Illustrative of Medieval Kentish Society*, ed. F. R. H. Du Boulay (Ashford, 1964), pp. 214–65.

⁹ York's bills are discussed in P. A. Johnson, *Duke Richard of York* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 85, 104–5; Watts, *Politics of Kingship*, pp. 271–3; R. A. Griffiths, 'The Duke of York's Intentions in 1450 and the Origins of the Wars of the Roses', *idem*, *King and Country* (London, 1991), pp. 277–304; and in M. Kekewich *et al.*, eds, *The Politics of Fifteenth Century England: John Vale's Book* (Stroud, 1995), pp. 185–90.

and the hounding of the duke of Somerset, who was quickly removed to safety.¹⁰ York had supported the Commons' demand for resumption, but his attempts to prosecute Somerset and the courtiers were frustrated.¹¹ This marked the limit of the opposition's achievements. The second session was delayed until late February while the king with other lords conducted a judicial progress into Kent. By then the duke of Somerset had established himself as the principal councillor and protector of the court. Henry now declined to remove the named courtiers, York was excluded from the council, and a proposal to name him heir presumptive was quashed. However, the stricter resumption was put into effect and new leases of the resumed properties increased the farms, to the benefit of the household. Although after the dissolution of parliament many annuities were regranted to courtiers, and over the next two years the queen, the duke of Somerset, and the king's half brothers were endowed with some of the resumed lands, the allocation of revenues of the fisc continued to provide a significant part of the wardrobe's receipt until its abrogation in 1454. This had been the most positive achievement of the reform movement, and continued to resonate among the popular voice and York's supporters in the Commons, who formed his 'constituency'.¹² But his failure to win support at Dartford in February 1452 left Somerset and the court in place and exposed his allies and followers to prosecution and forfeiture.

Henry VI's collapse into a coma late in August 1453 brought to an end York's political isolation. As Somerset's authority dissolved, York was recalled to the council on 12 November and on 23 November Somerset was committed to custody pending trial on the duke of Norfolk's charges of treason. Although the Commons urgently asked the Lords to form 'a sadde and wyse counsaill', for the next four months the rivalries of Queen Margaret, York, and the supporters of Somerset produced a political stalemate.¹³ York was commissioned to open the session of parliament on 14 February 1454, but it was not until after the sudden death of the chancellor, Archbishop Kemp, on 22 March, and the confirmation of Henry VI's incapacity, that he was appointed to act as Protector. Following the precedent of 1422, York himself was to be responsible for the internal and external security of the realm, but for its 'governance' he was to act with the authority and support of council. His attempt, on 3 April, to persuade the principal lords to serve on this produced some refusals and many ambivalent responses. In the event a 'continual' council of the officers of state, a few bishops, and a handful of lords conducted routine government over the following six months, punctuated by two or three great councils attended by

¹⁰ *Rot. Parl.*, v. 216–17 (*PROME*, xii. 184–6); G. L. Harriss and M. A. Harriss, eds, *John Benet's Chronicle*, Camden Miscellany xxiv (London, 1972), p. 203.

¹¹ Watts, *Politics of Kingship*, p. 275 n. 59.

¹² Wolffe, *Royal Demesne*, pp. 134–5, n. 39; B. P. Wolffe, *Henry VI* (London, 1981), pp. 246–7 stresses the 'unique effectiveness of the resumption'. Harriss, 'Finance of the Household', Appendix, Table IV, tabulates the application of the allocation from 1450 to 1454.

¹³ *Rot. Parl.*, v. 240 (*PROME*, xii. 256–7).

some two dozen peers.¹⁴ At least it represented a duly constituted authority, even though not backed by sufficient political consensus to take major decisions. Two such were made, however, before parliament was dissolved around 21 April. The first concerned the security of Calais and the wool trade: York was designated to replace Somerset as captain and four lords were appointed to maintain a fleet for the safeguard of the Channel. The second was to revise the allocation of money for the royal household.

In the period following the financial reforms of 1450–51, exchequer prests to the wardrobe had averaged no more than £9,225 per annum, with another £2,000 per annum paid on earlier tallies that had miscarried. From Easter 1452, however, after the confrontation at Dartford had confirmed Somerset's authority, the wardrobe receipt had risen to an average of £11,800 per annum, virtually all of it as current prests.¹⁵ By 1454 it could be expected that, with the king prostrated and Somerset removed, the household's charge would be reduced. On 17 April, just before the end of the parliament, a new allocation of revenues was made, replacing that of 1450. This amounted to only £5,193 6s 8d, with an upper limit set at 10,000 marks, the same sum appointed for the household at the beginning of Henry's minority.¹⁶ The new allocation was also different in character from that of 1450. In place of the detailed annuities from demesne lands, fee farms, ulnage farms, the proffers of sheriffs and escheators, only the ulnage farms were retained, though 1,000 marks was to be drawn from the feudal casualties. Additionally, payments of £1,200 per annum were now charged on the lands forming the Prince of Wales's appanage, while almost half the allocated total (£2,190) was drawn from the customs and subsidies. An allocation of this size, even with the queen's contribution of £7 a day for her diet, was not sufficient to maintain existing household costs, and gave notice that these would have to be reduced. Under the allocation, the wardrobe received from the exchequer £3,040 in Easter term 1454, and £1,359 in Michaelmas 1454–55; in all £4,399, approximately two-thirds of the maximum. At the same time, however, old tallies to the sum of £2,700 were again accepted for reassignment to the benefit of wardrobe creditors, many of them on the sources in the 1450 allocation.¹⁷ A further indication of changing priorities was the proposal to divert the duchy of Lancaster revenues to the household. These had been enfeoffed by Henry VI for the building of Eton and King's Colleges, but on 31 May 1454 order was given to replace the king's personal signet of the eagle, on warrants to the duchy of

¹⁴ Printed by R. A. Griffiths, 'The King's Council and the First Protectorate of the Duke of York, 1450–54', *King and Country*, pp. 305–20; Johnson, *Richard of York*, pp. 136–46; Watts, *Politics of Kingship*, pp. 309–10; M. Hicks, *Warwick the Kingmaker* (London, 1998), p. 99 judges it to be 'a council to do York's will'. For payments to councillors from 15 April 1454 to Easter 1455, see TNA PRO, Exchequer of Receipt, Warrants for Issues, E 404/70/3/81.

¹⁵ Harriss, 'Finance of the Household', Appendix, Table I.

¹⁶ *Rot. Parl.*, v. 246–7, 272 (*PROME*, xii. 268–71, 322).

¹⁷ Harriss, 'Finance of the Household', Appendix, Table I; TNA PRO, Exchequer of Receipt, Receipt Rolls, E 401/839, 843.

Lancaster, with the council's privy seal, which was then used to warrant £1,000 from duchy revenues for household expenses.¹⁸

The new provision for the king's household was thus on a much reduced scale, dictated by the Protector's anticipated commitments to establish his authority in Calais and the north and for the keeping of the sea. On 3 April the lords invited to form the council had expressed concern over how the current charges were to be borne, and the treasurer had presented a financial statement.¹⁹ By mid-April those associated with the household – Lords Sudeley, Dudley, and Stourton – had agreed to join the council and must have endorsed the enactment of the allocation in parliament.²⁰ Yet the reduction of wardrobe receipts by half from the level of the preceding two years, though justified by the king's present condition, implied far-reaching changes if the king's continued prostration became permanent. During the summer discussions must have continued about the size and character of the establishment appropriate to a nominal monarch and a governing Protector. We know nothing about when they were held or who was involved, but a resultant 'appointment' was promulgated at a great council on 13 November. It was signed by twenty-nine lords. The prologue, having recalled their obligation to honour the state and welfare of the king and his subjects, acknowledged the need to 'ordeyne and stablissch a sadde and a substanciall reule in the King's houshold', 'as well in nombre of persones as otherwise as were hadde and used of olde tyme'. This, it claimed, had been intended when Henry was 'of good helth of body'.²¹

Although the 'appointment' looked back to Henry V's reign, a more recent precedent was the ordinance of 1445, made soon after the king's marriage.²² This had listed the numbers for each category above stairs and in the offices below stairs, and regulated in some detail discipline in the hall and counting house, in an endeavour to limit unlicensed eating and waste. It listed 163 persons above stairs, including esquires, yeomen, and chaplains, and 257 in the offices below stairs, including sergeants, yeomen, clerks, and menials, giving a total of 420 persons overall. A further twenty were attached to the stable. The appointment of 1454 named 177 persons above stairs, including esquires, yeomen of the crown and chamber, the chaplains and the counting-house staff, with 214 below stairs, giving a total of 391 persons, with a further twenty-one in the stable. Both these were, in fact, smaller totals than those in the households

¹⁸ PPC, pp. 188–9; TNA PRO, Exchequer TR, Council and Privy Seal, E 28/84, 86 shows that a further £1,000 from the duchy estates was warranted on 12 February 1455 but countermanded by the king and reissued on 21 June.

¹⁹ For the council in mid-April, see PPC, vi. 170–7; Griffiths, *King and Country*, pp. 318–19; and J. A. Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI* (London, 1981), pp. 726–8.

²⁰ Watts, *Politics of Kingship*, p. 309, n. 212.

²¹ PPC, vi. 220–1. The provisos to acts for the king's household and wardrobe early in the 1453 parliament may relate to this intention: *Rot. Parl.*, v. 237–8 (*PROME*, xii, pp. 252–3).

²² Printed with commentary by A. R. Myers, 'Some Household Ordinances of Henry VI', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 36 (1984), 449–67.

of Richard II and Henry IV.²³ In general the two ordinances show that what was considered to be 'a resonnable and acompetent felisship' had changed very little over the decade. Thus, despite the king's prostration, the appointment of 1454 envisaged a household of a traditional kind, and not a return to that of Henry VI's minority. To this degree it was not a 'Yorkist' or partisan measure, but a conciliar consensus. Yet this accorded ill with the ceiling of 10,000 marks set by the revised allocation in April. For the moment we must leave this on one side, in order to examine what reductions were proposed in the size of the household in 1454. For this we can turn to the accounts of the treasurer of the household.

The nearest of these to the 'appointment' is that of Lord Stourton for Michaelmas 1451–52.²⁴ This lists a total of 620 persons, or 575 if the stables are excluded. The household above stairs numbered 399, and below stairs 221. The figure for below stairs thus lies between the 1445 and the 1454 'appointments', and in fact these departments had remained very stable throughout the majority of Henry VI. It was in the household above stairs that major expansion had occurred, first among the 'yeomen of the crown and chamber' and secondly among the 'esquires of hall and chamber'. We may trace this in each of the extant accounts (see Table 1).²⁵

Figure 5. Upper ranks in the royal household, 1437–52

	1437–39	1441–42	1443–44	1446–47	1447–48	1448–49	1450–51	1451–52
Yeomen	28	48	57	57	56	62	62	72
Esquires	120	175	225	243	270	277	278	283

It is primarily among these two elements that the 1454 'appointment' signalled a reduction. It listed thirty-two yeomen of the crown and chamber, in place of the seventy-two. How was this selection made, and whom did it displace? Of the twenty-three yeomen of the crown named in the appointment, all save one were in the household before 1451–52: seven dated from 1437–39, eleven from 1446–47, and four from 1450–51. They were a well-entrenched and senior body, most of whom had seven years' standing. Among the nine yeomen of the chamber all save two can be traced before 1454. Thus thirty-nine of the yeomen named in Stourton's last account had failed to find a place in the 'appointment'. Exclusion was not directly in terms of seniority, but also not obviously so on political grounds.

Turning to the higher ranks, the 'appointment' first lists the principal officers and then the knights and esquires. There were to be two carvers, four 'chevaliers', four esquires of the body, four gentleman ushers of the chamber, and twelve

²³ C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity* (New Haven, CT, and London, 1986), pp. 40–1 and 278 Appendix III.

²⁴ TNA PRO, Exchequer, Various Accounts, E 101/410/1.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Var. Accts, E 101/408/23–25; E 101/409/9; E 101/409/11; E 101/409/16; E 101/410/1; E 101/410/3 and E 101/540/29; E 101/410/6; E 101/410/9.

esquires of attendance. The treasurer's accounts had listed four carvers from 1437 to 1442 and three for 1446–52; but two of these, John Beauchamp of Powicke and William Beauchamp of St Amand, figure as barons in 1454. Of the two carvers named, Sir Edmund Hungerford had held the office since 1437, but Sir Philip Wentworth only since 1451–52. Exceptionally, the appointment does not identify the four 'chevaliers', a rank not represented in the accounts, although the 1445 ordinance records six as being in attendance, out of a total of twelve. The four esquires of the body were named as John Norris, John Say, John Penycok, and John Stanley. Again, the rank is not differentiated in the accounts, but it is clear from the patent rolls that since 1448 there had never been fewer than six or seven, and eight are named in the provisos to the act of resumption in 1450. Yet four was certainly the normal complement, and in restoring this, the appointment would have required some dismissals. These would have been John Hampton, Robert Manfield, Gilbert Par, Richard Tunstall, and Thomas Vaughan all of whom had this title in 1452–53; however, all appear in the same position in the closing years of the decade. Their proximity to the king had brought most of them into disrepute in 1450, and Penycok, Say, and Stanley had all been named in the Commons' petition which sought to expel them from the court. How the selection in 1454 was made is thus not clear, but all those chosen had considerable experience.

Next in importance were the ushers of the chamber, a post which often served as a stepping stone; indeed ushers usually moved upward after some five to eight years. After 1445 the number had increased, and between 1446 and 1453 there were often between eight and eleven ushers. The 'appointment' proposed to reduce this to four, the same number as in 1445, and named Bartholomew Halley, Thomas Staunton, Thomas Pulford, and Richard Molyneux. This certainly excluded some who were ushers in 1451–53, namely John Blakeney, Thomas Daniel, William Miners, William Say, Richard Clevedon, Thomas Parker, and Robert Whittingham. The first three had all been denounced by the Commons in 1450 and William Say by the duke of York; yet so had Pulford and Halley. In terms of seniority, Halley, Staunton, and Pulford all dated from 1439–44. The 'appointment' then named twelve 'esquires of attendance', a designation never used either in the treasurer's accounts or in the chancery rolls, although they may be the eight esquires for the chamber and four others of equivalent rank provided in the 1445 ordinance. Of those named, all save two (Robert Osbern and John Stanley junior) figure in the accounts as esquires, four as early as 1437–39, and the remainder in 1441–46. As with the ushers, seniority seems to have been the leading principle. The 'appointment' would appear to have excluded some prominent esquires who had featured in the latter 1440s, among them William Cromer, Gilbert Debenham, Thomas Everingham, Nicholas Latimer, William Lucy, John Trevelyan, Thomas Stacey, Edmund Hampden, and Ralph Babthorp, as well as Hampton, Daniel, Miners, Blakeney, Say, Manfield, Par, Tunstall, and Whittingham whom we have mentioned. Many of these were among the eighteen esquires of the household whose removal had been sought by the Commons in 1450–51. Three of these were no longer in the household

by 1453, and of the remaining fifteen, seven were included in the appointment and eight excluded.

It is difficult to know what considerations guided the 'appointment'. Seniority was important, but not exclusive: many of those selected had been members of the household since 1437 (or even before) and most pre-dated 1450. Very few had been recently introduced. But this was not surprising, since it had been between 1439 and 1449 that the numbers of esquires had notably expanded. Overall, the reduced entourage was to be small and somewhat elderly. Politically, while it excluded not a few of those prominent in the 1440s including some of the more notorious, it continued to harbour some of the enemies of the duke of York. His position, as protector of the crown and kingdom, depended on a consensus of the nobility, and he had to accommodate a reform of the household on traditional lines. Even in Henry's present prostration, the household was to represent the dignity of the crown and to retain its own political identity. Somerset might remain in prison, but the structure of his following at court was only barely touched.

To this there was one important exception, namely the large numbers of 'esquires of hall and chamber' recruited in the 1440s. In the household accounts they received 40s for fees and robes for their attendance at court on the five feasts of the year, or when otherwise summoned. These were, in effect, the royal affinity in the shires. If the permanent element of courtiers numbered some thirty to fifty, the affinity had grown from some ninety in 1437–39 to almost 250 ten years later. This was an extraordinary escalation, which far outmatched that under either Richard II or Henry IV, and had resulted more from a culture of complaisance than from conscious royal patronage.²⁶ The 'appointment' had remarked that 'soo grete a nombre of people canne nor might easely be kept in the said household as hath nowe a certain season be therein', and their presence in the household of an invalid king called for reform. Yet it seems unlikely that this, or the other reductions proposed by the 'appointment', took place immediately, for within a month Henry VI had begun to recover. Certainly the crown continued to rely upon the household affinity in the immediate sequel. As the court prepared to confront the Yorkist lords at a council at Leicester in May, it summoned two knights and esquires from the counties. Of the fifty-eight whose names have been preserved from thirty-one counties, twenty-seven were drawn from the household. A similar enlistment of the affinity, to raise a loan for the defence of Calais on 14 May 1455, named twenty-eight members of the household out of the ninety-four commissioners listed for thirty-three shires.²⁷

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The Yorkists' victory at St Albans set them for a time in an unchallengeable position, but the feuds and distrust it provoked rendered more difficult any

²⁶ Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, pp. 212–34 and 283–90, Appendices V and VI.

²⁷ *PPC*, vi. 339–42, 236–45.

consensus on the future form of government. Although, in the first session of the parliament, the nobility had reaffirmed their oaths of allegiance, it was clear that Henry VI was incapable of governing, and his absence at the second session in November paved the way for the Commons to call insistently for the appointment of the duke of York as Protector. York's powers were to be identical with those in his first protectorate except that, to safeguard against Henry's pliancy, he was only to be dismissed with the agreement of the lords in parliament, a provision intended to give a degree of permanence to his rule. Armed with this, he sought to 're-shape monarchical authority', constructing an independent authority by virtue of his office, while affirming his desire to seek the advice of the council for 'the good and politique rule and governaunce of this land'.²⁸

Central to York's strategy was the reduction of the royal household to the status of a domestic establishment for the enfeebled king, similar to that which had attended Henry IV from 1407. This was made clear in the new arrangements for its finance. In the second session of parliament (10 November–13 December 1455) Prince Edward was invested with the revenues of his appanage all of which, apart from £1,000 for his personal wardrobe, were to be paid into the king's household where he (and by implication the queen) was to reside. They provided £2,327 of a new household allocation of £3,935 for the current year.²⁹ Ultimately, a further £2,587 was to be drawn from properties resumed under a new act of resumption, though this was not effected until 21 July 1456.³⁰ Thus the households of the king and prince would have £6,522 per annum, along with £2,550 for the queen's diet at £7 per diem. Only £1,010 of this was to be drawn from the customs, which York reserved to repay the loans negotiated from the Staple for the wages of the garrison at Calais.

It had long been the contention of the parliamentary Commons that the household should be financed from the hereditary revenues, and there is little doubt that they introduced their resumption bill in the expectation of York's support. The mood of the lower house was strongly reformist. Figures for the carry-over of MPs between the radical parliaments of 1449/50, 1450/51, and 1455/56 suggest a surprisingly high degree of continuity. Although the names of only 199 members in 1455/56 are known, thirty-four of these had sat in 1449/50 and forty-seven (23.6 per cent) in 1450/51.³¹ Even more striking is the fact that, of the eighteen MPs in 1455/56 known to have sat in both 1449/50 and 1450/51, no fewer than fourteen had *not* sat in the predominantly curialist parliament of 1453/54. This important continuity of ethos between the reformist parliaments

²⁸ *Rot. Parl.*, v. 286–7, 289–90 (*PROME*, xii. 350–2, 357–9). For the nature of York's governance, see Watts, *Politics of Kingship*, pp. 317–23.

²⁹ *Rot. Parl.*, v. 293–4, 320–1 (*PROME*, xii. 366–7, 428–9). The queen had resided continually in the royal household since at least December 1454, and probably for the preceding year: Fallan's account, TNA PRO, Various Accounts, Wardrobe and Household, E 101/410/15.

³⁰ *CPR, 1452–61*, pp. 295–8.

³¹ I am indebted to the History of Parliament Trust for full lists of the members of the Commons in these parliaments.

of 1449/51 and that of 1455/6 may well have been articulated through three notable lawyers, William Burley, Thomas Young, and Alexander Hody, the first two of whom were outspoken supporters of the duke of York.³² It is likely that these framed the eloquent prologue to the Commons' bill of resumption introduced in the first session. This affirmed that the royal household was not only the first and greatest charge of state, but the symbol of the amity between the king and his subjects, and hence of the equity and stability of his rule. A penurious household, with its adverse reflections on the prosperity of the land and the contentment of the people, was an encouragement to the king's enemies and a danger to the realm. To provide a permanent and sufficient income for the household from the hereditary revenues of the crown was both for the surety and honour of the king and the ease and weal of his people, whose 'aggrugyng' for the victuals and other burdens for which they were not paid was well known. This could only be done through a wholesale resumption of all grants made since the beginning of the reign.³³

The effectiveness of the previous resumption in 1450–51 had been partially reduced by the grants of substantial properties in 1452–53 to Henry's two Tudor half-brothers, and the duke of Somerset, while many of the rent charges and annuities resumed had been regranted to some fifty members of the household.³⁴ All these the Commons' bill sought to annul, and its anti-curial tenor was shown in proposals to revoke the duchy of Lancaster enfeoffments for the royal colleges, and in the requirement that any royal exemptions be sent down to the Commons for approval and a fine imposed on those who accepted fresh grants. It was finally presented by the Commons after York had become Protector on 22 November, and safeguarded his rights and those of the queen and Prince Edward. The king accepted it in its entirety, apart from the penalty clause, but ordered that all exemptions should be authorised not by the Commons but by the Lords.³⁵ Over the remaining weeks of 1455 these were mostly York's associates, who conducted a rigorous adjudication of the numerous petitions for exemption.³⁶ The grants and annuities of many courtiers were curtailed or resumed, including those of the king's physician John Faceby and the senior knights and esquires John Hampton, Gilbert Par, Bartholomew Halley, Henry Roos, Giles Seintlow, Thomas Vaughan, Sir Thomas Stanley, Sir Richard Tunstall, Sir John Popham, John Penycok, Edmund Blake, Richard Tunstall and Lord Dudley. Lord Scales's annuity of £100 at the exchequer was referred to the king as being excessive, while Edmund duke of Somerset's grants

³² As pointed out to me by Dr S. J. Payling. I am greatly indebted to Dr Payling for his comments and corrections on this article.

³³ *Rot. Parl.*, v. 300 (*PROME*, xii. 381). It is interesting that parts of this prologue were reused in the resumption act of 1485.

³⁴ Grants made in 1452–53 of properties resumed in 1450–51 are enrolled in *CPR*, 1446–52, pp. 542–71 and in *CPR*, 1452–61, pp. 15–50.

³⁵ *Rot. Parl.*, v. 300–3 (*PROME*, xii. 381–6).

³⁶ For the identity of the council, see *PPC*, vi. 268–85.

of the Gournay lands and the Isle of Wight were revoked.³⁷ Although, in all, 143 provisos of exemption were appended to the act, the great majority were of long-standing grants to ecclesiastical and urban bodies and for offices and services performed.³⁸

During the parliamentary recess, York successfully restored order in the west country, imprisoning both the earl of Devon and Lord Bonville, but by the end of January, when many lords had gathered for parliament, opposition had built up to his continuance as Protector. The new session was attended by some of Queen Margaret's supporters, like Wiltshire and Beaumont, and as it became known that Henry wanted York's role reduced to that of principal councillor, York and Warwick staged a show of force on 9 February; but by 25 February virtually all the lords coalesced to bring the king to parliament and terminate York's protectorate.³⁹ Benet's chronicle ascribed this to their resistance to the resumption, but their opposition was more fundamental.⁴⁰ Undoubtedly, they had become alarmed by the alliance between the duke of York and the Commons. Emboldened by their success in securing the protectorate and the resumption, the Commons now pressed ahead with further measures. One proposed the resumption of 'franchises, liberties, hundreds, fines, issues and amercements' which were said to reduce the sheriffs' farms, making men reluctant to serve.⁴¹ Another sought to resume all grants of wardships and marriages since 1449/50 for which nothing had been rendered;⁴² another asked for the appropriation to the household, from 1 May for three years, of the customs and subsidies in the ports of the west country, the revenue from wards and marriages, the temporalities of bishoprics, and all forfeitures.⁴³ Finally, a bill sought to provide the great wardrobe with £1,600 for four years from 1 July by specifying annuities drawn from thirty-two farms of lands, eighteen farms of ulnage, and the customs in five ports.⁴⁴ All these were refused by the lords. Further reformist petitions that were refused, asked that all licences issued since 1450/51 to ship wool to Calais without customs and subsidies be revoked; that Italian merchants should buy wool solely at the ports; and that the additional 10 shillings on the wool

³⁷ The petitions for exemption are in TNA PRO Special Collections, Ancient Petitions, SC 8/28–9, 117, 124–50, and in Chancery, Parliament and Council Proceedings, C49/61–5. I am grateful to Dr S. J. Payling for producing a list of these. Unlike those in 1450, they do not bear the king's sign manual, but are answered by 'the Lords Spiritual and Temporal', who are not individually named. Many of the adjudications were noted by B. P. Wolffe, 'The Crown Lands and the Parliamentary Acts of Resumption' (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1954), pp. 345–8.

³⁸ *Rot. Parl.*, v. 303–20 (*PROME*, xii. 386–428). For the difficulty experienced by St Albans Abbey in securing exemption, see *Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whetehamstede*, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Series, 1872), i. 247–68.

³⁹ *Paston Letters* iii. 74 (no. 322); *Rot. Parl.*, v. 321–2 (*PROME*, xii. 431–2). Lords attending on 24 January 1456 are named in *PPC*, vi. 286.

⁴⁰ *Benet's Chronicle*, p. 216.

⁴¹ *Rot. Parl.*, v. 328 (*PROME*, xii. 443).

⁴² *Rot. Parl.*, v. 330 (*PROME*, xii. 443).

⁴³ TNA PRO, Chancery, Parliament and Council Proceedings, C 49/41/1.

⁴⁴ C 49/41/3, 4 and C 49/68/20 form part of the bill for the wardrobe.

subsidy imposed in 1453 be waived.⁴⁵ Still buoyed up by the achievements of the second session, the Commons were now outflanked by the resurgence of the court under the leadership of the queen, 'a grete and strong laboured woman'. She had determined to break out of the straitjacket of a sedentary household under the authority of the Protector and constitute herself and the prince as an independent political power. She was assisted by the suspicion of York's intentions among the lords and their reluctance to perpetuate the protectorate once parliament had been dissolved.

York's containment of the royal household proved less enduring than he intended, though financially it was restrictive enough. In Michaelmas term 1455/56 it had received from the exchequer £5,118 and in Easter term 1456 £2,282, giving a total of £7,400. One-third of this had been assigned on the customs and subsidies, with two-thirds drawn from the hereditary revenues. This was an increase on its prests in the first protectorate, at £6,550, but markedly less than its receipt of £9,172 in the year Michaelmas 1453–54 and of £12,058 at the height of Somerset's rule in 1452–53.⁴⁶ Although the prescribed sum of 10,000 marks had been exceeded, the protectorates had clearly set limits to the household as an exchequer charge. A further perspective on the household's income comes from the summary account of the treasurer, William Fallan, for 3 December 1454 to 11 May 1456.⁴⁷ He received £12,348 in prests from the exchequer, with £1,369 14s 10d from the duchy of Lancaster, and £3,668 from the queen for her diet at £7 per diem, in all a total of £17,386. His expenses totalled £14,839, giving a comfortable balance on his account. This was achieved partly through the queen's subvention, and partly through an infusion of over £10,700, all of it paid during the Yorkist administration between July 1455 and March 1458. If York was ensuring the consolidated household a sufficient income, he was also securing a reduction in its costs and size. Fallan's annual costs averaged £10,500 a year, being £1,000 less than in Stourton's account of 1451–52 and over £4,000 less than the peak of household consumption in 1448–49. The absence of his detailed account book makes it difficult to know what reductions were made in personnel following the 1454 'appointment', but pruning had occurred in the upper ranks, and the figure of £1,050 for 'fees and robes' in Stourton's account had been reduced to £736, probably indicating substantial reductions among the 40-shilling members of the affinity. By the end of Fallan's treasurership the household was perhaps close to that 'resonnable and accompetent feliship' which the 'appointment' had envisaged, appropriate to a king who was no longer able to rule or even travel through his kingdom.

By the end of March 1456 the queen had freed herself from the king's household, setting up a rival establishment with the prince at Kenilworth. In

⁴⁵ *Rot. Parl.*, v. 330, 331, 335 (*PROME*, xii. 443–4).

⁴⁶ Harriss, 'Finance of the Household', Appendix, Table I (compiled from the receipt and issue rolls).

⁴⁷ TNA PRO, Exchequer KR, Wardrobe and Household, E 101/401/15.

London a council, still 'characteristic of the protectorate', continued to act in the king's name.⁴⁸ In this period of uncertainty, it was not until 10 July that the exchequer sent writs to the sheriffs to resume properties, though in many cases new leases with increased rents had been effected. On 21 July letters patent finally allocated the sum of £2,587 to the household, drawn from twenty-two farms of ulnage, twenty-eight fee farms, and seventy-eight farms of lands, though it was too late to assign these for the current year. This belatedly complemented the allocation in November, providing the household with an annual sum of £6,522 from the exchequer in fulfilment of the prescribed 10,000 marks.⁴⁹ By this time, however, the king had freed himself from the Yorkist council, rejoining the queen in August. In October the queen's nominees supplanted the Yorkist administration.

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Richard duke of York's policy towards the royal household was bound to be complex and contradictory. Though aware, after the events of 1450–52, that it harboured his mortal enemies, his position as Protector required him to uphold the dignity and inviolability of the king, which it was the function of the household to sustain. Henry VI's prostration in 1454 afforded the opportunity to prune the household, initially by limiting its charge at the exchequer to some 10,000 marks, to be drawn mainly from the crown's hereditary revenues, and in due course through a reduction of its personnel. Since the latter required the consensus of the nobility and court officers, the resultant 'appointment' followed traditional rather than radical lines, and was even so largely aborted by Henry's recovery. Following the court's military defeat at St Albans, and his reappointment as Protector, York envisaged a domestic royal household comprising the king, queen and prince, furnished with a sufficient allocation drawn from the crown lands. This was enthusiastically supported by the parliamentary Commons, intent on a systematic resumption of grants to support the domestic charges. But neither York's reliance on the parliamentary lords for his office, nor his alliance with the Commons on reform, sufficed to sustain his protectorate against the queen's determination to free herself, the prince, and ultimately the king, from Yorkist control.

⁴⁸ Watts, *Politics of Kingship*, p. 333 n. 304.

⁴⁹ Wolffe, *Royal Domesne*, pp. 139–40; *CPR, 1452–61*, pp. 295–8.

From the Court of Richard II to the Court of Prempeh I: The Problem of the 'Asante' Ewers

Malcolm Vale

The role of the fortuitous, the contingent, the unpremeditated, and the unforeseen in history has always caused significant problems for historians.¹ Cherished theories of linear progression, development and evolution, for instance, are often confounded by them. The chance encounter, the quirk of fortune, the sudden change in the weather, the unexpected discovery – all tend to qualify, if not to undermine, deterministic or evolutionary theses of historical causation and development. Similarly, the study of symbols, symbolism and symbolic communication forms one of the more treacherous areas of both historical and anthropological research. How can we ever know exactly what was typified, represented or recalled, in the minds of contemporary observers, by the use of symbols – not only in their ritual, or ritualised, embodiment but (if they ever played any role in it) in the world of everyday life? Symbolism and ritual could convey meanings that were both ambiguous and unstable and, once chronological, geographical, social or cultural frontiers were crossed, those meanings could change dramatically.

The purpose of this essay is to examine a small, though perhaps not insignificant, example in which these problems – the contingent and the symbolic – come together. It concerns, in part, the manner in which symbolic significance could be attributed, in the setting of one ruler's court, to objects deriving from another court, utterly remote from it in time and place, the original purpose of which had been very different. It may also serve as a reminder to us that any attempt to make fruitful comparisons between cultures must take due account of the profound differences, as well as apparent similarities, between those cultures.

In mid-January 1896, a force composed of British, West Indian and indigenous African troops, all in British service, occupied, and partially destroyed, the

¹ For their generous assistance during the preparation of this essay I am most grateful to Dr Teresa Pinto Coelho (Lisbon), Dr Rita Costa Gomez (Baltimore), Ms Antonia Lovelace (Leeds City Museum), Major Michael Sullivan and Mr Graham Dyson (Prince of Wales's Own Yorkshire Regiment Archive and Museum, York).



Plate 16. Palace courtyard at Kumase or Bantama, showing two of the 'Asante' ewers under a sacred tree, 1887. TNA, CO 1069/31, no. 17.

palaces of King Prempeh I (Kwaku Dua III, 1888–1931) of the Asante (Ashanti) in the Kumase region of the Gold Coast (modern Ghana).² Among them were the 2nd battalion of the West Yorkshire Regiment (Prince of Wales's Own) and a unit made up of selected troops from various British regiments, entitled a 'Special Service Corps'.³ Their officers returned from their West African expedition with certain war trophies – some of which they proceeded, in effect, to repatriate. In one of the palace courtyards of the deposed Asante king, some items of domestic table- or kitchen-ware, ostensibly deriving from a pantry or buttery (butlery), had been discovered. These consisted of two large bronze jugs, or ewers, which were found to date from the late fourteenth century, and were subsequently identified – by the emblems, inscriptions and insignia upon one of them – as part of the household equipment of the court of King

² See W. Tordoff, *Ashanti under the Prempehs, 1888–1935* (London, 1965); I. Wilks, *Asante in the 19th Century* (Cambridge, 1975) for the background to the campaign.

³ See TNA, WO 107/11; WO 32/7645; WO 33/75; and CO 879/43/1 for the records of the expedition. The Yorkshire Regiment's role in the acquisition of Asante artefacts is detailed in A. Lovelace, 'War Booty: Changing Contexts, Changing Displays: Asante "Relics" from Kumasi Acquired by the Prince of Wales's Own Regiment of Yorkshire in 1896', *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 12 (2000), 147–60.

Richard II of England (1377–99).⁴ These eminently utilitarian and ostensibly practical objects, also known as 'lavers' – used for the storage and pouring out of water for washing before and after meals in later medieval households – may have communicated few (if any) symbolic, let alone hidden, meanings to their original users. Such messages as they conveyed were of a pragmatic, if mildly moralistic, kind. One carried, around its belly, an inscription in the form of two proverbs, both in Middle English, rather than – as might have been expected – French or Anglo-Norman, which ran:

He that wyl not spare whan he may
 He schal not spend whan he wold
 (He that will not save when he can
 Shall not spend when he wishes)

and

Deme the best in every dowte
 Til the trowthe be tryd owte
 (Suppose the best in every doubt
 Until the truth be known)⁵

These wise saws or proverbs were popular sayings, in wide and general currency, not only in courtly circles. There was nothing evidently symbolic or abstruse about them. But the Asante, whose means of acquiring these bronze vessels is as yet unknown, appear to have invested them with sacred and symbolic significance. At least two of them had stood under a sacred tree (or 'fetish-tree' as it was described by the British) at the Kumase court.⁶ Given the profound

⁴ First identified and described in C. H. Read, 'Bronze Jug', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series 17 (1898), 82–7. See also J. Romilly Allen, 'Inscribed Bronze Flagon of the 14th Century in the South Kensington Museum', *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, 2 (1896), 103–6. See Plate 17.

⁵ BM, MLA 96, 7–27, 1. See Plate 17. Surviving English examples of ewers from the earlier fourteenth century (c. 1300–25) have inscriptions in similar form but in French (Anglo-Norman), one with the single-line invitation VENEZ LAVER ('Come and wash') and another with JE SUI LAWR [i.e. LAVER] GILEBERT. KI MEMBLERA MAL I DEDERT ('I am the laver Gilbert, whoever takes me away may he gain ill from it') on bands around them. A further example has +JE SUI APELLE LAWR / JE SERF TUT PAR AMUR ('I am called a laver; I serve all for love') around it. See J. M. Lewis, R. Brownsword and E. E. H. Pitt, 'Medieval "Bronze" Tripod Ewers from Wales', *Medieval Archaeology* 31 (1987), 82–3, 92 n.3. For detailed descriptions and images of all the ewers discussed in this essay see Appendix (pp. 351–53) and Plates 16–18. The two largest, and finest, examples were exhibited in the *Age of Chivalry* exhibition (Royal Academy) in 1987. See *Age of Chivalry. Art in Plantagenet England, 1200–1400*, ed. J. Alexander and P. Binski (London, 1987), nos 726–7, pp. 524–5. See also M. Bailey, 'Two Kings, Their Armies and Some Jugs: The Ashanti Ewer', *Apollo* (December 1993), pp. 387–90.

⁶ See Plate 16 for a photograph taken in 1887 showing two of the ewers beneath a sacred tree at the Ahemfie, or at the royal mausoleum at Bantama (Kumase). See also J. Cherry and N. Stratford, eds, *Westminster Kings and the Medieval Palace of Westminster* (BM Occasional



Plate 17. Two bronze ewers, English, c. 1390–9; left: 'Asante' ewer 3 (British Museum, Ethno 1933–2); right: 'Asante' ewer 1 (British Museum, MLA 96, 7–27, 1).

symbolic, ritualistic and religious significance attributed by the Asante to both trees and metalwork of many kinds – including the famous 'Golden Stool', various bells, pans, pots, drinking vessels, jugs, kettles, ornate weaponry and other objects – their function had clearly undergone a transformation as a result of their long journey from Westminster to Kumase.⁷

The problems posed by these objects and their place of discovery have intrigued all those who have studied them: to scholars, they represent 'a

Papers 115, London, 1995), pp. 98–100. One ewer (now at Leeds) is also shown in a studio photograph taken at Dover in (?) Feb. 1896 of trophies acquired by the West Yorks Regiment (Lovelace, 'War Booty', plate 1).

⁷ See, for pioneer work on both metalwork and religion in Asante society, R. S. Rattray, *Ashanti* (Oxford, 1923), pp. 308–16; *Religion and Art in Ashanti* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 1–9, 113–16. More recently, for trees and their significance in Asante custom and culture, see J. G. Platvoet, 'Cool Shade, Peace and Power: The Gyedua ("Tree of Reception") as an Ideological Instrument of Identity Management among the Akan Peoples of Southern Ghana', *Journal of Religion in Africa* 15 (1985), 174–200; and L. Prussin, 'Traditional Asante Architecture', *African Arts* 13 (1980), 57–87, esp. p. 58 and figs 2 and 3 for the significance of sacred tree-shrines and altars in Asante courtyards.

continuing mystery';⁸ 'how these vessels reached the area is totally obscure';⁹ 'few things were stranger than the items the British found in Kumase towards the end of the last [nineteenth] century'.¹⁰ We need to account – or at least offer a plausible hypothesis – for how and why they came to be where they were in 1896. Their function, or functions, at the court of the Asante rulers also need to be set into the context of the alien culture, rituals and religious practices of which they apparently came to form a part. What might (somewhat pretentiously) be called 'cross-contextual cultural transfer' was clearly taking place here. Before trying to discover how such a transfer had come about, the objects must be accurately described (see Appendix). They form part of a series of such artefacts, of which five examples currently survive in British collections. Three of these stem from an Asante provenance: two of the 'Asante' ewers are now in the custody of the British Museum; one is on loan to Leeds City Museum; while two other closely related ewers are in the Victoria and Albert Museum and Wardown Park Museum, Luton, respectively.¹¹ The appended tabulated list (Appendix, pp. 351–53) attempts to collate information about their construction, date, provenance, ownership and manner of preservation, and includes all the surviving items.

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European contacts with West Africa during the later Middle Ages began with the Portuguese exploration of its coastline. By 1482, the Portuguese had reached El Mina (formerly Gold Coast, now Ghana). They proceeded to establish a fort (dedicated to St George) and trading-post there.¹² By 1502, gold was being exported by them from El Mina.¹³ There was apparently little attempt to penetrate into the densely forested hinterland until a much later date. But the region's greatest asset – gold – as well as slaves, came down to the coastal area from the tribal kingdoms of the interior, including that of the Akan people known as

⁸ Cherry and Stratford, *Westminster Kings*, ed., p. 98.

⁹ M. D. Mcleod, *The Asante* (London, 1981), p. 134.

¹⁰ M. D. Mcleod, 'Richard II, Part 3, at Kumase', *West African Economic and Social History: Studies in Memory of Marion Johnson*, ed. D. Henige and T. C. McCaskie (Madison, WI, 1990), p. 171.

¹¹ See Plates 17 and 18. For details of the ewer, and other Asante objects on loan at Leeds, see Lovelace, 'War Booty', pp. 151–6 and for the 'Wenlock' ewer see *Easton Neston House, Northamptonshire: Sale of Contents* (Sotheby's, London, 2005), pp. 90–3; Col. Ansley, *A Few Observations on Lord Wenlock's Tankard now in the Possession of the Earl of Pomfret* (London, 1831); *Art Quarterly*, autumn 2005, p. 7 and summer 2006, p. 22; and *Stockwood Discovery Centre, Luton Museums* (Luton, 2007), pp. 4–7. It is currently (2008) exhibited in the Stockwood Discovery Centre Museum, Luton.

¹² For a recent, historical, account of early European intervention in West Africa see A. A. Perbi, *A History of Indigenous Slavery in Ghana from the 15th to the 19th Century* (Legon-Accra, 2004); also see E. L. R. Meyerowitz, *The Early History of the Akan States of Ghana* (London, 1974) and, for an older view, W. W. Claridge, *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti*, 2 vols (London, 1915).

¹³ Mcleod, *The Asante*, p. 73.

the Asante.¹⁴ They had come to the attention of Europeans on the coast by the early eighteenth century under their great founder-king, or Asantehene, Osei Tutu (d. 1717).¹⁵ An expanding, aggressive Asante kingdom began to achieve hegemony over other peoples, engaging in active trade, focusing on their chief place of residence, Kumase, with Europeans (Portuguese, Dutch, Danish and English) in exchange for metalwork, cloth, firearms and slaves. But the political and diplomatic dimension of relations, as well as trading connections, between the West African kingdoms and European powers was also significant. Alliance with Europeans could lead to mastery, if only temporary mastery, of their neighbours, while Africans in return provided those Europeans with valuable assets and resources. European powers, from an early date, vied with each other for such alliances, largely for economic and commercial gain. This was not merely a product of nineteenth-century competition between colonial empires. Indeed, the very earliest evidence of English awareness of, and interest in, West Africa suggests potential Anglo-Portuguese rivalry on the Guinea coast from the 1480s onwards.¹⁶ In 1482 and 1488, proposed English trading expeditions, supported by Spanish and dissident Portuguese nobles respectively, were called off after protests by the envoys of John II of Portugal. They came to England in 1482 to 'confirm the ancient leagues [dating from 1386] with Ingraterra' and to 'show the right and title which the king [John II] enjoyed to the lordship of Guinee'.¹⁷ This resulted in a prohibition from Edward IV preventing the 'fleet' planned by two London merchants from sailing to the Guinea coast¹⁸ although the king had previously petitioned Pope Sixtus IV, stating that he 'willingly permits his subjects to pass over to any part of Africa for traffic, and the exchange of baser merchandise for nobler, provided this be sanctioned by the pope's authority'.¹⁹ The long-standing alliance between the kingdoms of England and Portugal was not, in the event, to be jeopardised by the activity of interlopers in the West African trade, and Henry VII acted in a similar manner to Edward IV in 1488.²⁰

Only from the mid-sixteenth century did direct and regular English contact with West Africa materialise. After the abortive attempts in 1482 and 1488, no English interest in voyages to the Guinea coast is recorded until John Hawkins's

¹⁴ The Akan peoples were already known to the Portuguese by 1520, when Portuguese sources refer to a 'King of Acanes': J. K. Fynn, *Ashanti and Its Neighbours, 1700–1807* (Evanston, IL, 1971), pp. 3–19.

¹⁵ For this, and for what follows, see Mcleod, *The Asante*, p. 11; also, for a general account of Asante expansion, see T. J. Lewin, *Asante before the British* (Lawrence, KS, 1978).

¹⁶ See J. W. Blake, ed. and trans., *Europeans in West Africa, 1450–1560*, 2 vols (London, 1942), esp. ii. 263–9, 295–7.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, ii. 295.

¹⁸ *Foedera*, xii. 145, 163; Blake, *Europeans*, ii. doc. 105, pp. 295–6.

¹⁹ *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, 1202–1509* (London, 1864), no. 474 (27 February 1481); Blake, *Europeans*, ii. doc. 107, p. 297.

²⁰ Blake, *Europeans*, ii. 267.

revival of that interest in 1530 and 1532.²¹ In February 1540, a ship named the *Paul* was loaded at Plymouth for Guinea and Brazil with a cargo which included hachets, knives, combs, hundredweights of iron, copper and lead, woollen cloth and clothing.²² Yet it was only after 1551 that any kind of regular traffic between England and the Barbary and Guinea coasts was initiated. A report of a voyage to Guinea in 1555–56 offered evidence of the demand among the indigenous peoples for European goods, and stated that 'the people in this place desired most to have basons [basins] and cloths'.²³ It is just conceivable that the bronze ewers might have found their way to West Africa, beside the basins, as part of such a cargo, having migrated from the English royal household into the hands of London merchants. But the evidence points towards another explanation. It has been argued, by M. D. Mcleod, that the ewers were 'not distributed by normal trading networks' (including the ancient trans-Saharan route) but had been shipped out as a group, forming 'some sort of royal gift or, at worst, a theft or sale of royal assets', perhaps sent as a diplomatic gift from a European power to one of the kingdoms of West Africa.²⁴ This might not have been, in the first instance, that of the Asante, as the expansion of that kingdom from the later seventeenth century onwards had entailed the appropriation and plunder of the goods of other peoples, including those of the coastal regions.²⁵ Alternatively, they may have been a product of a gift exchange between the Asante and another African power.²⁶ A hypothesis that sees politics, diplomacy and, perhaps, capture in warfare behind the unexpected and unexplained presence of items from Richard II's domestic tableware at the Asante court needs to be set beside the surviving evidence from a number of sources.

Long-standing Portuguese contacts with the Asante can be traced in Portuguese records and through the relatively detailed accounts left by nineteenth-century European visitors and envoys. In 1819 T. E. Bowdich, on a diplomatic and trading mission to Kumase, noted the many metal vessels found at the palace there, including a 'very large vessel with heavy handles and clawed feet' used by the king's cook, and others, some of which were made to hold incense. He 'observed a Portuguese inscription on one piece, and they seemed generally of that manufacture'.²⁷ He also noted that, for washing, Portuguese soap was used.²⁸ Yet such objects were not necessarily a product of trade with the Portuguese. It was already the practice at an early date for

²¹ *Ibid.*, ii. 263, 269.

²² TNA, E 122/116/11; Blake, *Europeans*, ii. doc. 110, pp. 300–1.

²³ Blake, *Europeans*, ii. 382. It was common for ewers to be associated with basins in the later Middle Ages.

²⁴ Mcleod, 'Richard II, Part 3', p. 173.

²⁵ Mcleod, *The Asante*, p. 134: 'the two English ewers made in the time of Richard II [were] apparently associated with the Asante defeat of groups towards the south-west.'

²⁶ See Bailey, 'Two Kings', pp. 389–90.

²⁷ T. E. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee (1819)*, ed. W. E. F. Ward (London, 1966), pp. 137–8.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

gifts to be given to African potentates. In 1513, the king of one of the West African coastal kingdoms received a 'leather-covered trunk, in which to keep his gold safe' from the Portuguese.²⁹ Among the items found by the British in Asante royal residences in 1896, were chairs of Portuguese manufacture, and a locked coffer covered with copper sheeting with designs in low relief upon it, lined with European-made yellow fabric.³⁰ Besides the products of trade, the Portuguese rulers and their representatives were in the habit, from an early date, of offering what they perceived to be appropriate gifts to African allies and trading partners. A list of 'objects to send to the Congo' survives among Portuguese records from 1512.³¹ Goncalo Roiz Ribeiro had reached the kingdom of Congo by 1509, and in 1512, Simão da Silva was dispatched there, and also apparently to Guinea, with a large consignment of gifts for the 'king of Manicomguo' who had accepted Christianity and assumed the name of Alfonso I.³² Besides the liturgical equipment which was provided, a vast array of textiles, animals, weapons, a set of bowls 'which they much esteem', chairs, candlesticks and candelabra, clothing, leather shoes and buskins, specimen trees and plants, seeds and fruit-stones, keys, locks and bolts, mattocks, steel to make tools, spurs, saddles, armour, gunpowder, a pair of trumpets, a travelling war-bed ('leito de guerra') for the king 'as can be found in the household ['na casa'] at [El] Mina', and medicines, were gifted to Portugal's African ally.³³ Some of these items were noted as being 'cheap' ('que custam muyto pouco', 'que custa pouco dinheiro') and some were clearly second-hand or recycled goods.³⁴ It would not therefore be improbable that what were considered obsolete or redundant household objects from one European royal source might be offered to another ruler as gifts in this way.

It would therefore seem that a hypothesis which M. D. Mcleod first proposed in 1990 warrants considerable further investigation. He speculated that the three surviving bronze ewers which have known associations with the Asante may have been 'kept together somewhere in Europe (possibly in Portugal) for a couple of centuries [that is, until c. 1600] after they were made, and sent, as items obsolete in Europe but desirable in West Africa, as a diplomatic present', and as 'part of some important diplomatic exchange'.³⁵ If, however, they had been in Portuguese hands from relatively soon after the time at which they had been made, then the close relations between the English and Portuguese kingdoms in the later Middle Ages must be brought into play. It is well known that John of Gaunt's Iberian ambitions in the 1380s and 1390s extended to Portugal. His

²⁹ Mcleod, *The Asante*, p. 45.

³⁰ Mcleod, 'Richard II, Part 3', p. 172; Lovelace, 'War Booty', pp. 152–3.

³¹ 'Rol de Objectos a enviar para o Congo', *Monumenta Missionaria Africana. Africa Occidental (1471–1531)*, ed. A Brasio (Lisbon, 1952), pp. 246–53.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 246–7.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 247–53.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

³⁵ Mcleod, 'Richard II, Part 3', pp. 173–4.

daughter Philippa was married in 1387 to John I, king of Portugal, and close contacts were maintained by the Aviz dynasty with the house of Lancaster.³⁶ In 1405, the illegitimate daughter of John I, Beatriz, married Thomas Fitzalan, fifth earl of Arundel.³⁷ The Anglo-Portuguese 'perpetual alliance' which was a product of the Treaty of Windsor (9 May 1386) necessitated regular exchanges between the two kingdoms, beside the commercial and mercantile relations which it both established and confirmed. Under Richard II, therefore, contacts and interactions were frequent and sustained, beginning with the diplomatic mission which ratified and confirmed the treaty of Windsor at Coimbra in August 1387.³⁸ Between January and November 1387, for instance, Sir William Faringdon led an embassy to Portugal to confirm the treaty and secure the naval aid to England which it promised.³⁹ The election of Portuguese kings and nobles to the Order of the Garter also became a regular feature of Anglo-Portuguese relations over the following century.⁴⁰ Although no record has yet been found, one could speculate that it may have been on one of such occasions that the bronze ewers could have passed, as a set, by gift from English to Portuguese hands. But surviving inventories of goods held in Richard II's wardrobe and household, and records of gifts (*dona*) in his household accounts, tend to be confined to gold, silver and silver-gilt plate, jewels and items in precious, not 'base', metals.⁴¹ Yet further investigation could yield fruit.

If, as we know, three of the surviving ewers can be associated with the British intervention in the Gold Coast in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the question of their use and purpose remains. Their discovery, during the 1895–96 expedition, in the courtyard of one of Prempeh I's palaces, under a sacred tree, seems significant. These objects were clearly not simply serving their original domestic functions. The detailed descriptions of the Asante and their customs given by nineteenth-century European explorers, adventurers, correspondents and envoys confirm the special place accorded to brass and bronze vessels, as well as to 'fetish-trees', in their culture and religion. Twentieth-century anthropologists and ethnographers have sought to describe and explain those uses and functions, as well as the symbolic meanings contained in, and conveyed by, such vessels. In 1819, Bowdich noted the lavish provision of metal

³⁶ See P. E. Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 524–5; A. Goodman, *John of Gaunt* (London, 1992), pp. 137–8.

³⁷ For Anglo-Portuguese relations at this time see A. Goodman, 'England and Iberia in the Middle Ages', *England and her Neighbours. Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais*, ed. M. Jones and M. Vale (London, 1989), pp. 90–1.

³⁸ See Russell, *English Intervention*, pp. 414–15; *Foedera*, vii. 510–25.

³⁹ TNA, E 101/319/27 for Faringdon's particulars of account for the mission (28 January–12 November 1387); Russell, *English Intervention*, pp. 443, 493, 515–16.

⁴⁰ See P. J. Begent and H. Chesshyre, *The Most Noble Order of the Garter. 650 Years* (London, 1999), pp. 311–14, for Portuguese elections between 1408 and 1510.

⁴¹ The following wardrobe and household accounts for Richard II's reign have been searched: TNA, E 101/402/5, 10, 20; 403/8, 9, 10, 14, 24, 26, 27; 404/5; 411/10.



Plate 18. 'Asante' ewer 2, English, c. 1390–99 (Leeds, City Museum, LEEDM.FLI.1984, 4a and b).

vessels in which not only drinks but ritual potions, emetics and purges were administered, as well as the taste – and expectation – of the Asante for gifts from Western powers and their representatives.⁴² Dupuis, in 1824, included in his *Journal of a Residence in Ashantee*, a drawing of Asante priests or 'magicians' shown with a large bronze or brass pot, with three feet⁴³ and emphasised their long-standing contact with the Portuguese by quoting their king's description of the latter as, among European powers, 'the most ancient, and formerly mistress of all the other tribes'.⁴⁴ More specifically, J. Beecham, writing in 1841, laid great emphasis on the religious beliefs of the Asante, noting that 'some kinds of tree are also esteemed [by them] as fetishes, and are always left untouched when the

⁴² Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast*, pp. 37–8, 292, 297–8, 455–7.

⁴³ J. Dupuis, *Journal of a Residence in Ashantee* (1824), ed. W. E. F. Ward (London, 1966), plate 5 facing p. 75.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

ground on which they stand is cleared for cultivation'.⁴⁵ He elaborated upon this by observing that the placing of objects and offerings 'close by a "fetish-tree"' at Kumase denoted their belief that a 'tutelary god' resided in the tree, and that sacred and consecrated 'fire-pots', often placed beneath such trees, were filled with substances and compounds for medicinal and prophylactic purposes. Bronze ewers would clearly have had a useful role to play in such cults.

With the onset of more active and aggressive, often military, European intervention in West Africa towards the end of the nineteenth century, the emphases in accounts of the Asante by British and other soldiers, diplomatic envoys and correspondents began to change – towards a more condescending and often censorious attitude towards them. Their long-standing practice of both slavery and 'human sacrifice' (or, more accurately, the ritual killings of slaves, servants, priests and convicts on certain significant occasions, including the deaths of rulers and high-ranking Asante chiefs)⁴⁶ was peculiarly abhorrent to contemporary British sensibilities and convictions, and this aversion runs throughout the writings of such influential figures as Major R. S. S. Baden-Powell.⁴⁷ The *Daily Telegraph's* correspondent on the Asante campaign of 1874 entitled his chapter on the Asante capital at Kumase 'The Metropolis of Murder'⁴⁸ and gave a graphic description of the royal palace there 'simply stuffed with loot', including numerous umbrellas, clocks – none of them in use for time-keeping purposes, a 'bird-organ', many gold masks, muskets, kettles, silver boxes, a magic lantern, various chairs and tables of Western provenance, Dutch engravings, and Delft tableware.⁴⁹ There were also what was described as a 'fine old Queen Anne tankard', and two other 'tankards', one covered, used as a 'fetish drinking vessel of the king and his ancestors'.⁵⁰ Much of this was seized and put up for sale by public auction at Cape Coast castle where the gold objects attracted far less attention from indigenous African bidders 'of the better

⁴⁵ J. Beecham, *Ashantee and the Gold Coast (1841)*, ed. G. E. Metcalfe (London, 1968), pp. 175, 194–5. For trees as execution-sites see Platvoet, 'Cool Shade, Peace and Power', esp. p. 195.

⁴⁶ Eye-witness accounts of such executions and what were considered their repellent aftermath can be found in, e.g., the journal of a Dutch embassy to Kumase in 1857, in L. W. Yarak, 'A Dutch Embassy to Asante in 1857: The Journal of David Mill Graves', *History in Africa* 24 (1997), 363–80. See also the diary of the 1895–96 Asante campaign kept by an NCO of the West Yorks Regiment, in PWO Regimental Archive, WYR, HR00171 for similar reactions. The most lurid account is given in F. Musgrave, *To Kumassi with Scott, 1895–6* (London, 1896), chs IX–X.

⁴⁷ R. S. S. Baden-Powell, *The Downfall of Prempeh. A Diary of Life with the Native Levy in Ashanti, 1895–6* (London, 1896), esp. chs XI–XIV; *Lessons from the Varsity of Life* (London, 1933), ch. V: 'Soldiering: with a Native Levy in Ashanti'.

⁴⁸ F. Boyle, *Through Fanteeland to Coomassie. A Diary of the Ashanti Expedition* (London, 1874), pp. 342–59.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 348–9.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 384–5; Mcleod, *The Asante*, pp. 18–19. Given nineteenth-century descriptions of the 'Wenlock' ewer as a 'tankard' (see n. 11 above) it is possible that reference was here being made to what were in fact ewers.

class' (from other tribes) than did such goods as beads and textiles.⁵¹ The town dwellings at Kumase were burned down by the expeditionary force of 1874 and a fetish-tree there was destroyed – because of its alleged association with human sacrifice.⁵² The writer concluded that 'many times, in one or the other hemisphere, has an English army sacked some barbarous capital, and carried off the treasures stored therein, but never such, I think, as those we found in the Ashantee palace'.⁵³ The pattern was to be repeated, though with apparently rather stricter disciplinary controls, during the subsequent British expeditions of 1895–96 and 1900–1.

The Asante campaigns of 1895–96 and 1900–1 are well documented. Apart from the 'official' sources – War and Colonial Office correspondence, memoranda and reports – a number of less formal records, in the shape of campaign diaries, notes and messages sent by serving officers, and photographs have survived.⁵⁴ The course of the expedition, and the reactions of British officers and, in one case, an NCO, to what they found, can be charted in some detail. Memoirs and official reports of the campaign also went into print.⁵⁵ A *Precis of the Ashanti Expedition, 1895–6* compiled by the War Office, gave a careful and balanced account of the affair, and included recommendations for further action. In the event, no military action of a conventional kind was carried out against the Asante, who refused to give battle and surrendered without offering resistance. The details of the campaign, its origins and aftermath, are irrelevant to our purposes here, but the state and nature of the Asante court and kingship at that time have some bearing on our theme. The court of the Asantehene appears to have borne certain resemblances to European medieval courts, based essentially upon the ruler's household, in which household office conferred both function and status upon their holders.⁵⁶ In the mid- and late nineteenth century, the personnel of the Asante court included a 'master of the court' (broadly equivalent to the *grand maître d'hôtel*), a court treasurer, court chamberlains, a 'court crier', a master barber, sword-bearers, executioners, dwarfs, jesters, armour-bearers, 'linguists', Muslim scribes, umbrella-holders, fan-bearers and menial servants of all kinds. Court etiquette and protocol were meticulously observed, and the king's household provided the state's bureaucracy.⁵⁷ Prempeh I had been

⁵¹ Boyle, *Through Fanteeland*, pp. 379–90. A similar practice was adopted in 1896: see Lovelace, 'War Booty', pp. 150–3.

⁵² Rattray, *Religion and Art*, pp. 113–18; Boyle, *Through Fanteeland*, pp. 354, 359.

⁵³ Boyle, *Through Fanteeland*, p. 377.

⁵⁴ For sources in TNA see n. 3 above. Also Prince of Wales's Own Regiment of Yorkshire Archive, York, PD00085, 00184, 00185; PH00183–7; HR 00171, 00173. The anonymous NCO's diary (HR 00171) is of especial interest.

⁵⁵ TNA, WO 33/75: *Precis of the Ashanti Expedition, 1895–6* (London, War Office, 1897), 'compiled in the Intelligence Division of the War Office by Capt'n R. N. R. Reade, The King's Shropshire Light Infantry'. Captain Reade was possessed of considerable analytical ability.

⁵⁶ See Plate 19 for a depiction of the Asantehene's court, where he sits surrounded by his court officials, some bearing their maces of office.

⁵⁷ See Yarak, 'A Dutch Embassy', pp. 368–72; *Precis of the Ashanti Expedition*, p. 9; Wilks,

'enstooled', with British support, in March 1888, after the premature death of his predecessor, Kwaku Dua II, in 1884. The young Prempeh (aged about sixteen) succeeded to the kingdom as Kwaku Dua III but was not fully nor unanimously recognised as sovereign by all the Asante tribal sub-kings.⁵⁸ He was said to be very much under the queen mother's control – a woman 'cruel, hated and feared'.⁵⁹ This was a king who – like Richard II – was a minor at his accession and who attempted to assert his authority through the deployment of ritual and ceremony, including his own 're-enstoolment', with two of his own nominees in place of the two missing tribal kings, in May 1894.⁶⁰ 'Human sacrifices' apparently accompanied the ceremony. Maxwell, the governor of the Gold Coast, concluded that Prempeh desired the resurgence of a hegemonic confederate state of Asante, and his reign had become marked by 'hostility to British influence, interference with trade, activity in the seizure and sale of slaves, and the slaughter of these unhappy creatures whenever funeral rites or customary ceremonies demanded a sacrifice'.⁶¹ On such grounds was direct military intervention deemed justified. The Asante kingdom had begun to disintegrate by 1891 as subordinate tribes distanced themselves from the government at Kumase and – given threats of alliance, both actual and imagined, with other nearby, rival colonial powers – British action was thought to be imperative.

It was in the context of an attempted eradication of 'barbaric' practices and customs that the seizure, confiscation and subsequent disposal of the contents of Prempeh's palaces took place, including the discovery and 'repatriation' of the bronze ewers found at Kumase and Bantama. The Standing Regulations for the expedition had laid down that

No village or camp is to be intentionally set on fire except by order of the Colonel Commanding. Officers Commanding Corps etc are held responsible that no looting or unnecessary destruction of property takes place. Any infraction of this order is to be severely dealt with.⁶²

Asante in the 19th Century, pp. 239–50, 422. For later medieval examples, see M. Vale, *The Princely Court. Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270–1380* (Oxford, 2001, repr. 2005).

⁵⁸ Prempeh I has been the subject of substantial recent research, represented by an edition of his own writings, with accompanying essays, in *A History of the Ashanti Kings and the Whole Country Itself*, ed. A. Adu Boahen, E. Akyeampong, N. Lawler, T. C. McCaskie and I. Wilks (Fontes Historiae Africanae, n.s., 6, New York, 2003). See also E. Akyeampong, 'Christianity, Modernity and the Weight of Tradition in the Life of Asantehene Agyeman Prempeh I, c. 1888–1931', *Africa* 69 (1999), 279–311; *Precis of the Ashanti Expedition*, pp. 6–7; Tordoff, *Ashanti under the Prempehs*, pp. 5–26. The website of the Smithsonian Institution provides an impressive survey of the recent literature.

⁵⁹ *Precis of the Ashanti Expedition*, p. 7.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶¹ As reported in *ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶² TNA, WO 107/11: '4. Conduct in the enemy's country'. A detailed narrative of the seizure, occupation and ransacking of Prempeh's palace in 1896 is in Musgrave, *To Kumassi with Scott*, pp. 165, 182–3.



Plate 19. King Kwaku Dua (Asantehene) and his court, 1887. The king is 'enstooled', with the 'Golden Stool' beside him, surrounded by members of his household, some of them bearing their maces of office, beneath large ceremonial umbrellas (TNA CO 1069/31, no. 2).

In the event, the commanding officer of the force and the governor of the protectorate gave orders for the destruction of the 'sacred groves and fetish houses' in Kumase and at Bantama which were promptly carried out.⁶³ Baden-Powell, in his vivid account of the events in January 1896, reported

In accordance with orders, we set the whole fetish village in flames, and a splendid blaze it made. The great fetish-tree, in whose shade hundreds of victims have been sacrificed, was blown up with gun-cotton, as also were the great fetish-trees on the Kumassi parade-ground. Among the roots of these there lie the skulls and bones of hundreds, and possibly of thousands, of victims to the regime which today has so dramatically been brought to a close.⁶⁴

Whatever truth there was in the report about human sacrifice, among the roots of one of the sacred trees there also lay two of Richard II's ewers. Baden-Powell noted that the 'barbarian king's palace' was no longer stuffed with items of great

⁶³ *Precis of the Ashanti Expedition*, p. 19.

⁶⁴ Baden-Powell, *Downfall of Prempeh*, ch. XIII, pp. 248–9. Musgrave described the streets and compounds of Kumase as 'littered with fetish tokens' (*To Kumassi with Scott*, p. 166).

value, but there were 'quaint, old and valuable articles, a few good brass dishes, large metal ewers, Ashanti stools, old arms etc'.⁶⁵ These were considered part of the rightfully acquired spoils of war, and were obtained, respectively, by the second-in-command of the expedition, Major Charles Barter and, as a result of a gift by Governor Maxwell, by the officers of the Prince of Wales's Own West Yorkshire Regiment.⁶⁶ Most of the remaining objects were sold by auction on the spot.⁶⁷ They were widely distributed over the personnel of the expedition, coming to rest at various locations in the United Kingdom.⁶⁸ A further ewer was acquired as a result of the campaign of 1900–1, which attempted (unsuccessfully) to discover the whereabouts of the hidden Asante 'Golden Stool', said to contain and embody the spirit of the people.⁶⁹ He who possessed the stool, it was believed, controlled the people. Captain (Sir) Cecil Armitage was sent to lead the expedition and, unlike his predecessors in 1895–96, engaged with Asante forces, from whom he seized the second ewer now in the British Museum's keeping.⁷⁰ King Prempeh and the most important members of his court had been banished from his kingdom and were in British custody in Sierra Leone and then on the Seychelles. Asante power, in its previous form, never again achieved a foothold in West Africa.

The work of anthropologists and ethnographers, especially since the appearance of R. S. Rattray's *Ashanti* (1923) and *Religion and Art in Ashanti* (1927), has sought to describe and explain Asante customs and behaviour but, until M. D. Mcleod's contributions in the 1980s and 1990s, tended to lack a historical dimension.⁷¹ Students of the techniques of metalworking have similarly subjected Asante bronze and brass vessels to scrutiny, giving rise to comparison with European medieval practices, such as the *cire-perdue* ('lost-wax') method of casting which appears to have been known to the Asante since the early eighteenth century.⁷² It would be otiose to summarise such work

⁶⁵ Baden-Powell, *Downfall of Prempeh*, ch. XIII, p. 244; see also Musgrave, *To Kumassi with Scott*, pp. 166–9 for the 'ewers of water' found in the courtyards of Prempeh's palaces.

⁶⁶ See Plate 18 for the ewer presented to the regiment's officers by Governor Maxwell at Kumase.

⁶⁷ *Precis of the Ashanti Expedition*, p. 18; Lovelace, 'War Booty', pp. 150–1 for sales on 20 and 21 January 1896.

⁶⁸ For current locations, see Appendix. Also Lovelace, 'War Booty', pp. 147–8; Mcleod, 'Richard II, Part 3', pp. 172–3.

⁶⁹ See TNA, WO 106/287 for a 'Diary of the Ashanti Campaign, 1900–1', esp. pp. 1–3 for the affair of the 'Golden Stool'.

⁷⁰ BM, Ethno 1933–2; WO 106/287, p. 2. See Appendix and Plate 17.

⁷¹ Interest in the Asante and their history was stimulated by the special exhibition at the British Museum *Asante: Kingdom of Gold* in 1981, reviewed in *African Art* 15(1) (1981), 73–5.

⁷² Rattray, *Ashanti*, pp. 310–13; Mcleod, pp. 14, 74; and for closely comparable medieval European techniques of casting see J. Blair and N. Ramsay (eds.), *English Medieval Industries* (London, 1991), pp. 81–2, 86–8, 97–100. Also see P. T. Craddock, 'Medieval Copper Alloy Production and West African Brass Analysis', *Archaeometry* 27 (1985), 17–41; Lewis, Brownson and Pitt, 'Medieval Bronze "Tripod" Ewers', pp. 86–7 and fig. 3. The 'Asante' ewers 1 and 2, and the 'Wenlock' ewer have all been subjected to recent technical analysis in the British

here. But Rattray's account of Asante metalwork and religious practice, though apparently flawed to some degree by a tendency towards idealisation and over-imaginative reconstruction, provides suggestive evidence for the uses to which the bronze ewers may have been put.⁷³ A characteristic Asante vessel was the *kuduo*, a ceremonial basin or, indeed, ewer-like object which could resemble 'bulbous tripod-legged pots with lids like inverted chalices'⁷⁴ or European and Islamic items of a similar kind. Some of those found in Asante possession were clearly of Moorish and Arabic origin, with appropriate Islamic inscriptions.⁷⁵ The *kuduo* was a sacred vessel, used in various rituals, including the 'washing of the *ntoro*' ('spirit' or 'familiar spirit'), in eating ceremonies, and funeral and commemorative practices. A *kuduo* had a special connection with a person's spirit, and with those of both his ancestors and descendants; it might be buried with its owner, containing gold dust and beads; or kept under a sacred tree amid its root-buttresses; or used as a vessel for the ritualised drawing of water to be used in, for example, the weekly royal washing ceremony.⁷⁶ The appearance of two of the English ewers in the photograph of Prempeh's palace courtyard would thus tend to support a hypothesis that they might be fulfilling the functions of the *kuduo* in Asante court life.⁷⁷

It is perhaps not entirely inappropriate that Richard II's ewers should have come to form part of the effects found at the court of an African potentate, imbued with delusions of grandeur, ruling a disintegrating kingdom from which he was shortly to be deposed.⁷⁸ Prempeh's pretensions towards tyranny, and his evident liking for ceremony, quite coincidentally, may lead us towards some suggestive, but probably spurious, diachronic contrasts and comparisons with the later medieval owner of his bronze vessels. That way confusion may lie, as one vainly attempts to compare the incomparable. Yet a hypothesis which proposes that the fourteenth-century English ewers found at Kumase in 1896 and 1900 may have formed part of a set of such objects given as a gift to an African ruler, perhaps by the Portuguese, and subsequently acquired by the Asante, who then used them for their own very particular purposes, might – like a ewer – hold water. The present state of our knowledge may remain such until more precise evidence – if it exists – is found. But the phenomenon of cultural transference of this kind remains intriguing. The appropriation of old and often

Museum's laboratory, revealing close similarities in form, metallurgical content and manufacture, suggesting a common provenance from a London workshop or workshops.

⁷³ Rattray, *Ashanti*, pp. 309–16; *Religion and Art*, pp. 113–18.

⁷⁴ Mcleod, *Asante*, p. 135; Rattray, *Ashanti*, pp. 313–15; figs. 54, 128: 'a fine specimen, in the possession of Sir Robert Baden-Powell'.

⁷⁵ Rattray, *Ashanti*, pp. 313–15; Mcleod, *Asante*, p. 134.

⁷⁶ Rattray, *Ashanti*, pp. 52–3; Mcleod, *Asante*, pp. 135–7.

⁷⁷ Foreign observers frequently noted the ceremonial functions of metalware at the Asante court, when court officers carried 'massive pieces of silver plate, vases, pitchers, kettles etc' in reception ceremonies for foreign envoys (Yarak, 'A Dutch Embassy', p. 372).

⁷⁸ The Dutch embassy to Asante of 1857 concluded that 'the king is a despot and is heir to the gold of all his subjects': Yarak, 'A Dutch Embassy', p. 375.

time-honoured objects, images and artefacts deriving from a source which is sometimes remote in time and place, gives them an after-life. They may serve purposes which are very different from those for which they were originally intended and they may be invested with symbolic meanings of an utterly alien kind. The problem of the Asante ewers is certainly one for anthropology and ethnography – but it is, above all, essentially one of cultural history.

Appendix: The 'Asante' and Other Ewers

1 'Asante' ewer 1: London, British Museum, MLA 1896, 7–27, 1; c. 1390–1400, probably after 1394 and before 1399; a very large metal jug; height 60 cm with lid, 43 cm without lid; weight: 18.6 kg (empty); capacity: 15.8 litres; copper, tin and lead alloy (leaded bronze): 70 per cent copper, 17 per cent lead; probably from the same foundry as nos 2 and 3 below. The handle terminates in a wheel with quatrefoil (cf. nos 2 and 3). Found beneath a sacred tree in a palace courtyard of King Prempeh I (Kwaku Dua III) of the Asante, most probably in the interior court of the Ahemfie at Kumase, or at the nearby Bantama mausoleum of the Asante kings in January 1896. Acquired in 1896 from Major (later Major-General) Sir Charles St L. Barter (1857–1931), second-in-command of the Special Service Corps, Ashanti expedition, 1895–96. Visible in a photograph of a palace courtyard at Kumase or Bantama apparently taken in 1887. See Plates 16 and 17.

Emblems on ewer: Royal arms of England (as borne between 1340 and 1405); lion supporters, with crown above; falcons in roundels; two independent crowns at each side of the spout.

Emblems on lid: Badges of Richard II (adopted 1390–99); seven-sided lid of which each facet has a lion facing left and a stag *couchant* (Richard II's personal badge or device), without a collar and chain (found on some other representations of the badge), facing right.

Inscriptions: Two mottoes (Middle English), in the form of proverbs, in Lombardic letters, around the belly of the ewer, in three lines on bands, beginning on the bottom line and reading upwards thus:

+HE THAT WYL NOT SPARE WHAN HE MAY
HE SCHAL NOT SPEND WHAN HE WOLD
+DEME THE BEST IN EVERY DOWTE
TIL THE TROWTHE BE TRYID OWTE

2 'Robinson' ewer (V&A): London, Victoria and Albert Museum, V&A 217–1879; c. 1390–1400; large metal jug; height: 38.5 cm; no lid, but fixing (hinge) for a lid on the rim above the handle; copper, tin and lead alloy (leaded bronze): 77 per cent copper, 12 per cent lead; rope-twist handle, terminating in a wheel with quatrefoil. Found 'in a manor house in Norfolk; Robinson collection'. Acquired by the Museum in 1879.

Closely comparable with both no. 1 above and no. 3 below. Similar arms, crowns, motto style and rope-twist handle (as no. 3). The application of the arms and motifs, as well as the method of casting, are identical. Use of a crown above the initial letter of the motto as in no. 3.

Emblems on ewer: Royal arms of England (1340–1405; as on no. 1); no supporters, but with a crown above (as no. 1); independent crowns on spout and neck.

Inscriptions: Two mottoes (Middle English), in the form of an invocation and an exhortation in Lombardic letters, around the belly of the ewer, in three lines on bands, reading thus:

+ GODDIS GRACE BE IN THIS PLACE. AMEN
+ STOND UTTIR FROM THE FYRE
AND LAT ON IUST COME NERE

3 ‘Wenlock’ ewer: Luton, Wardown Park Museum, (acquired 2006); c. 1390–1400 or (?) mid-fifteenth century; metal jug; height: 31.5 cm; no lid but evidence of a fixing for a lid; rope-twist handle terminating below in an open wheel with four spokes; copper, tin and lead alloy (leaded bronze); an indistinct merchant’s or maker’s mark (?) on the neck.

Purchased after the sale of contents at Easton Neston house, Northants, 17–19 May 2005; originally acquired by Lt Gen. Thomas William Fermor, 4th earl of Pomfret (1779–1833).

Emblems on ewer: Royal arms of England (1340–1405); no supporters or crowns above the arms; further shield bearing three crowns (St Edmund of East Anglia or the abbey of Bury St Edmund’s?) beneath the handle; independent crowns on the body and on each side of the spout; a crown above the first letter of the motto as in no. 2.

Inscriptions: inscribed (Middle English) in Lombardic letters around the belly of the ewer, in one line on a band, with a crown above the initial letter ‘M’:

+MY LORD WENLOK

The inscription has led to an association of the ewer with John, first Lord Wenlock (c. 1400–71) created baron on 26 July 1461. He was chief butler to Henry VI’s household, and chamberlain of the duchy of Lancaster. He had changed sides to support the Yorkists by 1459. This would date the ewer to a substantially later period than nos 1 and 2. Evidence contrary to this argument lies in the nature of the English royal arms cast upon it, which are identical to those on nos 1 and 2 (i.e. dating from 1340 to 1405). Unless durable moulds for the arms, as well as the letters of the inscription, were reused in the workshop, a late fourteenth-century date is not out of the question. If so, it has been suggested that the inscription ‘my lord Wenlock’ could refer to the prior of the Benedictine house at Wenlock (Shrops.) at that time. Candidates would then be either Roger Wyvil (1388–97) or John Stafford (1397–1435). Alternatively, William Wenlock, (d. 1391), canon of St Paul’s, archdeacon of Rochester, and

master of Farley Hospital, Luton, could be a strong candidate. He was a canon of the Chapel Royal by 1381. The debate over the ewer's date, provenance and ownership continues.

4 'Asante' ewer 2: Leeds, Prince of Wales's Own Yorkshire Regiment collection on loan to Leeds City Museum, LEEDM.FLI.1984. 4a + b; c. 1390–1400; large metal jug; height: 49 cm, with three clawed feet; no original lid, but with a replacement lid made from local (Asante) sheet brass; copper, tin and lead alloy (leaded bronze); handle terminating beneath in an open wheel (no spokes or quatrefoil) with a raised or rope-twist edge; moulded band around the belly. From the same workshop as no. 5. No emblems or insignia. Very similar to no. 5 below.

Found at Kumase or Bantama in January 1896 (see no. 1 above). Apparently visible, lidded, in the photograph dated 1887 (with no. 1 above). See Plates 16 and 18.

Inscriptions: Metal plaque beneath the spout bearing the inscription: 'Bronze Urn Presented to the Officers 2nd Batt P. O. W. West Yorks Regt at Kumassi 20 Jan 1896 by the Governor of the Gold Coast.'

5 'Asante' ewer 3: London, British Museum, BM Ethno 1933–32; c. 1390–1400; metal jug; height: 38 cm, with three feet; no lid, but with a fixing (hinge) for a lid; copper, tin and lead alloy (leaded bronze); handle terminating beneath in an open wheel (no spokes or quatrefoil) with smooth edge; moulded band around the belly. From the same workshop as no. 4. Captured from the Asante, probably during the Ashanti expedition of 1900. No emblems or insignia. Purchased (1933) from Captain Sir Cecil Hamilton Armitage (1869–1933), commander of the Ashanti expedition of 1900–1. Very similar to no. 4. See Plate 17.

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Mary Keen

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